

# ^EARLY^ PROGRESS



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A PAGE FROM AN OLD MANUSCRIPT

This brilliant work, made for the first Duke of Buckingham, is a fine illustration of the elaborate way the medieval monks illuminated their manuscripts.

# THE STORY OF MAN'S EARLY PROGRESS

NEW EDITION

BY

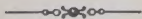
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## FOREWORD

THE aim of this volume has been to select topics that make the past live again to the mind of youth and that at the same time form a continuous story and prepare for a sympathetic understanding of the problems of modern life. The home life and the daily work and the ways of thinking in the successive periods of time receive attention at the expense, when necessary, of political details and of military campaigns. Special emphasis is given to progress in science and to those inventions and discoveries that, step by step, have made it possible to release masses of men from grinding drudgery for higher living. The writer — and teacher — of history for high schools should never lose sight of two shining goals: he must strive unceasingly to help the student to sense history as “the common adventure of mankind” and to feel that “its chief interest lies in the fact that it is not yet finished.”

This is the first volume of a two-book series on world history, — *Early Progress* and *Modern Progress*. It is not yet universally agreed among schools just where the point of division should come in such a series. These volumes solve that problem by the device of overlapping chapters. This first volume carries the story down to the French Revolution; but the school which prefers to close the first year's study two centuries and a half earlier, with the Renaissance, will still have its work a logical unit, with more time for library work, and will find the intervening chapters repeated in slightly modified form in the early part of *Modern Progress* for the second year's study.

WILLIS MASON WEST



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# CONTENTS

| CHAPTER |                                               | PAGE |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|------|
| I.      | AN INTRODUCTION: MEN BEFORE WRITING . . . . . | I    |

## PART I: EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATIONS

|      |                                                          |    |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------|----|
| II.  | EGYPT . . . . .                                          | 15 |
| III. | THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES COUNTRIES (BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA)   | 42 |
| IV.  | MIDDLE STATES (PHOENICIANS, HEBREWS, HITTITES) . . . . . | 55 |
| V.   | THE PERSIAN EMPIRE . . . . .                             | 63 |

## PART II: THE GREEKS

|       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| VI.   | AEGEAN CIVILIZATION, 3500-1500 B.C. . . . .                                                                                                                                                                      | 69  |
| VII.  | HOW HOMER'S ACHAEANS BECAME GREEKS, 2000-600 B.C. . . . .                                                                                                                                                        | 75  |
|       | <i>Achaean conquest; Homer's Greece; geographical influences; religion; Greeks outside Greece; growth of unity of feeling; advances in industry, art, and thought; likeness of Greek civilization to our own</i> |     |
| VIII. | ATHENS AND SPARTA IN 500 B.C. . . . .                                                                                                                                                                            | 102 |
| IX.   | WARS OF THE GREEKS AND PERSIANS . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                        | 114 |
| X.    | ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP, 478-431 B.C. . . . .                                                                                                                                                                        | 129 |
|       | <i>The Athenian Empire; the Age of Pericles</i>                                                                                                                                                                  |     |
| XI.   | "THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE" FADES AWAY . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                 | 162 |
|       | <i>Peloponnesian War; Spartan supremacy; Theban supremacy; Macedonian conquest</i>                                                                                                                               |     |
| XII.  | THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                              | 174 |
|       | <i>Alexander joins East and West; political conditions after Alexander (the Achaean League); the Alexandrian Age</i>                                                                                             |     |

## PART III: ROME

|       |                                 |     |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----|
| XIII. | ITALY AND ITS PEOPLES . . . . . | 197 |
| XIV.  | ROME UNDER THE KINGS . . . . .  | 204 |

| CHAPTER                                                                                       | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| XV. THE EARLY REPUBLIC, TO 266 B.C. . . . .                                                   | 212  |
| <i>Class strife; fusion of patricians and plebeians; Rome unites Italy</i>                    |      |
| XVI. UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE AFTER 266 B.C. . . . .                                     | 221  |
| <i>Citizens and subjects; roads and army; government; Roman society at its best age</i>       |      |
| XVII. ROME WINS THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, 264-146 B.C. . . . .                                 | 235  |
| <i>The winning of the West (the three Punic Wars); the winning of the East</i>                |      |
| XVIII. RISE OF NEW CLASS HATREDS, 146-49 B.C. . . . .                                         | 255  |
| <i>Rich and poor; citizens and subject Italy; Italy and the provinces; masters and slaves</i> |      |
| XIX. THE GRACCHI, 133-121 B.C. . . . .                                                        | 268  |
| XX. THE SENATE AND MILITARY CHIEFS . . . . .                                                  | 274  |
| <i>Marius and Sulla; Pompey and Caesar</i>                                                    |      |

#### PART IV: THE ROMAN EMPIRE

|                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| XXI. FOUNDING THE EMPIRE, 49-31 B.C. . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 286 |
| XXII. EMPERORS OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES, 31 B.C.-180 A.D. . . . .                                                                                                               | 295 |
| XXIII. LIFE UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE . . . . .                                                                                                                                      | 307 |
| <i>Defense and government (boundaries, extent, population); industries; trade and travel; peace and prosperity; art and learning (universities); morals; rise of Christianity</i> |     |
| XXIV. THE LATER EMPIRE: DECLINE . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 337 |
| <i>"Barrack Emperors" and Diocletian's reorganization; victory of the Christian church; growing weakness of the Empire</i>                                                        |     |

#### PART V: ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE, 400-1500

|                                                                                                                                                                                                    |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| XXV. FOUR CENTURIES OF FUSION, 378-800 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                   | 362 |
| <i>The Teutons in their German home; the wandering of the peoples (new Teutonic kingdoms on Roman soil in the West, and survival of the "Greek Empire"); merging of Roman and Teuton (600-800)</i> |     |

| CHAPTER                                                                                                                                                                                                   | PAGE |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| XXVI. THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY ORGANIZE WESTERN EUROPE . . . . .                                                                                                                                         | 385  |
| <i>Rise of the Frankish state; rise (and repulse) of Mohammedanism; rise of the papacy (after the Great Schism in the church); alliance of Franks and papacy; Empire of Charlemagne</i>                   |      |
| XXVII. THE MAKING OF ENGLAND . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                    | 402  |
| XXVIII. THE RISE OF FEUDALISM . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                   | 409  |
| <i>The barbarian invasions of the ninth century; feudal organization</i>                                                                                                                                  |      |
| XXIX. LIFE IN A FEUDAL CASTLE . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                   | 422  |
| XXX. THE CHURCH IN THE FEUDAL AGE . . . . .                                                                                                                                                               | 432  |
| XXXI. LIFE OF THE WORKERS . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                       | 441  |
| XXXII. ENGLAND IN THE FEUDAL AGE, TO 1327 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                       | 449  |
| <i>Growth of a strong central government (on the basis of free Saxon institutions); development of representative government</i>                                                                          |      |
| XXXIII. THE CONTINENT IN THE FEUDAL AGE . . . . .                                                                                                                                                         | 477  |
| <i>France; Germany and Italy (the Holy Roman Empire)</i>                                                                                                                                                  |      |
| XXXIV. THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES, 1100-1300 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                       | 490  |
| <i>The Mohammedan world; the Greek Empire; Christian pilgrimages; the Crusades; the indirect results</i>                                                                                                  |      |
| XXXV. THE RISE OF TOWNS, 1100-1300 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                              | 506  |
| XXXVI. LEARNING AND ART IN THE FEUDAL AGE . . . . .                                                                                                                                                       | 518  |
| <i>Literature in the vernaculars; universities; Gothic architecture (cathedrals and town halls)</i>                                                                                                       |      |
| PART VI: FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE REFORMATION                                                                                                                                                             |      |
| XXXVII. ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1300-1520 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                           | 528  |
| <i>The Hundred Years' War; serfdom disappears from England; the Lollards; French consolidation and monarchy</i>                                                                                           |      |
| XXXVIII. THE CONTINENTAL STATES, 1300-1520 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                      | 543  |
| <i>The papacy and the rising "New Monarchies" (the papacy at Avignon); Holy Roman Empire; Spain; Turks in the Balkans; Switzerland; the Netherlands; Charles V and the danger of a universal monarchy</i> |      |

| CHAPTER                                                                                                                                                                                                | PAGE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| XXXIX. THE RENAISSANCE (TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES)                                                                                                                                                    | 557  |
| <i>Humanism; Italian painting; the "New Learning"; inventions: sawmills, windmills, gunpowder, printing, telescope; geographical exploration and search for new trade routes; discovery of America</i> |      |
| PART VII: FROM COLUMBUS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION                                                                                                                                                       |      |
| XL. THE REFORMATION . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                          | 579  |
| <i>Lutheranism; Calvinism; England and the Reformation</i>                                                                                                                                             |      |
| XLI. A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS . . . . .                                                                                                                                                             | 595  |
| <i>Spain and the Netherlands; the French Catholic League and the Huguenots; the Thirty Years' War in Germany (Peace of Westphalia)</i>                                                                 |      |
| XLII. SCIENCE AND TRADE AFTER 1500 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                           | 603  |
| XLIII. EUROPEAN LIFE AND WORK, 1600-1700 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                     | 608  |
| XLIV. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND . . . . .                                                                                                                                                            | 614  |
| XLV. EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO THE NEW WORLD . . . . .                                                                                                                                                  | 630  |
| XLVI. WARS AND DESPOTS, 1648-1789 . . . . .                                                                                                                                                            | 639  |
| <i>"The Balance of Power" (Age of Louis XIV, rise of Russia, rise of Prussia, European wars and the New World, the American Revolution); despotism fails; the outlook in 1789</i>                      |      |
| APPENDIX: Select Book Lists . . . . .                                                                                                                                                                  | I    |
| INDEX, with pronunciations and with location of place names . . . . .                                                                                                                                  | 9    |



## ILLUSTRATIONS

|                                                                                                        |                     |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| A page from the <i>Wingfield Horae</i> . <i>Color plate</i> . . .                                      | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
|                                                                                                        | PAGE                |
| Flint knife, or "fist-hatchet," from Kent's Cave in England . . .                                      | 2                   |
| Reindeer, engraved by Stone-Age artist on a cave-wall . . .                                            | <i>facing</i> 2     |
| Cliff caves on the Vézère, overlooking Le Moustier . . .                                               | <i>facing</i> 2     |
| Vertical section of the "Cave of the Children" . . .                                                   | <i>facing</i> 3     |
| Cave-bear, from Stone-Age drawing in cave in France . . .                                              | 3                   |
| Bone needles of a Stone-Age woman . . .                                                                | 4                   |
| Early ways of making fire . . .                                                                        | 5                   |
| Flint scraper, from Le Moustier cave . . .                                                             | 5                   |
| Stone arrowheads, from Egypt . . .                                                                     | 6                   |
| Mammoth attacked by Stone-Age men: wall painting in Milwaukee Public Museum . . .                      | <i>facing</i> 6     |
| Stone-Age artist at work painting in his cave-home: wall painting in the Milwaukee Public Museum . . . | <i>facing</i> 7     |
| Stone-Age paint tube, from a cave in France . . .                                                      | 7                   |
| Clay pitcher, from Swiss lake dwelling . . .                                                           | 8                   |
| Wild boar, from a Stone-Age painting in a cave in France . . .                                         | 9                   |
| Drawings from Egyptian monuments, showing evolution of the plow . . .                                  | 10                  |
| Early weaving, as shown in Egyptian tomb painting . . .                                                | <i>facing</i> 10    |
| Swiss Lake Village of the New-Stone Age: an exhibit of the Milwaukee Public Museum . . .               | <i>facing</i> 10    |
| Stonehenge ruins: two views from recent photos . . .                                                   | <i>facing</i> 11    |
| Stone-Age ax and Bronze-Age ax . . .                                                                   | 12                  |
| Horse painted by Stone-Age artist (Font de Gaume) . . .                                                | 13                  |
| Boatmen fighting for control of irrigation canal: from an ancient papyrus, after Maspero . . .         | <i>facing</i> 18    |
| Egyptian peasant woman of to-day beside sculptured head of an ancient pharaoh: from Maspero . . .      | <i>facing</i> 18    |
| Early Egyptian pottery, with discussion of ornament . . .                                              | <i>facing</i> 19    |
| "Reconstruction" of an Egyptian temple . . .                                                           | <i>facing</i> 19    |
| Driving cattle to pasture in flood time: Egyptian relief . . .                                         | 20                  |
| "Man has a back": Egyptian relief . . .                                                                | 21                  |
| Portrait statue of Amten, a self-made noble of 3200 B.C. . .                                           | 22                  |
| Limestone statuette showing flour-making 4700 years ago . . .                                          | 23                  |
| King and queen at play: a wall painting . . .                                                          | <i>facing</i> 24    |
| Egyptian nobles hunting with boomerang and harpoon . . .                                               | <i>facing</i> 24    |
| Sculptured Egyptian tomb . . .                                                                         | <i>facing</i> 25    |

|                                                                                       | PAGE             |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Sphinx and pyramids (photo) . . . . .                                                 | <i>facing</i> 25 |
| Openings into pyramid interior . . . . .                                              | 25               |
| Egyptian market scene before invention of money . . . . .                             | <i>facing</i> 26 |
| Vertical section of the Great Pyramid, showing passages . . . . .                     | <i>facing</i> 26 |
| Temple of Horus and Hathor at Edfu: two views . . . . .                               | <i>facing</i> 27 |
| Egyptian shoemakers: from a relief . . . . .                                          | 27               |
| Diadem of an Egyptian princess of 4000 years ago . . . . .                            | 28               |
| Doctor dosing a patient: from an old papyrus . . . . .                                | 29               |
| Egyptian and Roman numerals . . . . .                                                 | 31               |
| American Indian picture-writing . . . . .                                             | <i>facing</i> 32 |
| Parts of Rosetta Stone (with account of the deciphering) . . . . .                    | <i>facing</i> 33 |
| Rameses III: portrait statue, now at Turin . . . . .                                  | 34               |
| Peasants harvesting grain: from a papyrus of 1700 B.C. . . . .                        | <i>facing</i> 34 |
| Ruins of columns from the Karnak Temple of Rameses . . . . .                          | <i>facing</i> 34 |
| A "reconstruction" of the Hall of Columns at Karnak . . . . .                         | <i>facing</i> 35 |
| Egyptian sculptors at work: from a relief . . . . .                                   | <i>facing</i> 35 |
| Akhenaten: a battered head from a red quartzite statue . . . . .                      | 36               |
| "Weighing the soul" before the "Judges of the Dead" . . . . .                         | 38               |
| Cartoon in a papyrus of 4000 years ago showing use of lip-stick . . . . .             | 40               |
| "Colossi of Memnon," near Thebes, and ruins of the Temple of<br>Rameses III . . . . . | <i>facing</i> 40 |
| Wall painting of 1550 B.C. showing Egyptian lady at her toilet . . . . .              | <i>facing</i> 41 |
| A papyrus burial service, with illustrations . . . . .                                | <i>facing</i> 41 |
| Babylonian boundary-stone; from Jastrow . . . . .                                     | 44               |
| Oldest known arch: from Hilprecht . . . . .                                           | 45               |
| Obelisk of Shalmaneser II . . . . .                                                   | 47               |
| Babylonian lion from the Sacred Way . . . . .                                         | <i>facing</i> 48 |
| Babylonian tablets . . . . .                                                          | <i>facing</i> 48 |
| "Hanging Gardens" of Babylon . . . . .                                                | <i>facing</i> 49 |
| Babylonian cylinder seals . . . . .                                                   | 51               |
| Babylonian duplicate contract-bricks . . . . .                                        | 52               |
| Colossal man-beast in alabaster, from Sargon's palace at Nineveh . . . . .            | <i>facing</i> 52 |
| Assyrian relief showing archers shooting at swimming fugitives . . . . .              | <i>facing</i> 52 |
| Babylonian "book" . . . . .                                                           | <i>facing</i> 53 |
| Impression from seal of an early Babylonian king . . . . .                            | 54               |
| Detail from throne of Xerxes . . . . .                                                | 66               |
| Lion frieze from palace of Artaxerxes . . . . .                                       | <i>facing</i> 66 |
| Archers of the Persian Guard . . . . .                                                | <i>facing</i> 66 |
| A Phoenician ship of 1000 B.C. . . . .                                                | <i>facing</i> 67 |
| Hebrew prophets . . . . .                                                             | <i>facing</i> 67 |
| Vase from Knossos, of 2200 B.C. . . . .                                               | 69               |
| Mouth of palace sewer at Knossos, with drain pipes . . . . .                          | 70               |
| The Vaphio Cups . . . . .                                                             | <i>facing</i> 70 |
| Scroll from the Vaphio Cups . . . . .                                                 | <i>facing</i> 71 |

|                                                                        |                   |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Cretan cooking utensils of 2200 B.C.                                   | 72                |
| Lion Gate in the Mycenaean ruins                                       | 73                |
| Philippine cart and Etruscan chariot                                   | <i>facing</i> 74  |
| The United States Supreme Court Building                               | <i>facing</i> 75  |
| Achilles and Patroclus' body (a modern drawing)                        | 76                |
| Women pounding grain into meal: a Greek vase painting                  | 79                |
| Woman with distaff: from a Greek vase painting                         | 81                |
| Amphora, with painting of the story of Achilles' armor                 | 82                |
| Greek women completing their toilet: bowl painting                     | 84                |
| Apollo and the Muses, and ruins of the temple at Delphi                | <i>facing</i> 86  |
| Ruins of the Parthenon                                                 | <i>facing</i> 87  |
| Modern Greek girls rehearsing for a revival of <i>Prometheus Bound</i> | <i>facing</i> 87  |
| Sculptured head of Zeus                                                | 87                |
| Youth with Olympic victor's wreath                                     | 91                |
| Greek vase of sixth century, portraying Zeus and Europa                | 92                |
| Ground plan of Temple of Theseus at Athens                             | 93                |
| Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian "orders of architecture"                  | 94                |
| Drawing from Greek vase: mother and child                              | 95                |
| Greek vase of fifth century, showing women at their music              | 99                |
| Bronze dagger from Mycenae                                             | 101               |
| Greek peasant with musical pipe: drawing from a vase                   | 109               |
| The Tyrant-Slayers: early bronze copy of still earlier Athenian statue | 110               |
| The Greek Charge at Marathon. <i>Color plate</i>                       | <i>facing</i> 118 |
| Greek amphora found in an ancient tomb in Italy                        | 128               |
| A Reconstruction of the Parthenon. <i>Color plate</i>                  | <i>facing</i> 133 |
| Athenian Acropolis to-day                                              | <i>facing</i> 138 |
| A Reconstruction of the Acropolis                                      | <i>facing</i> 138 |
| Plan of the Acropolis of Athens                                        | <i>facing</i> 139 |
| A portico of the Erechtheum to-day                                     | <i>facing</i> 140 |
| Reliefs from the Parthenon frieze (Athenian horsemen)                  | <i>facing</i> 141 |
| Theater of Dionysus at Athens                                          | <i>facing</i> 141 |
| The Hermes of Praxiteles                                               | 141               |
| Sophocles (portrait statue)                                            | 142               |
| Chair of the Priest of Dionysus in the Theater at Athens               | 143               |
| Death of Socrates (a modern painting)                                  | 147               |
| Plan of a fifth-century Delos house                                    | 150               |
| Girls at play; from a Greek vase                                       | 151               |
| Greek barber (clay statuette)                                          | 154               |
| Greek woman drawing water at a street fountain                         | 155               |
| School scenes (painted on the inside of a shallow bowl)                | 157               |
| A papyrus book                                                         | 159               |
| Temple of the Winged Victory to-day (from the Athenian Acropolis)      | 161               |
| An Athenian trireme                                                    | 163               |
| The Wrestlers: a copy of a famous statue by Myron                      | 173               |

|                                                           | PAGE              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Alexander the Great (the Copenhagen head)                 | 175               |
| Venus (Aphrodite) of Melos                                | 186               |
| The Marble Faun (Praxiteles)                              | 188               |
| Pylon of Ptolemy III                                      | <i>facing</i> 190 |
| Vase painting: Greek women at their music                 | <i>facing</i> 191 |
| A Reading from Homer (Alma-Tadema)                        | <i>facing</i> 191 |
| Archimedes' Screw                                         | 192               |
| The Pharos Tower (Tiersch)                                | 193               |
| Public Buildings of Pergamos (Tiersch)                    | 196               |
| Etruscan vase                                             | 201               |
| Warrior: Etruscan vase painting                           | 202               |
| Roman ox-coin                                             | 205               |
| So-called Wall of Servius                                 | 206               |
| Etruscan tombs at Orviete                                 | <i>facing</i> 207 |
| Mouth of the Great Drain ( <i>Cloaca Maxima</i> ) at Rome | <i>facing</i> 207 |
| Head of a Roman <i>Janus</i> coin                         | 207               |
| Heavy-armed Roman soldiers                                | 210               |
| Roman slinger                                             | 211               |
| Early Roman plow                                          | 212               |
| Later Roman plow                                          | 213               |
| Coin struck by Pyrrhus in Italy                           | 219               |
| Roman school (a relief)                                   | <i>facing</i> 224 |
| Curule chair                                              | <i>facing</i> 225 |
| The Appian Way to-day                                     | <i>facing</i> 225 |
| Head of a javelin                                         | 226               |
| Roman standards                                           | 227               |
| Roman grist-mill                                          | 231               |
| Conferring the toga                                       | 232               |
| Roman matron, — a funeral effigy                          | 233               |
| Coin of Hiero II of Syracuse                              | 238               |
| Roman catapult                                            | 245               |
| Roman army storming a town                                | 249               |
| Coin of Philip V of Macedon                               | 250               |
| Antiochus III (from a coin)                               | 251               |
| Ruins at Corinth (Temple of Apollo)                       | 253               |
| Roman street scene in front of a food shop                | <i>facing</i> 254 |
| Theater of Pompeii                                        | <i>facing</i> 255 |
| Roman banquet in the late days of the Republic            | 257               |
| General plan of a Roman house after 100 B.C.              | <i>facing</i> 258 |
| Inner Court of a Roman house (Boulanger)                  | <i>facing</i> 258 |
| Ruins of a villa near Tivoli (the library)                | <i>facing</i> 259 |
| Baths of the same villa                                   | <i>facing</i> 259 |
| "Thumbs Down" (gladiatorial combat)                       | <i>facing</i> 260 |
| The Coliseum at Rome to-day                               | <i>facing</i> 260 |



|                                                                                                            | PAGE              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Interior of a Roman public bath hall (Von Falke) . . . . .                                                 | <i>facing</i> 261 |
| Chariot race in the Coliseum . . . . .                                                                     | <i>facing</i> 270 |
| The Discus Thrower (copy of Myron's) . . . . .                                                             | <i>facing</i> 271 |
| Coin of the Italian "Allies" ( <i>Socii</i> ) in the <i>Social War</i> . . . . .                           | 275               |
| Coin struck by Sulla at Athens . . . . .                                                                   | 278               |
| Cicero (portrait bust) . . . . .                                                                           | 281               |
| Julius Caesar (the British Museum head) . . . . .                                                          | 284               |
| The Roman Forum to-day (with ruins of Caesar's basilica) . . . . .                                         | 291               |
| Coin struck by Caesar in 44 B.C. . . . .                                                                   | 292               |
| The Death of Caesar (a modern painting) . . . . .                                                          | <i>facing</i> 292 |
| Northeast side of the Roman Forum (two views, then and now) <i>facing</i>                                  | 293               |
| Octavius Caesar as a boy (portrait bust) . . . . .                                                         | 296               |
| Bridge at Rimini built by Augustus (present condition) . . . . .                                           | 297               |
| "The Palace of the Caesars" on the Palatine: two views . . . . .                                           | <i>facing</i> 298 |
| Ruins of the house of M. Olconius at Pompeii . . . . .                                                     | <i>facing</i> 299 |
| Ruins of the Forum at Pompeii . . . . .                                                                    | <i>facing</i> 299 |
| Arch of Titus, with view of the Coliseum . . . . .                                                         | 300               |
| Detail from the Arch of Titus . . . . .                                                                    | 301               |
| Trajan's Column at Rome . . . . .                                                                          | <i>facing</i> 302 |
| Detail from Trajan's Column . . . . .                                                                      | <i>facing</i> 303 |
| Amphitheater at Nîmes . . . . .                                                                            | <i>facing</i> 303 |
| Ruins of Hadrian's Temple of Zeus at Athens . . . . .                                                      | 305               |
| Marcus Aurelius (portrait bust) . . . . .                                                                  | 306               |
| Roman war galley (from the photoplay <i>Ben Hur</i> ) . . . . .                                            | 309               |
| Temple of Apollo at Pompeii: ruins and a reconstruction . . . . .                                          | <i>facing</i> 310 |
| The Black Gate ( <i>Porta Nigra</i> ) at Trier (Trèves) . . . . .                                          | <i>facing</i> 311 |
| Aqueduct near Nîmes built by Antoninus Pius . . . . .                                                      | <i>facing</i> 311 |
| Reconstruction of Pompeii (Weichardt) . . . . .                                                            | <i>facing</i> 314 |
| Trajan's Arch at Beneventum . . . . .                                                                      | <i>facing</i> 315 |
| Citizens reading an imperial bulletin in the Pompeiian Forum<br>(from a Pompeiian wall painting) . . . . . | 318               |
| The Pantheon . . . . .                                                                                     | <i>facing</i> 320 |
| Cross-section of the Pantheon (showing the lighting of the dome) <i>facing</i>                             | 321               |
| Ruins of the Aqueduct of Claudius near Rome . . . . .                                                      | <i>facing</i> 321 |
| Free distribution of bread by the Roman government . . . . .                                               | 322               |
| "The Way of Tombs" at Pompeii . . . . .                                                                    | 325               |
| The Appian Way under the Empire (reconstructed by a modern<br>artist). <i>Color plate</i> . . . . .        | <i>facing</i> 326 |
| Christian martyrs thrown to the lions . . . . .                                                            | 335               |
| Reconstruction of the women's court in a Pompeiian house . . . . .                                         | 338               |
| Hall of the Baths of Diocletian (now Church of St. Mary of the Angels)                                     | 344               |
| Arch of Constantine at Rome . . . . .                                                                      | 345               |
| Theodosius rebuked by Ambrose (Van Dyck) . . . . .                                                         | 349               |
| Basilica of Trajan: a reconstruction of the interior by Canina . . . . .                                   | 350               |

|                                                                                              | PAGE |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| General plan of basilicas (and so of Christian cathedrals) . . . . .                         | 351  |
| Teutonic soldiers in Roman service (Column of Aurelius) . . . . .                            | 355  |
| Serfs with scythes in Roman Gaul . . . . .                                                   | 358  |
| Serfs making bread in Roman Gaul . . . . .                                                   | 359  |
| Early Teutonic smiths working iron (Milwaukee Public Museum) <i>facing</i>                   | 362  |
| An early Teutonic village: a Parmentier reconstruction . . . <i>facing</i>                   | 362  |
| Battle between Gods and Evil Monsters (Gehrts) . . . <i>facing</i>                           | 363  |
| Valkyries carrying dead heroes to Valhalla (Gehrts) . . . <i>facing</i>                      | 363  |
| Teutonic chief calling his followers (Herger) . . . . .                                      | 363  |
| Siegfried at the forge . . . . .                                                             | 365  |
| Church of St. Sophia, Constantinople . . . . .                                               | 371  |
| "An Appeal to Caesar": wall painting in Supreme Court room<br>of Wisconsin capitol . . . . . | 372  |
| Chair made at Ravenna in sixth century . . . . .                                             | 374  |
| Religious preliminaries to a judicial combat (Lacroix) . . . .                               | 376  |
| Trial by Combat ("In the Lists") . . . . .                                                   | 377  |
| Feast in the hall of a Frankish chieftain (medieval manuscript) .                            | 379  |
| Abbey of Citeaux (12th-century manuscript) . . . . .                                         | 380  |
| Monk dictating a lesson (medieval manuscript) . . . . .                                      | 382  |
| Monk writing in a 14th-century monastery (pictured by himself) .                             | 384  |
| Saracenic walls of Jerusalem . . . . .                                                       | 388  |
| Moorish armor with gold inlay . . . . .                                                      | 390  |
| Grogory the Great sending forth missionaries . . . . .                                       | 392  |
| Wooden stronghold of a great noble in northern Gaul . . . .                                  | 394  |
| Imaginary scene in the School of the Palace . . . . .                                        | 399  |
| Drinking horn sent by Haroun-al-Raschid to Charlemagne . . .                                 | 400  |
| Famous churchmen pictured in margin of a medieval manuscript .                               | 401  |
| Roman baths surviving at Bath in western England . . . . .                                   | 404  |
| Augustine converting the King of Kent (marble relief at Canterbury)                          | 405  |
| Plowing in Anglo-Saxon times . . . . .                                                       | 408  |
| A Saxon timbered church which has lasted till modern times <i>facing</i>                     | 406  |
| St. Martins, near Canterbury, as a recent photo shows it . . <i>facing</i>                   | 406  |
| Baptism of Wittekind . . . . .                                                               | 407  |
| The Viking ship excavated at Gökstad . . . . .                                               | 410  |
| Vikings burning the body of a dead comrade (in a Norse fjord) <i>facing</i>                  | 410  |
| The <i>Leif Ericson</i> , which crossed the Atlantic in 1926 . . . <i>facing</i>             | 410  |
| Mont Saint-Michel, cloister and crypt . . . . .                                              | 411  |
| Conway Castle . . . . .                                                                      | 412  |
| General plan of a medieval castle (Gautier's <i>La Chevalerie</i> ) . . .                    | 414  |
| Drawbridge and portcullis . . . . .                                                          | 415  |
| Knight in plate armor . . . . .                                                              | 416  |
| A feudal court — from an old German woodcut . . . . .                                        | 419  |
| Bodiam Castle . . . . .                                                                      | 421  |
| Jugglers in sword dance (13th-century manuscript) . . . . .                                  | 422  |

|                                                                                | PAGE |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| A court "fool" . . . . .                                                       | 423  |
| Falconry . . . . .                                                             | 424  |
| Boy running with toy "windmill" (14th century) . . . . .                       | 425  |
| The Quintain . . . . .                                                         | 426  |
| A medieval castle overlooking the Rhine (to-day) . . . . .                     | 429  |
| Reaping by English peasants in the 14th century . . . . .                      | 431  |
| St. Mark's, Venice. <i>Color plate</i> . . . . . <i>facing</i>                 | 432  |
| Salisbury Cathedral . . . . .                                                  | 436  |
| Cloisters of Gloucester Cathedral . . . . .                                    | 437  |
| Hall of an early English manor house (13th century) . . . . .                  | 441  |
| English peasants threshing with flails . . . . .                               | 442  |
| General plan of an English medieval manor . . . . .                            | 445  |
| "Bandy Ball," played by peasants (14th-century book) . . . . .                 | 446  |
| Peasants whipping a top (14th-century manuscript) . . . . .                    | 447  |
| Norman William's ship (Bayeux Tapestry) . . . . .                              | 450  |
| Scene from the Battle of Hastings (Bayeux Tapestry) . . . . .                  | 451  |
| Norman doorway, Lincoln Cathedral . . . . .                                    | 455  |
| Sections 39, 40, from Magna Carta, with translation . . . . .                  | 468  |
| Opening lines of Magna Carta (reduced facsimile) . . . . .                     | 469  |
| Dinner in the home of an English gentleman (14th-century manuscript) . . . . . | 472  |
| An English nobleman's carriage of the fourteenth century . . . . .             | 474  |
| Court of Lions in the Alhambra Palace in Spain . . . . .                       | 491  |
| A Byzant . . . . .                                                             | 493  |
| Pilgrim, in hair-shirt . . . . .                                               | 494  |
| An English inn of about 1300 A.D. . . . .                                      | 495  |
| Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims on the journey . . . . .                         | 496  |
| A Crusader taking the Cross . . . . .                                          | 497  |
| Crusaders on the march . . . . .                                               | 498  |
| Tomb of a Crusader (Duke of Essex) in the Temple Church, London . . . . .      | 500  |
| Venice to-day (the Ducal Palace, from the canal) . . . . .                     | 504  |
| Siege of a medieval town by a feudal army . . . . .                            | 507  |
| Michelgate at York (England) . . . . .                                         | 508  |
| Coopers at work . . . . .                                                      | 512  |
| Walls of Aigues Mortes, France . . . . . <i>facing</i>                         | 512  |
| A medieval fair . . . . . <i>facing</i>                                        | 512  |
| "Golden Age of Craftsmen" (from a Dutch woodcut of 1470) <i>facing</i>         | 513  |
| Gate of St. George, Antwerp . . . . .                                          | 523  |
| Flying buttresses, from the Cathedral of Norwich . . . . .                     | 526  |
| Amiens Cathedral: the nave looking toward the altar . . . . . <i>facing</i>    | 526  |
| Cathedral of Reims . . . . . <i>facing</i>                                     | 527  |
| Battle of Crécy (14th-century manuscript) . . . . .                            | 529  |
| Hall of a large manor house (English 14th-century manuscript) . . . . .        | 530  |
| John Wyclif . . . . .                                                          | 531  |
| Peasant reaper's cart (following a 14th-century manuscript) . . . . .          | 533  |

|                                                                                                    | PAGE              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Peasant girls playing "bob-cherry" . . . . .                                                       | 535               |
| Fourteenth-century bridge in rural England . . . . .                                               | 536               |
| The Parliament of 1399 (from a contemporary manuscript) . . . . .                                  | 537               |
| Joan of Arc at Orleans . . . . .                                                                   | <i>facing</i> 538 |
| View of Church of St. Maclou, Rouen, down a modernized street . . . . .                            | <i>facing</i> 539 |
| "Hodman [or Hoodman] Blind" (from 14th-century manuscript) . . . . .                               | 539               |
| Henry VII's "Bedesmen" . . . . .                                                                   | 541               |
| Window in the Palace of Alhambra . . . . .                                                         | 548               |
| Hall of the Clothmakers' Guild at Ypres (before the World War) . . . . .                           | 552               |
| Illustration from a fifteenth-century manuscript showing famous<br>historical characters . . . . . | 555               |
| Pope Julius II viewing the recently excavated Apollo Belvedere . . . . .                           | <i>facing</i> 560 |
| St. Peter's, Rome, to-day: exterior and interior views . . . . .                                   | <i>facing</i> 561 |
| Erasmus: Holbein's portrait . . . . .                                                              | 564               |
| Sir Thomas More: Rubens' copy of Holbein's portrait . . . . .                                      | 565               |
| Spinning wheel in recent use in Switzerland . . . . .                                              | 566               |
| A bombard: from a sixteenth-century German woodcut . . . . .                                       | 567               |
| Gutenberg showing the first page from his printing press . . . . .                                 | 568               |
| Palace of a noble Venetian family in the Middle Ages . . . . .                                     | 571               |
| Columbus before Ferdinand and Isabella. <i>Color plate</i> . . . . .                               | <i>facing</i> 574 |
| Probable dangers in distant seas: German woodcut, 16th century . . . . .                           | 575               |
| Columbus' <i>Santa Maria</i> . . . . .                                                             | 577               |
| Luther at the Diet of Worms . . . . .                                                              | 582               |
| Ruins of Tintern Abbey . . . . .                                                                   | 588               |
| Abbey of St. Albans . . . . .                                                                      | 589               |
| Shakespeare's Theater, <i>The Globe</i> . . . . .                                                  | 591               |
| Elizabeth knighting Drake. <i>Color plate</i> . . . . .                                            | <i>facing</i> 594 |
| Drake's <i>Golden Hind</i> . . . . .                                                               | 593               |
| Henry IV of France and his children . . . . .                                                      | <i>facing</i> 602 |
| Death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen . . . . .                                                     | <i>facing</i> 603 |
| Kenilworth Castle, in 1620 (from a fresco) and to-day . . . . .                                    | <i>facing</i> 608 |
| Chatsworth Hall and the Château of Chambord . . . . .                                              | <i>facing</i> 609 |
| Workshop of Etienne de Laulne (engraved by himself) . . . . .                                      | 611               |
| Boy a-cockhorse (German woodcut of the fifteenth century) . . . . .                                | 612               |
| Courtyard of Haddon Hall . . . . .                                                                 | 616               |
| Charles I (Van Dyck) . . . . .                                                                     | 621               |
| Cromwell (Lely) . . . . .                                                                          | 624               |
| Mission of San Juan Capistrano . . . . .                                                           | 632               |
| La Salle taking possession of Mississippi Valley . . . . .                                         | 634               |
| The French sack of Heidelberg (Dietz) . . . . .                                                    | 640               |
| The Great Elector welcoming Huguenots to Brandenburg . . . . .                                     | 642               |
| Church of St. Basil at Moscow . . . . .                                                            | 645               |
| "Crossed Swords" . . . . .                                                                         | 651               |

## MAPS

|                                                                                                          | PAGE              |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| First homes of civilization ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                 | <i>facing</i> 15  |
| Ancient Egypt . . . . .                                                                                  | 16                |
| Babylonian and Assyrian Empires . . . . .                                                                | 43                |
| The Syrian District (with Kingdoms of Israel and Judah) . . . . .                                        | 60                |
| Lydia, Media, Egypt, Babylonia, 560 B.C. ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                    | <i>facing</i> 63  |
| The Persian Empire and Greece, 490 B.C. ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                     | <i>facing</i> 64  |
| Greece and adjoining coasts ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                                    | <i>after</i> 68   |
| The Greek World ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                | <i>after</i> 88   |
| The Greek Peninsula ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                                            | <i>after</i> 102  |
| Plan of Marathon . . . . .                                                                               | 118               |
| Attica, with reference to Marathon and Salamis . . . . .                                                 | 124               |
| Athens and its ports . . . . .                                                                           | 130               |
| Athens, with some structures of the Roman period . . . . .                                               | 134               |
| Plan of the battle of Leuctra . . . . .                                                                  | 169               |
| Growth of Macedonia . . . . .                                                                            | 171               |
| Campaigns and Empire of Alexander the Great ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                 | <i>facing</i> 174 |
| The world according to Eratosthenes . . . . .                                                            | <i>facing</i> 191 |
| Ancient Italy ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                               | <i>facing</i> 198 |
| The Peoples of Italy . . . . .                                                                           | 200               |
| Rome (ancient) and vicinity . . . . .                                                                    | 204               |
| Rome under the Kings . . . . .                                                                           | <i>facing</i> 206 |
| Italy about 200 B.C. (Roman colonies and roads) . . . . .                                                | <i>facing</i> 224 |
| Mediterranean lands at the beginning of the Second Punic War ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .   | <i>after</i> 238  |
| Bay of Naples with location of Pompeii and Vesuvius . . . . .                                            | 302               |
| The Roman Empire at its greatest extent (with principal roads) ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . . | <i>after</i> 306  |
| Rome under the Empire . . . . .                                                                          | 340               |
| Migrations of the Barbarians ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                                   | <i>after</i> 364  |
| Germanic Kingdoms on Roman soil, 600 ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                           | <i>after</i> 366  |
| Kingdom of the Merovingians ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                 | <i>facing</i> 385 |
| Europe in 814 ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                  | <i>after</i> 396  |
| England, 600-1300 (with some names of later periods) . . . . .                                           | 406               |
| Division of Verdun ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                          | <i>facing</i> 409 |
| English monasteries, bishoprics, and archbishoprics . . . . .                                            | 434               |



|                                                                                                                                 | PAGE              |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Europe by Religions about 1100 ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                                       | <i>facing</i> 438 |
| England and France at four periods ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                                   | <i>facing</i> 460 |
| German colonization on the East, 800-1400 ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                            | <i>facing</i> 480 |
| Germany and Italy, 1254-1273 ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                                         | <i>facing</i> 484 |
| Dominions of the Hansa and of the Teutonic Knights ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . . .                                    | <i>after</i> 514  |
| Europe about 1500, with trade routes ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . .                                                    | <i>after</i> 542  |
| Germany about 1550 ( <i>double page, colored</i> ) . . . .                                                                      | <i>after</i> 546  |
| Southeastern Europe at the entrance of the Turk ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                      | <i>facing</i> 549 |
| Swiss Confederation, 1291-1500 . . . . .                                                                                        | 550               |
| Europe in the Time of Charles V ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                                      | <i>facing</i> 556 |
| Early routes from Europe to the East . . . . .                                                                                  | 576               |
| Columbus' idea of the world (Toscanelli's map) ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                       | <i>facing</i> 577 |
| The Netherlands at the Truce of 1609 . . . . .                                                                                  | 597               |
| Territorial changes after the Thirty Years' War ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                      | <i>facing</i> 601 |
| North America about 1650 ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                                                           | <i>facing</i> 630 |
| Eastern North America in 1754 (French posts, Indian portages,<br>and boundary of English settlement) ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . | <i>facing</i> 634 |
| Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century (1740) ( <i>colored</i> ) . . . .                                                | <i>facing</i> 647 |
| European possessions in America at three periods, to 1775<br>( <i>colored</i> ) . . . . .                                       | <i>facing</i> 648 |
| India in 1783 . . . . .                                                                                                         | 649               |

THE STORY OF  
MAN'S EARLY PROGRESS



# EARLY PROGRESS

*Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.*

— TENNYSON.

## CHAPTER I: AN INTRODUCTION

### MEN BEFORE WRITING

History is the story of man's progress from the earliest savagery to our present civilization. Each age learns from the one that has gone before. Every one of us is "the heir of all the ages." To study history is to "take stock" of our inheritance and to trace the steps by which it has come to us.

To raise regular food crops, instead of living just by hunting, was a step upward from savage life toward civilization. To learn to use oar and sail; to build roads for travel and trade; to invent the bow, spinning wheel, steam engine, dynamo, telephone, airplane, — all these were steps. But civilization has to do with more than these material things: it includes progress also in art, literature, religion, laws, education. The civilization of a people is the sum of its advances in all that makes life better and happier.

**Our civilization began in the Old World.** On a map of Europe (as on the one after page 542) draw a line from the head of the Adriatic to the head of the Baltic Sea. Four hundred years ago the countries west of that line were the part of the world where civilization was advancing most rapidly. They were the countries, too, whose civilization was brought to America by early white immigrants, and it is with them, therefore, that this volume is mainly concerned.

But these peoples of Western Europe four hundred years ago had not built their civilization all by themselves. Much of it

had been handed on to their fathers by earlier civilizations farther to the East, — civilizations that for the most part had passed away in their Eastern homes hundreds of years before Columbus found America. And this doesn't get back to the beginning. Before any group of men anywhere had advanced far enough to leave written records, still earlier and more savage men had laid much of the foundation of our civilization. We should at least glance briefly at our debt to those men who lived before writing was invented.



FLINT KNIFE, OR "FIST-HATCHET," from the lowest of many layers of deposits, 25 feet below the present "floor," in "Kent's Cave" in southern England. The tool is two and a half times as long as this picture of it. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art*.

### I. THE OLD STONE AGE

Early man was more helpless than the lowest savage in the world to-day. He had neither fire nor knife, and was far weaker than many of the fierce beasts about him. He had, however, a better hand than any of them (with thumb meeting fingers, instead of just one row of fingers), so that he could take firm hold upon things. And he had a better brain, and so was able to invent tools and plan new ways of living.

The first steps upward, no doubt, were very slow, but **at last some savage invented a stone knife**. That is, he discovered how to chip flakes off a piece of flint, by striking it with other stones, so as to give it a keen edge and a convenient shape for the hand to grasp. This invention lifted man into what we call the Stone Age and led to many changes in his way of living.

It is hard to see how men could have had any safe or regular homes before this invention. Possibly they lived in trees, in rude nests woven out of broken branches. But now, armed with stone daggers (and soon with stone-headed spears) a little band could take possession of a cave for a secure and permanent refuge

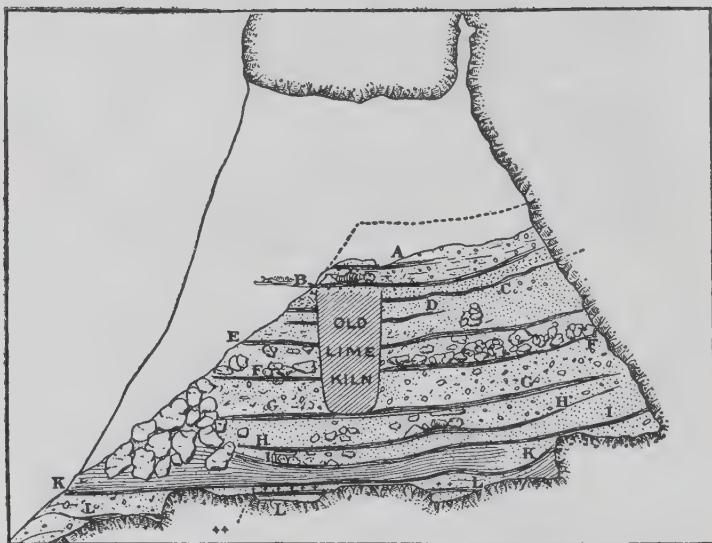




REINDEER, engraved by a Stone-Age artist on the stone wall of a cave in France—where no reindeer have lived for many thousand years. The cave drawing was life-size. Notice the accurate detail and lifelike spirit. So far as we know, this is one of the oldest drawings in the world.



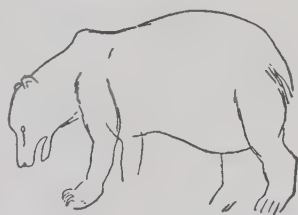
CLIFF CAVES on the Vézère River, overlooking the modern village Le Moustier in Southern France. From some of the caves whose dark mouths show in this cut have come the oldest remains pictured in this book. One can make out two terraces in the illustration. The second of these also is rich in remains, because here the ancient hunters had a station, out in the sun, to fashion their flint weapons. — From Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*.



VERTICAL SECTION OF THE "CAVE OF THE CHILDREN," in the northwest corner of Italy, so named from the two prehistoric infants whose skeletons were found in layer *A*. Three others of the eleven distinct layers contained still older skeletons buried by ancient hearths. All the others contain hearth-ashes and other proofs of human habitation, with bones of wild animals, ranging from rhinoceros and lion to recent European animals. Tools in the bottom layers are like those in the Moustier Caves. (See page 3 and facing 2.) The dotted line at the top shows the "floor" surface when scientific excavation began, in recent times. L L L is the native rock, — the original "floor" of the cave. — From Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

from storm and danger and could defend that new home against even the ferocious cave-bear, who, perhaps, had been its earlier owner.

The earliest men that we know much about are Stone-Age men who made their homes in caves in Western Europe about a hundred thousand years ago. In still earlier ages mighty rivers in that region had washed out many huge caverns in their limestone banks. Centuries later, when a river had cut down a deeper bed for its shrunken waters, the caves in its old banks were left high and dry on the hillside. Many of these in France and Germany and Spain have been examined in recent years, and in some of them our explorers find human bones and stone tools all the way down to twenty or even forty feet below the present cave floor. The cave-woman had not learned to sweep out the dirt from her home. Rubbish of all sorts lay where it fell.



DRAWING OF A CAVE-BEAR, found on the wall of a cave in France where some cave-artist cut it into the rock about 100,000 years ago. (The drawing was very large — probably life-size.)

At times, too, earth and rock were knocked down from the roof. So, century by century, a new floor was deposited upon the old one. But it must have taken a long time for such deposits to add forty feet of thickness to the old floor.

Mingled with other refuse in these deposits we find bones of animals. These furnish another proof that men lived in the caves many, many thousands of years ago. Some of the animals, like the mammoth and the saber-toothed tiger, are no longer found alive anywhere, and others, like the lion and rhinoceros, became extinct in Europe before written history began. One cave in Switzerland contained bones of more than a thousand cave-bear (another animal now extinct) that had been eaten by generation after generation of cave-men.

Possibly you are wondering whether it may not have been the bear that ate the men instead of the men that ate the

bear. But the large bones are usually found broken, as if they had been pounded to pieces with stones so as to get at the marrow, and often they are found charred by fire and mixed with ashes.

A generation is reckoned at about thirty years — the average difference between the ages of father and son. We speak of fathers as belonging to one generation, and sons to the next.

**The remains in the caves show that while men lived in those homes they made great progress toward better ways of living.**

In the lowest deposits the only tools to be found are rudely shaped stone knives and ax-heads. But as we examine the



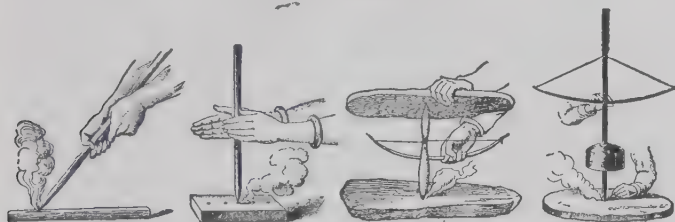
BONE NEEDLES found in cave deposits, where some cave-woman dropped them ages ago.

layers nearer and nearer the top, more kinds of tools are found, and they are shaped better and better. During those slow ages, then, men were moving up, not down.

Ashes are found in almost the lowest deposits — and so we know that **early in his cave life, man must have learned to use fire.** Just how he came to make this great advance we can only guess. All wild animals fear flame, but the early cave-man knew it for a friend. The old Greeks had a fable that the divine Prometheus stole fire from heaven for the service of man. *Prometheus* means *The Thinker*. Lightning (“fire from heaven”) sometimes sets dead trees ablaze; and some early thinker, instead of fleeing from such a sight, terror-stricken like his comrades, may have dared to study a burning stump until he found ways to use fire so as to keep his cave warm and dry and safe from even the most savage beasts. Finally, in some way (perhaps merely by accident) he found also that roast meat was better than raw flesh.

After that, the cave-man couldn't wait for lightning to strike a dead tree every time he wanted to cook dinner. Of course he soon learned to keep coals alive in his cave by covering them with ashes, but it was needful also to learn how to *make* fire himself. As he chipped at a flint, to make a new knife, one of the

sparks that were sometimes struck off may have taught him one good way — if only he could have the right kind of stones always at hand — and with his knife he finally learned to shape pieces of wood so as to make fire by friction in the ways shown just below. No better way than these (and the use of flint and steel) was known to George Washington.



EARLY WAYS OF MAKING FIRE. — From Tylor.

With the stone knife, too, the hunter could strip the hides from the animals he killed. Then, while he dozed by the fire, after gorging on the meat, his cave-woman scraped the skins to get off all the remaining flesh, and dried and softened them by long and patient rubbing, and finally *sewed* them into *clothing*.

Like all inventions, old or new, **this invention of clothing led to still others.** A stone knife was an awkward tool for *scraping* a hide, and so some thinker invented *scrapers* which could be held in better position for that work. At first, too, in sewing skins together, the cave-woman merely pushed holes through them with a knife point and then

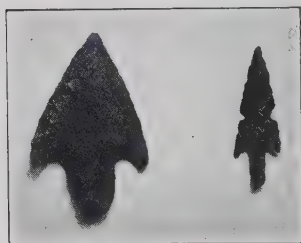


FLINT SCRAPER (front view)  
found far down in the cave of  
Le Moustier (cut facing page 2),  
one of man's oldest homes.

drew dried sinew through the holes. But after a time she learned to punch better holes with slender bone *awls*, fashioned for just that purpose. And at last she found how to *drill* an "eye" in the large end of the awl to hold the sinew or thread. Such bone *needles* and awls and slender stone drills are not found in the lowest deposits, but they are in the upper ones.



Finally the woman learned how to get a better thread than sinew. **She invented the simplest kind of spinning** — thousands of years before mankind advanced to the spinning wheel that we now think so curiously old-fashioned. Among some savage tribes *to-day*, a woman will collect a pile of wild flax, draw out the end of a fiber and fasten it to a stone “whorl,” rub this whorl against her body with a twisting motion so as to twist the fiber into a thread, and then add to it another fiber to twist in the same way. In the *upper* deposits in some caves there are



STONE ARROWHEADS are found in most parts of the world. These came from an ancient grave in Egypt. American museums contain many that were made by Indians.

many such stone whorls which no doubt were used in just that way thousands of years ago. And from spinning flax, it was easy to go on to spinning cotton thread and woolen yarn.

*Well up* in the layers of deposits we begin to find *arrowheads* both of bone and of stone, and so we know that **the cave-man invented the bow**, although no bow is ever found in the deposits. (Why not?) By this invention, man had lengthened his arm, so as to reach his game or his foe afar off. And soon he multiplied his strength by taming the cub of jackal or wolf into the first dog and by teaching the reindeer to draw his sled. (No doubt he had invented a rude sled earlier, so that his woman might draw his game home.)

Do you understand how we know about these tame animals? The bones in a cave couldn't tell us whether the dog was wild or tame. But the cave-man has told us by pictures on bones and on the walls of his cave. **For the cave-man liked to draw.** With amazing skill, he carved pictures both of his tamed animals at their work and also of the fierce wild boar charging a hunter, of the wild mare nourishing her colt, of a herd of deer browsing by a peaceful pool. Kipling wrote of these cave drawings:





*A Wall Painting in the Milwaukee Public Museum*

THE MAMMOTH OF THE STONE AGE IN EUROPE was a much larger and more terrible animal than our modern elephant, but the large number of mammoth bones in cave-man homes show that the cave-men must sometimes have killed the monsters for food. This painting by a modern artist shows how it may have been done. The mammoth has been trapped in a huge pitfall, dug probably in one of his usual paths, and then covered over with brush and earth. To make sure of him, a stake, with a sharp point turned upward, had probably been set in the middle of the pit for him to fall upon. Savage tribes to-day kill the largest and fiercest animals in much this way.

Drawings of mammoths in the caves of southern Europe show an animal with head somewhat different from our elephants and with longer and more curved tusks, while the body is represented as covered with a heavy coat of long hair. In quite recent times, in Siberia, several mammoths have been discovered frozen (and so with bodies perfectly preserved, even to the hair covering) in bogs or quicksand where they sank thousands of years ago. Those discoveries prove the accuracy of the cave drawings.

Plainly the mammoth is a "frigid-zone elephant," and when the cave-men of southern Europe hunted him, the last ice age must have been just retreating from that district.



*A Wall Painting in the Milwaukee Public Museum*

A CAVE-MAN ARTIST AT WORK. — (Just such a bison picture was really painted by some Stone-Age man on the wall of a cave in Spain.) Two of the cave-family have been hunting and are just bringing home their game.

“ Later he pictured an aurochs — later he pictured a bear —  
 Pictured the sabre-toothed tiger dragging a man to his lair —  
 Pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone —  
*Out of the love that he bore them, scribing them clearly on bone.*”

The cave-artist even learned to *paint* these forms. He got his colors by grinding up black and red and yellow earths, as our American Indians used to do. These “paints” he packed into hollow horns, or sometimes he pressed them into crayons.

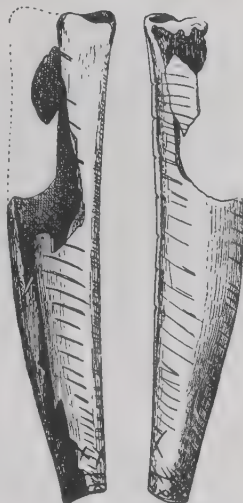
7/ The cave-man believed in a life after death. For in the shallow grave where he buried the bodies of those he loved he placed also precious weapons and vessels of food ready for use in the spirit world.

## II. THE NEW STONE AGE

The cave-men, no doubt, were always working on their weapons, and thinking about them, and at last some genius found that he could *grind* his stone knife on certain kinds of stone, so as to make the edge sharper and more even than by chipping it. Before long his whole tribe were supplied with weapons and tools of **ground stone**. These were handsomer than the old chipped-stone tools, and did better and quicker work.

Stone arrowheads, ground into perfect shape, could be shot a greater distance, and driven further into the bodies of game or enemies. Such arrowheads have been found embedded deeply in bones of men and animals where some prehistoric archer drove them ten thousand years ago. Not long ago a modern workman cut down a large tree quickly with an ancient ground-stone ax.

It is convenient to use the name *The New Stone Age* for the period to which men had now advanced, but the use of ground



PAINT TUBE (front and back) found with ochre in it in a cave in France. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art*.

weapons, in place of chipped ones, is **only one of its marks of progress.** During all those thousands of years, while men were thinking about weapons for fighting and hunting, women were thinking about tools for peaceful industry. The industrial side of early human life was woman's, as the warlike side was man's. It was probably far back in the Old Stone Age that some woman wove the first *basket* out of reeds and grasses, so as to be able better to carry home her berries and seeds from the forest.



CLAY PITCHER from a Swiss Lake Dwelling. (Page 10.)

No doubt, too, it was a woman who found out how to make the first *clay pot*, and to harden it in the fire, so as to carry water in it and to *boil food*. Another improvement that followed from this **invention of pottery** was the use of *lamps*, — bowls partly filled with grease, in which floated blazing wicks.

The woman, too, *cared for the child.* She fed it and taught it, and, early in the New Stone Age, she invented *cloth*, so that the child might have coverings lighter and softer than the skins of animals. We have told how she learned to spin thread. Now **she had learned to weave** threads into cloth on a rude frame, or "loom." (See facing page 10. Our word *wife*, like the German *Weib*, is related to the words *weave* and *web*. The wife was the weaver for the family.)

And about the time that some warrior found how to grind a stone knife, **some woman** (it seems probable) **made a still greater advance by becoming the first farmer.** For tens of thousands of years the men with chipped stone weapons had lived mainly by hunting and fishing. Women and children, however, had always helped out the food supply by gathering seeds and fruits and nuts. Some seeds would often be dropped near the cave home; and, if they chanced to fall on good soil, new plants there the next season would produce more seed. Many a cave-

woman must have been happily surprised at such an unexpected supply near her home — and finally some thoughtful woman must have guessed how it came about. Then, we may suppose, she *planted* seeds, perhaps after stirring the ground a little with a stick (the first *hoe*), and so raised the first “farm” crop.

All our food grains, we must remember, were at first wild grasses, differing only slightly from other grasses that still grow wild. Their superiority to-day is due largely to cultivation through thousands of years. But this fact should make us realize all the more our debt to the **Stone-Age farmers** who chose so wisely the grasses best fitted to repay cultivation.

Among grains, they selected wheat, barley, millet, sesame, oats, rye, and rice, in Europe and Asia, and maize, or Indian corn, in

America. Modern science has discovered or invented many new fruits and garden

vegetables — some of them perhaps as valuable as the peas, beans, turnips, and onions of Stone-Age gardens in Europe and the potato of America — but it has never found one new *grain* to rival those cultivated by Stone-Age farmers.

Those ancient farmers, too, tamed most of the domestic animals that we have now. Nearly all were natives of the Old World, — the cow, sheep, goat, camel, horse, and chicken. This is probably one reason why the New World remained backward in civilization until discovered by Europeans. The American Indians had begun, in some districts, to tame the turkey, and perhaps in time they might have learned to train the partridge into a useful fowl for laying eggs; but the Western continents had no animals suitable for beasts of burden except the small goatlike llama of the Andes and the wolflike dog.



WILD BOAR, from a painting in red on a blackened cave wall in southern France.  
— From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art*.

Farmers can raise food for thousands of people in a district that could supply game for only a few score hunters. So now **popu-**



lation increased swiftly, and the farming tribes left their cave homes to live in villages, each ruled by a head man, or chief. The houses probably were one-room huts built of brushwood plastered together with clay, with roofs of poles thatched with straw and rushes.

As there came to be need for larger and larger fields of grain, the New-Stone men learned to use *animals and slaves* for much of the heavy farm work. From the pictures below you can see

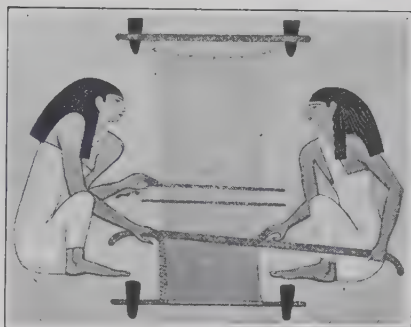


These drawings are taken from very old Egyptian monuments. The "first hoe" was more primitive than the one pictured here, of course, and the Stone-Age farmers were not so neat as these; but the development of the plow shows here.

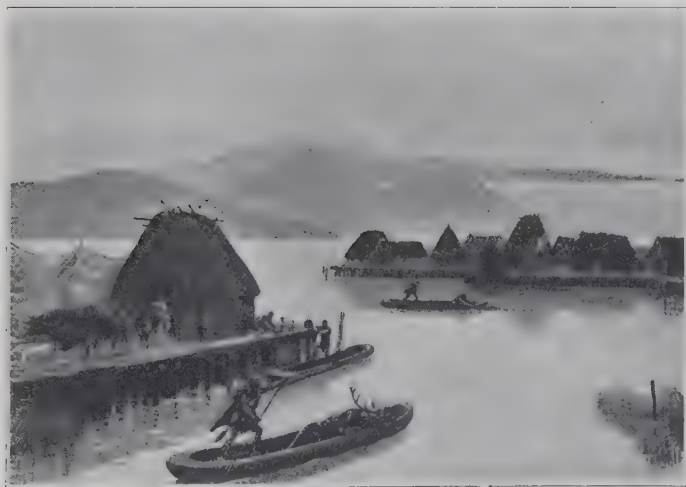
how the crooked hoe was developed into a *plow*, to be drawn by cows. It is harder for us to understand at first that slavery, too, *when it began*, was an upward step. But so it was. The early slaves came from captives in war. To be made a slave was better than to be tortured to death or eaten, as had been generally the fate of such captives. And for the conquering tribe it was certainly better that their women could now be freed from part of the heaviest toil. (Free warriors had not learned to be willing to do regular work.)

In Western Europe the larger of the New-Stone villages were protected by a wall of earth with a ditch outside it. Remains of such fortifications can still be traced in certain places in England, France, and Denmark. In Switzerland and northern Italy the men of that same Age, instead of digging a ditch for protection, built their villages out in the lakes on "piles," as some savage tribes do still in Africa and Borneo.

Now it happens that the remains of those "Swiss Lake Dwellers" have been well preserved, so that we are able to

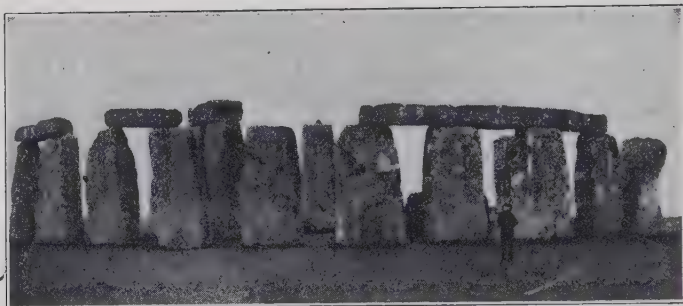


WEAVING as shown in an Egyptian tomb painting (ch. ii) of more than 5000 years ago—probably much like the weaving of Stone-Age women. The threads that run up and down (the “warp”) have been first put in place, and are held straight by “loom-weights” while the cross-threads (or “woof”) are drawn in. Not much different was the method among some of the more advanced Indian tribes when America was discovered.



*An Exhibit of the Milwaukee Public Museum*

SWISS LAKE DWELLERS, as a modern artist pictures them. Their boats are represented as “dugouts,”—a common form among barbarous peoples



*Ewing Galloway*

STONEHENGE. — In many places in Western Europe there is proof that men of the New Stone Age quarried immense blocks of undressed stone (weighing from fifty to three hundred tons), moved them long distances, and raised them into tomb coverings or, sometimes, into a kind of circular temple. The most famous of such ruins is Stonehenge, on Salisbury Plain in England, which must have been built about 2800 B.C. It consisted of two circles of mighty pillars—each a huge slab more than three times a man's height—with other great stones laid across the tops. The outer circle was 100 feet in diameter. Within the inner one was a curious altar stone of dark blue basalt, on which, it is supposed, human sacrifices were offered. Here, too, were graves of famous chiefs. Two miles away is the site of a large Stone-Age town, with traces of an ancient race course near by.

During past centuries, many of the pillars fell, and some of them were broken up and hauled away for building. In 1920, under the auspices of the English government, those that remained were restored to their proper places—as shown in the upper cut.

learn much about their life. About eighty years ago the waters of Swiss lakes suddenly sank many feet below their usual level, disclosing the long-covered ruins of some two hundred ancient villages. Sometimes a village contained more than three hundred houses. It is not hard to see how these were built. Several huge logs (a foot or more through, twenty feet long, and sharpened at one end) were first driven deep into the lake bottom to support a platform of smaller logs, and on this the house was raised. A village of such houses, built in a curving line, followed the curves of the shore, far enough out in the lake to be safe against surprise from the land. In the mud below the house platforms of one village were found a hundred bushels of wheat that had fallen from time to time through the floors. The ancient villagers, then, must have farmed the neighboring shores industriously. A stone whorl (page 6), still wound with flax thread, shows that they could spin. Fragments of rotting cloth hint that they knew how to weave. Pieces of leather show that they had learned to tan the hides of animals, removing the hair. They made leather shoes — for we find “lasts” such as our shoemakers still use.

From the bottom almost to the top the tools found in these lake deposits are of ground stone, but in the very top layers are found a few tools of bronze, showing that the Lake Dwellers lasted on into a new age. They did not themselves invent bronze, however. That metal, and the higher civilization that it brought with it, came from outside Europe.

### III. /THE AGE OF BRONZE BEGINS

The warriors of the Stone Age must always have been eager to try out any new kind of stone, to see whether it would make better tools than the flints they already had. Something better was found finally, and it seems likely that it was found first in the valley of the Nile in Africa.

In that valley, as in a few other parts of the world, pieces of rock containing copper are sometimes found lying loose among other rocks. If a Stone-Age hunter happened to build a camp-fire just over such a piece of ore, the copper might melt and run

out in bright globules. No doubt this happened many times; and at last some thinker found that copper could be hammered easily into handsome tools.

Copper was so soft, however, that such tools soon became blunt. But finally some investigator melted a little tin with his copper. Perhaps, he may have done this just by accident. Anyway, some one found that such a mixture was the best material for tools that had ever been thought of. It could be shaped easily while hot — much more easily, of course, than



RUDE STONE AX AND A BRONZE AX. Stone-Age men are supposed to have fastened the ax-heads we find in their old caves to handles in much the way shown here because some modern savages have been found doing so.

flint could be — and, when it had cooled, it was much harder than either copper or tin. Indeed, a knife of this new metal kept its edge better than flint because it was less brittle and did not chip. This alloy of copper and tin we call bronze.

The men of the Nile valley advanced from the Stone Age into the Age of Bronze more than seven thousand years ago. At about the same time, bronze came into use also in the valley of the Euphrates in western Asia. Then traders from those two districts spread the knowledge of the new metal to many other regions. It reached southeastern Europe at least five thousand years ago, and during the next two thousand years it spread west along the Mediterranean to the Atlantic — and as far north at least as the homes of the Lake Dwellers.

No further reading on the preceding topics is suggested in connection with class work, because of lack of time. But students who wish to read for their own pleasure will enjoy any of the following books: Myres' *Dawn of History*, Edward Clodd's *Childhood of the World and Story of Primitive Man*, Holbrook's *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers*, Marshall's *Story of Human Progress* (chs. i-ii), Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* (chs. i-iv). A very interesting larger book, handsomely illustrated, is Solas' *Ancient Hunters*. Stanley Waterloo's *Story of Ab* is probably the best of several attempts to present a picture of life in the Stone



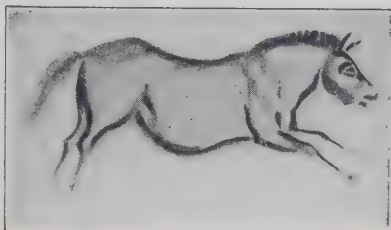
Age in the form of an imaginative story (that is, as "fiction"). Other somewhat simpler stories of this kind are Kummer's *First Days of Man* and Langford's *Pic the Weaponmaker*.

If your city has a public museum, you could probably spend some interesting hours there looking at tools and weapons of Stone-Age men.

### EXPLANATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. It is quite likely that there were Stone-Age men in other parts of the world quite as early as the cave-men of Europe, but it is *not* likely that we shall ever learn much about them. In very few places could the tools and other remains of an early period remain so long undisturbed and so well preserved as in those caves.

2. The "ages" of which we have been talking often overlap. In some islands of the Pacific the people are still in the Stone Age. All American Indians were in that Age when Europeans discovered the New World. Indeed our American Indians never had an Age of Bronze. They had learned to fashion ornaments from *copper*, but not to mix tin with it so as to make useful tools out of it. Then, taught by the white immigrants, they leaped from the Stone Age to the Age of Iron.



HORSE painted in red on black wall of a cave in southern France (Cavern of Font de Gaume). — From Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

3. We call the men of whom we have been reading in this chapter "savages." Still, you should be able to see now that those savages, during their slow tens of thousands of years, laid many essential foundations for our more civilized life. List their important contributions to later civilization.

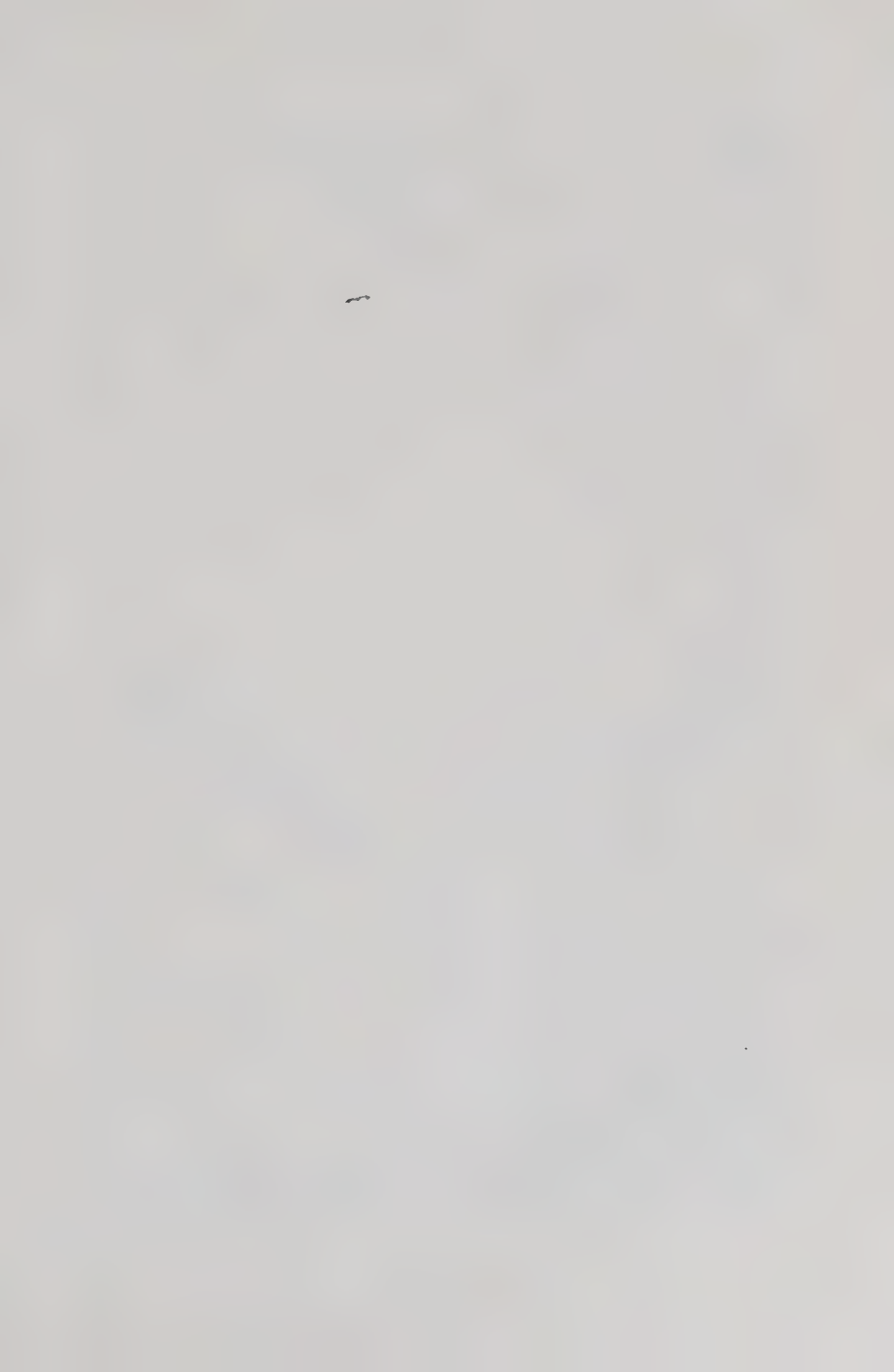
4. In some parts of the world the men of the New Stone Age did not find soil fertile enough to tempt them to become farmers. Instead, in such regions, they took to raising flocks and herds, and with these they were always wandering from place to place in search of fresh pasture. These nomad herdsmen were thinly scattered, but their life fitted them particularly for fighting. So at times they poured forth from their barren steppes to raid the richer farmer folk of the great river valleys, and sometimes even to conquer them and settle among them as masters. Much of man's early life went to such wars between savage nomads and somewhat more civilized farming tribes.

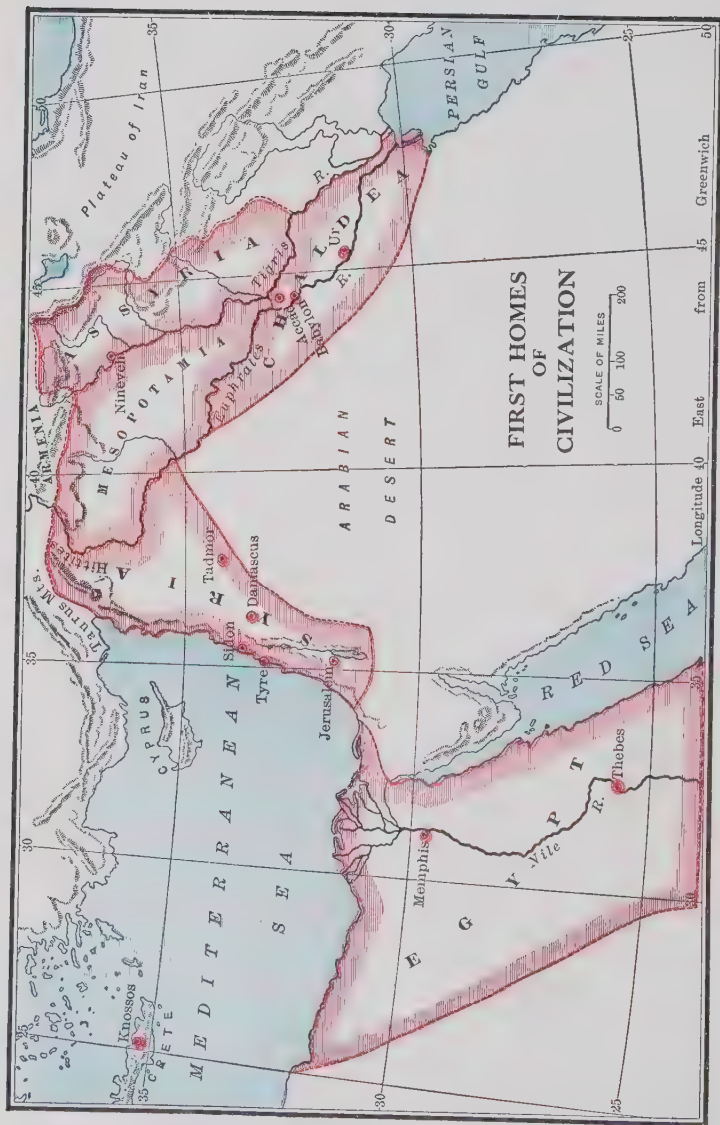
5. In many great river valleys the yearly floods prevented the growth of dense forests and at the same time built up a fertile soil. In such

a region it was easier than elsewhere for farmers to raise more food than was needed for themselves — and so very early there grew up what we call a “leisure class” living upon the labor of the slower-witted masses. But not all of this leisure class would live in mere selfish idleness: some of them might give themselves to study and invention, and so help build a higher civilization. In some such way very early civilizations did grow up, not only in the two great valleys named a little above, but also in vast river valleys in India and China. But the civilizations of those last two lands had almost no influence upon Europe until quite recent years, and so we do not study them in this volume.

6. Page 9 speaks of modern science *inventing* new fruits. Some student might well give the class a ten-minute talk on the work of Luther Burbank, to illustrate that statement. Such an exercise would make plain, too, why modern progress goes on so much more swiftly than did early progress.

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# PART I

## EARLY BRONZE CIVILIZATION IN AFRICA AND WESTERN ASIA

### CHAPTER II

#### EGYPT

*Egypt is the gift of the Nile.* — HERODOTUS.

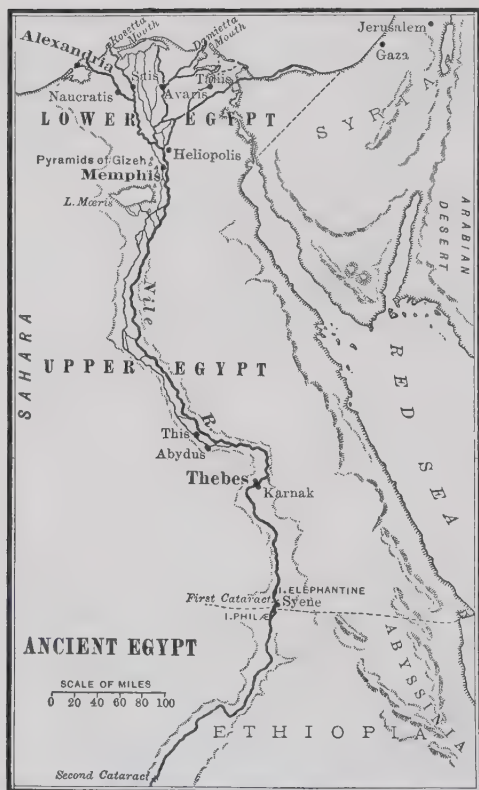
#### I. THE LAND, PEOPLE, AND GOVERNMENT

By the map, **Ancient Egypt** is as large as our State of Colorado, but seven eighths of it is just a sandy border to the real Egypt. That real Egypt is smaller than Maryland and consists only of the valley and delta of the Nile.

The valley proper is a strip of rich soil about twenty miles wide and six hundred miles long — a slim oasis between the parallel ranges of desolate limestone hills which once formed the banks of a mightier Nile. At its lower end, while yet a hundred miles from the sea, this narrow valley broadens suddenly into the delta, which, in the course of ages, has been built up out in the sea from mud carried there by the river. This delta is a squat triangle, resting on a two-hundred-mile base of marshy coast.

Besides the loose copper ore (page 11), there were other good reasons why the place was suitable for an early civilization. Food was abundant, — not only fish and waterfowl, but also the wonderful date palm and various wild grains. The climate is mild and even, and the soil is extremely fertile and easy to cultivate.





Rain hardly ever falls in that country; but in June and July of each year there are heavy rains far to the south, near the equator, where the Nile has its source. The river is swollen by those rains; but, in its upper course, it runs in a deep channel between high rocky banks, so that the extra water cannot escape. Along its lower course, however, in Egypt, the banks are low and the land for the most part is level on each side for many miles. Here

the swollen stream overflows every August, and spreads out over much of the land for several weeks.

The hundreds of villages were built originally on the level of the plain. Each year the inundation would wash down the houses (built only of sun-dried clay) and drive the inhabitants to the hills at the edges of the valley. When the water withdrew, the people rebuilt their homes in the old places. Year by year new deposits of soil were formed on the site of a village — until it was raised above high-water mark. So, for thousands of years now, while the flood each year is at its height, Egypt is a sheet of turbid water dotted

with villages and towns and marked off into irregular compartments by the raised roads that have been built from town to town.

When the flood has gone down, in November, a fine rich mud is left spread over the fields. This condition made it easy for the hunters and fishermen of the valley to turn to farming. In very early times, to get a fair harvest, a farmer had only to scatter seed on the wet ground and let his cattle trample it in; but as population increased and more food was needed, he learned, before seeding, to stir the ground with a light wooden plow drawn by cows (page 10).

Soon, too, there came an even more important step. The long soaking of the soil during the flood each year left the ground moist for a long time, but still, for several weeks before the harvest, much of it would become too dry to produce the best crops. So, very early, the people of the valley learned to store up part of the overflow in artificial ponds. Then, when the dry weeks came, they distributed this water among the farms by a system of "gates" and ditches not so very unlike the irrigation systems in use to-day in parts of our Western States.

**This use of irrigation helped along a mighty change in government.** At first there were many separate villages in the valley, — each of them (with the land around it) an independent state,<sup>1</sup> with its own chief, or king. But the control of the Nile flood was a matter that concerned all of them. It was necessary sometimes that several villages should join in building one of the reservoirs. Then, too, it was always needful for some one to decide when to let out the water, and how fast, and just what share each district and each farm should get. **The many little states needed one common government** to arrange all this. Otherwise, there was sure to be incessant war. Very old carvings on stone

<sup>1</sup> The word "state" is commonly used in histories, not in the sense in which we call Massachusetts a state, but rather in that sense in which we call England or France or Germany a state. That is, the word means *a people living in a definite place with a supreme government of its own.*

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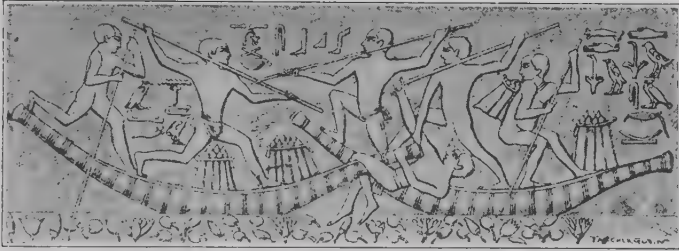
monuments show village fighting village on the canals, trying to cut one another's dikes and steal one another's water.

The states were not wise enough to get together and arrange a peaceful union to coöperate in irrigation work, but finally union came through war. Before written records begin, the stronger of the small states had conquered their neighbors, so that the numerous villages were united into a few little kingdoms. Then, about 3400 B.C. a strong king brought all Egypt under one rule.

Would you call the war of conquest that united all Egypt a step forward or backward? Do you suppose the conquest increased or lessened war? Can you imagine conditions such that the union could have been arranged without war? The peoples of to-day, you know perhaps, have certain common interests as important as the control of Nile water was to the people of old Egypt. Our modern nations have often been in danger of coming to blows about the control of the world's supply of oil or rubber. What machinery have modern statesmen and thinkers invented to secure justice in such disputes and so make war less likely?

The king was called Pharaoh, or "Big House." He was expected to give refuge and protection to his people against danger and injustice. An Egyptian book of some 4600 years ago tells a story of a poor peasant robbed through a legal trick by a favorite of a royal officer: the pharaoh, to whom the peasant managed to make an appeal, commanded that the wrong be redressed, urging his officer always to do justice "like a praiseworthy man praised by the praiseworthy."

In practice, however, it must have been rare for an injured poor man to reach the pharaoh. The ruler was shut off from common people by much pompous ceremony, and on all public occasions he was surrounded by extraordinary magnificence. When finally admitted to his presence, his subjects found him seated on a golden throne beneath a purple canopy that was supported by pillars glittering with precious jewels, and even the greatest nobles before addressing him had to throw themselves down and kiss his feet. The pharaoh alone made the laws, and he could put any man to death at will. The common people worshiped him as one of their gods. Such a government we call an



BOATMEN FIGHTING for control of an irrigation canal — as pictured in an ancient papyrus roll (see page 32). Note part of the story written in one corner. — From Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*.

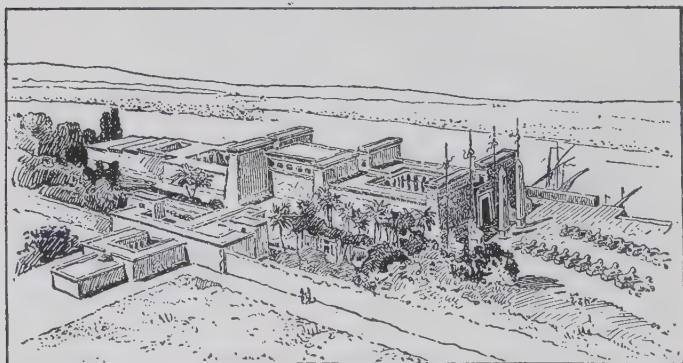


PHOTO OF AN EGYPTIAN PEASANT WOMAN OF TO-DAY beside the sculptured head of an early pharaoh. From Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*. Note the likeness. This pharaoh belonged to a period before the differences in form between classes (spoken of on page 23) had developed.



EARLY EGYPTIAN VASES OF BAKED CLAY—now in the British Museum in London.

Very primitive men sometimes bound their clay vessels with green withes, to help hold them together. When the pottery was baked in a fire, these fell off, leaving the circular marks where they had been drawn into the soft clay. Such marks were probably the earliest ornament on pottery. Even when the withes were no longer used, the early pot-makers continued to imitate those markings, soon varying them into quaint zigzag designs—as on the Lake Dweller pitcher shown on page 8, which seems to belong to a slightly later stage of development than these very early Egyptian vessels. To ornament pottery with drawings of plant and animal life was a still later development—although (as recent explorations have shown) it had become a common practice among the more advanced native peoples in our southwestern territory hundreds of years before Columbus discovered America.



AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE was not a single building, merely for the worship of a god, but a collection of several buildings joined by corridors or built around open "courts," covering in all many acres, and used as a rule by a large body of priests for homes and storehouses and workrooms. This drawing is a modern scholar's idea of how a temple looked. Turn to the cuts facing 27, and notice to which parts of this reconstruction the ruins shown there correspond. (*A picture or model made from a study of old remains and old descriptions is called a "reconstruction."*)



absolute despotism — the kind of government common in all rich Oriental lands until recent times.

Still, despot though he was, the pharaoh could not well afford to offend the two great classes of nobles and priests. The nobles were descendants of the ancient village chiefs. The priests lived in large groups in the hundreds of temples. They had more influence over the people even than the nobles had. From them came most of the scholars of Egypt. From them, too, because they were most fit, the pharaoh had to choose most of his high officials. (To carry on the government, to collect and manage the royal revenues, and to oversee the irrigation system, called for a host of officials, great and small.)

The pharaoh was the landlord of all Egypt. Part of the land he kept in his own hands, to be cultivated by his peasants under the direction of his stewards; part he parceled out among the nobles — each of whom remained a little king on his own domain, with his own group of officials; and about a third he turned over to the temples for the support of the worship of the gods. This part became really the property of the priests. Priests and nobles had their land tilled for them by peasants, as the king's was.

It took many of those peasant workers, of course, to support one noble or priest with his many dependents. Each peasant was allowed by some landlord to hold a small "farm," or garden plot, of about two acres. For the use of this he paid "rent" by toiling with his family a large part of the time on the landlord's land; and then he was compelled also to pay about a third of his own small crop in taxes to the king.

This farming was Egypt's main industry. The leading grains were wheat, barley, and sesame. Even the largest fields were cultivated almost as carefully as small gardens are with us, and the yield was enormous — reaching the rate of a hundred bushels of grain for one bushel of seed! (An American farmer who gets fifteen bushels of wheat for one bushel of seed does surprisingly well.) Long after her power in the world had departed, Egypt remained famous as "the granary of the Mediterranean lands."



K ✓  
N  
O +  
W

Other food crops were beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, melons, cucumbers, and onions. Grapes were grown in large quantities, to use as fresh fruit and to dry into raisins, and also to make into light wines. Clover was raised for the landlord's cattle, and flax for the linen that was the main material for clothing. A little cotton, too, was cultivated, and flocks of sheep furnished a fine wool. In the barnyard you would have seen also cows, goats, scrawny pigs (more like wild "razor-back" hogs than like the fat porkers we have now), and ducks, geese, pigeons, storks, and antelopes. The horse did not appear until brought in from Asia about 1700 B.C. (and then it never became common enough in Ancient Egypt to be used except by nobles in war). The chicken came from Asia a little later still, and the camel somewhat earlier — certainly by 2000 B.C. Veal, mutton, and antelope flesh were the favorite meats of the rich.



DRIVING CATTLE TO PASTURE, — relief sculpture from an ancient Egyptian monument. (A "relief" is a piece of sculpture where the figures are only partly cut away from the rock. Find examples in the cuts facing pages 25 and 40.)

During the flood periods cattle were fed in stalls on wheat straw and clover hay. Some of the monuments picture exciting scenes when a rapid rise of the Nile compelled the peasants to remove the flocks and herds hurriedly through surging waters from their usual grazing grounds to high flood-time quarters.

**The peasant himself enjoyed little of the good things his labor produced.** He and his family were fed mainly on vegetables and goat's milk. Nor did the peasants live each on his own piece of ground, as our farmers do. Instead, they lived in villages or in the poorer quarters of a near-by town. A poor man's house was a mud hovel of one room. Such "houses" were built in rows (one hut separated from the next just by a mud partition) along narrow, crooked alleys choked with filth.

A "plague of flies," like the one mentioned in the Old Testament, was natural enough, and only the extremely dry air kept down worse pestilences.

To raise enough to satisfy his masters (and have anything at all left for himself), the peasant had to toil in the fields from dawn to dark. Besides the plow, he had only three tools for farming. He stirred the ground with a short crooked *hoe*, which he could use only by bending himself almost double (page 10); he cut his grain with a short curved *sickle*; and, after carrying the straw to a threshing floor on his back, in baskets or tied in bundles, he pounded it with a *flail*, to beat out the grain. (This sickle and flail remained unchanged, as the best tools for their work, as late as the days of George Washington.) Sometimes, instead of using a flail, the Egyptian peasant drove his oxen round and round on the threshing floor, to tread out the grain.

So far, the life of a peasant of old Egypt was not much different from that of a modern Egyptian peasant. Indeed, the peasants seem to have been careless and gay: the monuments picture them petting the cattle and singing at their work.

**But great numbers of them faced a far worse fate than any yet described.** The peasant who could not pay

his tax had "to pay with his body." After being cruelly flogged, he was

carried away from his home to work in the royal mines or on the irrigation canals or on other building projects of the king. And when such measures did not provide workers enough, the royal officers had power to draft the necessary number from each district. Egypt had few real slaves; but the condition of peasants on such forced labor was practically that of slaves. Toilers on the canals and pyramids and in the mines were kept at their tasks by the whip. "Man has a back" was an Egyptian proverb. The old engravings on the monuments always show



"MAN HAS A BACK." — Egyptian relief. (For meaning of "relief," see the explanation under the cut opposite.)

the overseer of workmen with a whip, and often show it in use. One Egyptian writer of about 1400 B.C. exclaims (in the oldest expression of compassion for the poor that survives in all the world's literature): —

Dost thou not recall the fate of the farmer, when the tax on his grain is levied? Worms have destroyed half of the wheat, and the hippopotami have eaten the rest. There are swarms of rats in the fields; the

grasshoppers alight there; the cattle devour; the little birds pilfer; and if the farmer lose sight for an instant of what remains upon the ground, it is carried off by robbers. The thongs, moreover, which bind the iron and the hoe are worn out, and the team [of cows] has died at the plow. It is then that the scribe steps out of the boat at the landing place to levy the tax, and there come the keepers of the doors of the granary with cudgels and the Negroes with ribs of palm-leaves [very effective whips], crying: "Come now, corn!" There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in head first [to work out the tax].



AMTEN, a self-made noble of 3200 B.C., who, though of peasant birth, became one of the greatest rulers of Egypt — next to the pharaoh. This 5000-year-old statue is a true "portrait statue."

In the better quarters of the large towns there lived a middle class — a few merchants, physicians, master-builders, notaries

(to draw up business papers and so on), and numerous artisans, of whose work we speak a little farther on. After about 2400 B.C., Egypt had also a large class of professional soldiers, with special privileges. At forty-five, when his term of service was over, a soldier was given an eight-acre farm, free of all taxes.

(These regular soldiers were often too few for the king's wars, and then all the young men of Egypt might be drafted for the army.)

The son usually followed the father's occupation, but there was no *law* (as in some Oriental countries) to prevent his passing into a different class. Sometimes the son of a peasant rose to wealth and power. Such advance was most easily open to the scribes, or notaries. This learned profession was recruited from the brightest boys of the middle and lower classes. Most scribes found clerical work only; but from the ablest ones the nobles chose confidential secretaries and stewards, and now and then one of these might be promoted to the highest offices under the pharaoh.



LIMESTONE STATUETTE, 4700 years old, showing an Egyptian woman grinding grain by rolling a rounded stone upon kernels spread on a flat stone.

For the well-to-do life could be very delightful, filled with active employment and varied with many pleasures. The home of a noble was a roomy house with a wooden frame plastered over with sun-dried clay, and it was furnished with countless objects of beauty and luxury, provided by Egyptian artists and artisans (page 27). Light and air entered at many latticed windows, across which curtains of brilliant hues could be drawn to shut out an occasional sand storm from the desert. About the building stretched a large high-walled garden, with fishponds and fountains gleaming among the palm trees. It is not strange that in time upper and lower classes came to look like different peoples. The later monuments represent the nobles as tall and lithe, with imperious bearing, while the peasants are pictured heavy of feature and dumpy of build.

 The position of women was better than in most Oriental countries to-day. When not working in the field, the poor man's wife spun and wove, and ground dried grain into flour on a large flat rock by rolling it with another stone, or by pounding it with a stone mallet in a stone bowl. Among the upper classes the wife was the companion of the man. She was not shut up in a harem nor confined strictly to household duties: she appeared at public ceremonies and met her husband's guests at home. She had equal rights at law, and sometimes great queens ruled the land. In no other country, until modern times, do pictures of happy home life play so large a part.

## II. INDUSTRY, ART, AND KNOWLEDGE

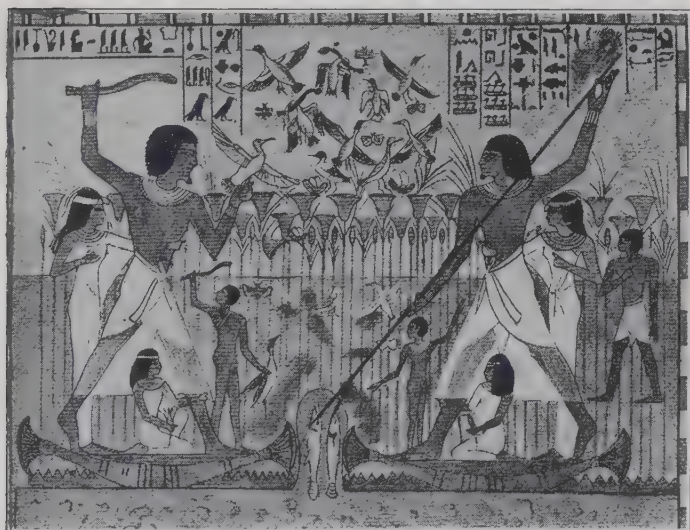
It was a certain *King Menes*, of Memphis, who first united all Egypt into a lasting kingdom. For a thousand years (down to about 2400 B.C.) the capital remained at Memphis (map, page 16). The pharaohs of that first period of Egyptian greatness are best known to us by the *pyramids* which they built for their tombs. The pyramids are merely exaggerated burial mounds (in stone), such as some American Indians and many other Stone-Age men have erected of earth for their chieftains' graves; but the immense size of these buildings in Egypt and the skill shown in constructing them have always placed them among the wonders of the world.

The largest is known as the Great Pyramid. It was built by King Khufu, or Cheops (as the Greeks called him), nearly 3000 years B.C., and it is by far the most massive building in the world. Its base covers thirteen acres, and it rises 481 feet from the plain. More than two million huge stone blocks went to make it, — more stone than has gone into any other building in the world. Some single blocks weigh over fifty tons; but the edges of the blocks that form the faces are so polished, and so nicely fitted, that the joints can hardly be detected; while the interior chambers, and long, sloping passages between them, are built with such skill that, notwithstanding the immense weight above them, there has been no perceptible settling of the walls in the lapse of five thousand years. From the peak the traveler

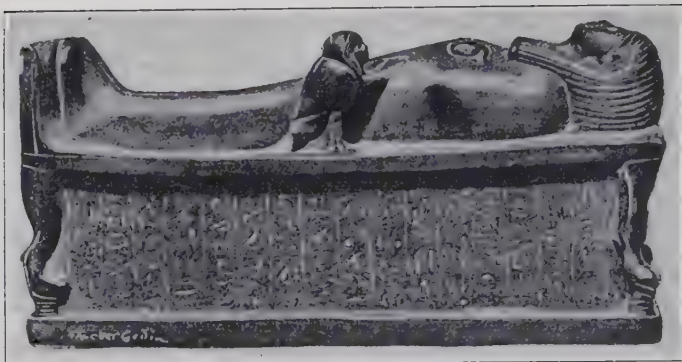




KING AND QUEEN AT PLAY in their palace garden. — From a wall painting at Karnak belonging to a late period — about 700 B.C.



EGYPTIAN NOBLES hunting ducks with a "throw-stick," or boomerang, and fishing with a two-pronged harpoon. The birds rise from a mass of papyrus reeds. Each noble has his wife with him, as well as servants. — From a series of tomb paintings (of about 2000 B.C.) which, with their inscriptions, tell the story of the dead noble's life.



SCULPTURED TOMB, representing the soul crouching by its old home. See page 38.



THE SPHINX TO-DAY, with pyramids in the distance—the Great Pyramid to the right. The head of the Sphinx has the enlarged face of the pharaoh it commemorates—set upon the body of a lion, to signify power. The head rises 66 feet from the base, and the body is 187 feet long; but desert sand drifted over the feet and much of the body about 3600 years ago, and was left so until very recently.

of to-day may gaze at a long irregular line of similar structures stretching away more and more dimly toward the south until, even in that clear air, the human eye can no longer follow it.

*Herodotus*, a Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., traveled in Egypt and learned all that the priests of his day could tell him regarding these wonders. He says that it took thirty years to build the Great Pyramid,—a third of the time going to piling the vast mounds of earth (or of sun-baked brick) up which the mighty stones were to be dragged into place,—which mounds had afterwards to be removed. During those thirty years, relays of a hundred thousand men were kept at the toil, each relay for three months at a stretch. Other thousands, of course, had to toil through a lifetime of labor to feed these workers on a monument to a monarch's vanity. All the labor was performed by mere human strength: the Egyptians of that day had no beasts of burden, and no machinery, such as we have, for moving great weights with ease.



This photo shows some of the openings of the interior passageways of a pyramid, when the smooth facing had been removed.

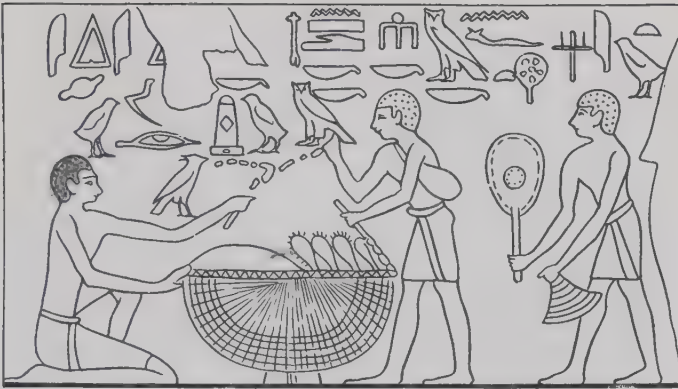
The vain and cruel pyramid builders were finally overthrown by a rebellion in Upper Egypt (map, page 16), and a new line of pharaohs took *Thebes* for their capital. **The next six or seven hundred years** (the period of the *Middle Kingdom*) **is the greatest age in Egyptian history.** Its chief glory was a vast elaboration of the irrigation system. Despite the old dikes and embankments, tens of thousands of acres in Egypt had always remained marshes, when not wholly under water. Much of this land was

now drained and made fit for rich tillage by building many vast new reservoirs. These made it possible, also, to extend cultivated fields far into what had formerly been desert sand.

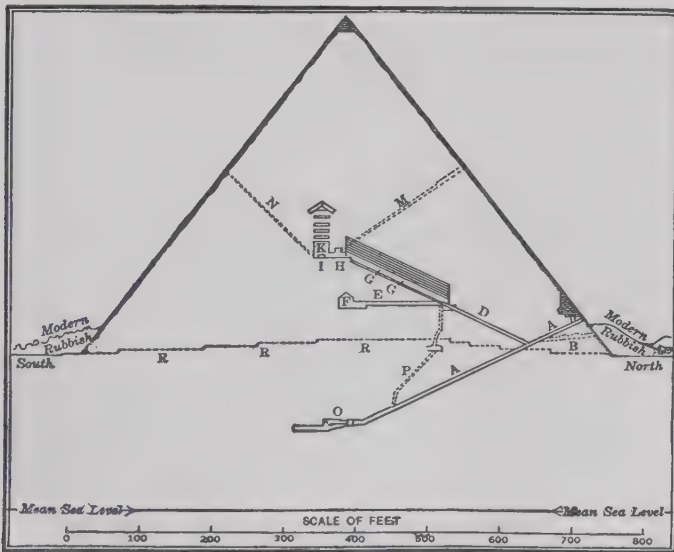
So extensive did this irrigation system become, that, for many hundreds of years afterward, more soil was cultivated in Egypt, and more wealth produced, and a larger population maintained, than in any modern period until the English took control of the country, about fifty years ago. Herodotus (page 25) said that in his day Egypt had twenty thousand "towns," or villages.

The most important single work of this irrigation system was the artificial *Lake Moeris* (map, page 16). This was constructed by improving a natural basin in the desert. To this depression, a canal was dug from the Nile through a gorge in the hills for a distance of eight miles. At the Nile side, a huge dam, with gates, made it possible to carry off through the canal the surplus water at flood periods. The canal was 30 feet deep and 160 feet wide; and from the "lake," smaller canals distributed the water over a large district which had before been perfectly barren. This useful work was still in perfect condition two thousand years after its creation, and was praised highly by a Roman geographer who visited it then.

Until about 650 B.C., Egypt (like other lands of that time) had no true money. Through nearly all her three thousand years of power, all exchange in her market places was by *barter*. A peasant with wheat or onions to sell squatted by his basket, while would-be purchasers offered him earthenware, vases, fans, or other things with which they hoped to buy but which perhaps he did not want. Rather a clumsy way to do the marketing for dinner! So, too, the immense royal revenues, as well as all debts between private men, had to be collected "in kind." Tax collectors had to receive (and take care of) geese, ducks, cattle, grain, wine, oil, metals, jewels, — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from her mysterious sources," as one pharaoh says in an inscription. (In the closing centuries of Egyptian history, it is true, the people came in some measure to use rings of gold and silver somewhat as we use money, but such rings had to be weighed each time they changed hands.)



MARKET SCENE before the invention of money. — An Egyptian relief. The admirable description of Egyptian markets in Davis' *Readings* (I, No. 7) is based upon this relief.



VERTICAL SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID, showing passages.

- |                                                                                                 |                    |                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| A Entrance passage.                                                                             | F Queen's chamber. | K King's chamber.         |
| B A later opening.                                                                              | G G Grand gallery. | M N Ventilating chambers. |
| D First ascending passage.                                                                      | H Antechamber.     | O Subterranean chamber.   |
| E Horizontal passage.                                                                           | I Coffin.          | P Well, so called.        |
| R R Probable extent to which the native rock is employed to assist the masonry of the building. |                    |                           |





TEMPLE OF THE GODS HORUS AND HATHOR AT EDFU (a village south of Thebes), one of the best-preserved Egyptian temples. In the first view we stand inside the front court and look toward the *pylon*, or entrance (corresponding to the triumphal arch of the Romans). The second view looks in the opposite direction and shows the rear of the structure.—the sanctuary and its entrance hall. (Can you make out the corresponding parts of the reconstruction facing 19?) Note other ruins in the background.

In spite of this handicap, the early Egyptians carried on much trade, even with foreign lands. Some foreign trade began under the pyramid-building monarchs at Memphis, and the great Theban pharaohs of the "Middle Kingdom" made particular efforts to encourage it by exploring distant regions, developing copper mines in the Sinai peninsula of Arabia, and building roads. One of them even opened a canal from the eastern mouth of the Nile to the Red Sea.<sup>1</sup>

Egyptian merchants sailed to Crete on the north and to distant parts of Ethiopia on the south. One inscription of 2000 B.C. describes a ship bringing from the coast of Arabia "fragrant woods, heaps of myrrh, ebony and pure ivory, green gold, cinnamon, incense, cosmetics, apes, monkeys, dogs, and panther skins." Some of these things must have been gathered from distant parts of Eastern Asia. So far as we know, the Egyptians were the first men to go down to the sea in ships, the first, indeed, to build sea-going ships at all.



SHOEMAKERS. — Egyptian relief. Tools, materials, and finished work are shown on the wall. — From Maspero.

To pay for these precious products of distant countries, the Egyptian merchant exported the surplus **manufactures** of the *skilled artisans* at home. This class included weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, glass blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, and many other trades. In some of these occupations, the workers possessed a marvelous dexterity, and were masters of processes that are not known to-day. The weavers, in particular, produced

<sup>1</sup> That canal carried commerce for hundreds of years; but when Egypt's power passed away, the sand of the desert was allowed to drift in and finally to cover it up completely — so that for a long time modern scholars doubted whether there had ever been such a canal, in spite of many ancient references to it on Egyptian monuments. In recent years, excavations have uncovered the old channel and the stone monuments along its course.

delicate and exquisite linen, almost as soft and fine as silk, and also beautiful, many-colored rugs and tapestries. Workers in glass and gold were famous for their skill — so that they sometimes imitated jewels in colored glass so artfully that only an



A DIADEM worn by an Egyptian princess 4000 years ago; now in the Cairo Museum. The serpent's head at the front was worn only by royal persons. The streamers and plume were strips of gold. The "Maltese" cross was a favorite design. Those on this circlet were of gold, with each arm inlaid in blue and with a jewel at the center. Much of the goldsmith work on such ornaments was as dainty and delicate as anything in modern work of that sort.

expert jeweler to-day can see the fraud. Modern workers in stone, even with their delicate drills driven at regular speed by steam or electricity, cannot excel the nicety and precision of the old Egyptian stone-workers with their hand tools of bronze. Bowls and vases (some of them among the loveliest ever seen) were shaped, not by the potter's fingers as in the Stone Age, but on a potter's wheel much like those that our potters use — except that ours have electricity to turn the wheel while the Egyptian had only his own footpower. The Egyptian potter learned, too, to give his pottery a fine and even glaze by burning it, not by an open fire, exposed to chance breezes, but in closed brick furnaces, as we do.

Much of this work shows a deep and true love of beauty in the workmen. Chairs, couches, and tables were decorated by "inlaying" the wood with gold or ivory or gems so as to produce a highly artistic effect. Almost all kinds of ornament that the world yet knows were

invented by those Egyptian goldsmiths. They made necklaces, bracelets, rings, earrings, diadems, jeweled combs, and mirrors.

Iron was not altogether unknown. A king of the *Hittites*, a people of Asia Minor (page 61 f.), tells in an inscription of

sending a shipment of iron to an Egyptian pharaoh in the thirteenth century B.C. But Egyptians and Hittites for the most part were hostile rivals; and Egypt secured no iron for industry, and little even for war, until about 850 B.C., toward the close of her independent history.

The priests of Egypt were the world's first scientists. Some of them became skillful *physicians*. (Among other remedies they used castor oil, as we do still. The *dentists* among them knew how to save a decaying tooth by filling it with gold—as the mouths of mummies show.) Others of them began the study of *geometry* (earth measurement), so as to put back the boundaries between the fields in their true places when unusual floods had disturbed them.



A DOCTOR giving a disagreeable dose. —  
From an old papyrus.

Indeed it may be said that the Nile was the father of Egyptian science. The need of knowing just when the yearly inundation would begin led the priests to study *astronomy*. Early peoples usually count time by “winters” or by “moons,” but early Egyptian priests discovered the true “year.” That is, they studied the stars and mapped those that seemed stationary into groups, or constellations, as on our star maps to-day. Then they discovered that the sun *seems* to move over a regular path among those star groups.

This has nothing to do with the way the sun seems to “rise” in the morning and pass overhead during the day, to “set” again at night. It is a different kind of seeming movement that we are now talking about, and one a little hard to understand. Let's see if we can make it plain. In the spring, let us say, when the days are beginning to get a little longer than the nights, a certain group of stars may be seen in the eastern sky shortly before the sunrise dims the starlight. But a few weeks later a *different* group of stars is in that place at that hour; and a few weeks later still, yet another group; and so on, until at last when

spring comes again, the first group is back in its old place just in front of the sun. Then the sun seems to go over that same path among the stars *again*, and then again, and always through the same star groups and in the same order *and in just the same time*.

You know (that is, you have been told), that the sun seems to move in this way through a certain path in the heavens because really the earth moves around the sun.<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian astronomers did not know this. But they did mark on their star map the *apparent* path of the sun from one group of stars back to that same position again, and they found that it *always* took just a little more than 365 days for the sun to seem to travel that path. That time they took for a *year* — as a new way to count time.

Then they invented a calendar of twelve months (one pretty nearly for each new moon of the year); each month had thirty days, — about the time between one new moon and the next — and so there were added five “feast days,” not counted in any month. This calendar came into use first for the year that *we* call 4241 B.C., and it is the oldest event in the world’s history for which we have an *exact* date. The Egyptian calendar is more than a thousand years older than the pyramids.

Later Egyptian scholars found even this year too short by almost a quarter of a day, and they then invented the leap-year arrangement. That plan, it is true, never came into general use in old Egypt; but, much later, the Romans borrowed it from Egyptian scholars and passed it on to us.

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<sup>1</sup> On the blackboard, all around a recitation room, mark spots about an equal distance apart, to represent twelve star groups. (That will be one for each month.) Put a globe (to represent the sun) in the middle of the room at about the same height from the floor as the star spots. Then pretend that your head is the earth, and walk slowly around the “sun.” This may help you to see how, if you thought you were standing still, the “sun” would *seem* to be moving through the “star groups.”

If you want at the same time to represent the changes from day to night, you will have to keep spinning on your heel all the time as your body moves forward; but for the purpose of this demonstration, that is hardly necessary.



The Egyptians also *divided the day* into twelve double-hours, and *invented a water clock* and the sun clock (or sun dial) to mark the passage of the hours. The water clock was a very ingenious thing. At the sixth hour, for instance, it would roll six white balls out into the room, and strike the hour with six silvery chimes.

In *arithmetic*, the Egyptians dealt in numbers up to millions, with a system such as the Romans used later. Thus 3423 was represented by the Romans:

M M M C C C C XX III

and by the Egyptians:

⤴ ⤴ ⤴ ☉ ☉ ☉ ☉ □ I'

The Egyptian priests, too, invented a better kind of writing than had ever before been known. Many early peoples have used a simple *picture writing*, as our Indians did. Even in such writing, a picture often stands for more than an object. The drawing of a bird, for instance, may stand for a bird itself or for *flying*. And a picture like this ☉ may stand for the sun or it may stand for *light*. But the early Egyptians used such pictures also in a kind of "rebus" writing.

In a rebus, as you know, a picture may stand (1) for a *thing*, or (2) for some *idea* connected with it (as shown above), or (3) for a *sound* like the name of the thing but perhaps with a meaning wholly different from that name. A drawing of an eye may stand for a real *eye*, or for *seeing*, or for the word *I* — or even for the first syllable of the word *I-tal-ics*. Thus, if we were in the habit of using the symbol ☉ for the word *sun*, and so for *light*, we might use it also in a rebus after our letter *D* (D ☉) to make the word *delight*.

This was much the way the Egyptians came to write. With them the symbol ○ stood for a mouth. But the *name* for mouth was "rû," and so this same symbol was used to form the last syllable of the Egyptian word *khopirû*, which meant "to be." In a like way, pictures of other objects had come to stand for the other syllables of that word. This was "syllabic writing," — the *beginning* of "sound-writing." Many things could be said by it that could hardly be expressed at all in older kinds of writing. (How could you say "to be" in pictures?)

Even syllabic writing calls for a vast number of symbols — far too many to be learned easily. But every syllable (unless itself one of the simplest sounds the voice can make) can be separated into two or more simple sounds, and *no language has more than twenty or thirty of those simplest sounds* (which it uses over and over in different combinations). So no “alphabet” needs many more than twenty “letters.” Twenty or thirty symbols to learn, instead of thousands!

The Egyptians finally learned to represent most of those simple sounds each by a symbol. That is, they invented true “letters.” *If they could only have dropped all their other symbols*, they would have used true alphabetic writing. But they never did that. To the end of Ancient Egypt’s history, her writing remained a quaint mixture of thousands of signs of things, of ideas, of syllables, and of *some* single sounds.

To master the Egyptian writing required long study. As a rule, only priests and scribes knew how to read and write; and the early written characters were called *hieroglyphics*, which means “priests’ writing.” A modern scholar has described even the latest Egyptian writing as “a delightful assemblage of birds, snakes, men, tools, stars, and beasts.”

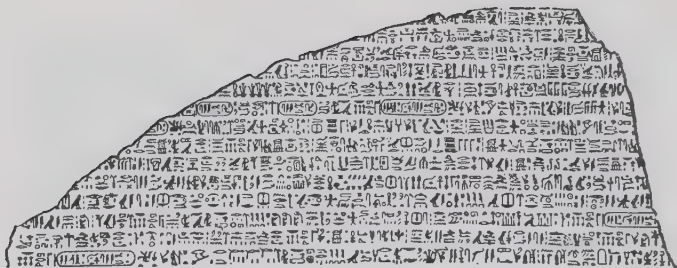
The oldest writing was cut into stone with sharp bronze tools, and of course the characters were stiff-looking. But before long the priests invented a better material to write on. They took reeds that grew along the Nile (the *papyrus* reed), split the stems down the middle, laid the slices, flat side up, in layers, one layer crossing another, and then pressed the moist mass into a firm yellowish sheet. (This was somewhat as we make our paper out of wood pulp. Our word *paper* comes from *papyrus*.) Of course the Egyptians had to do their cutting and arranging of layers and pressing by hand, one sheet at a time, instead of by great steam-driven rollers such as we use in our paper mills; and so *papyrus* was always costly.

On these *papyrus* sheets the learned Egyptians wrote with a

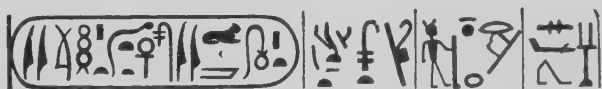


AMERICAN INDIAN PICTURE WRITING shows that some Stone-Age men could draw or paint stories. This story was painted by a Nez Percé artist on buffalo skin and is now in the Spokane Public Museum. An Indian would read it about as follows: "A band of Sioux [on horseback] set out to make a night attack [notice moon and stars] upon a sleeping camp of Nez Percé. The war party accidentally stampedes a herd of buffalo [the dots on the side of the buffalo show that there are many of the animals], and the noise of this stampede awakens and warns the Nez Percé, who then repulse the attack, killing and scalping some of the Sioux."

This sign writing could say many things about what happens *outside* us; and, probably, even without an explanation, you could make more out of it than you could out of the Egyptian writing on the other side of this leaf. But, on the other hand, the Egyptian writing could say nearly everything that our books can say—even about the hopes and feelings within us (see the quotations on pages 36, 37) — and picture writing cannot do that so well.



PART OF THE ROSETTA STONE (see below) containing the hieroglyphs first deciphered.



PART OF THE BOTTOM LINE of the above on a larger scale. The name of a pharaoh was always inclosed within a partly curved border, which, with its inclosure, is known as a royal cartouche.

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For a long time, modern scholars had known that ruins in the Nile valley contained many inscriptions, but no one could read them. Then, in 1799, French soldiers, in Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, while building a fort at the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, dug up a curious slab of black rock. This "Rosetta Stone" bore three inscriptions: one in Greek (which scholars could read); one in ancient hieroglyphs (as in the cut above); and the other in a later Egyptian writing — which, however, had also become unknown. A French scholar, Champollion, *guessed* shrewdly that the three inscriptions said the same thing, and, by using the Greek as a "key," he learned, after years of study, to read the hieroglyphs. This made it possible to re-discover Egyptian history. (Soon afterward, by using an inscription in Persia that had been made in three languages, European scholars learned to read the long-forgotten Babylonian cuneiform writing which is told about in the next chapter.)

pointed reed dipped in black or red ink, made from a gum, or pitch. A roll of such sheets made a "book." In writing rapidly on this material, the strokes of the pen would tend to run together — and so the stiff hieroglyphs of the earliest inscriptions changed gradually into a running script that differed from the older characters somewhat as our handwriting differs from print.

Many papyrus rolls were buried in Egyptian tombs, and the dry air there has kept them in perfect condition for thousands of years. A little more than a hundred years ago a learned Frenchman, after careful study, found out how to read the old Egyptian writing (the story is told below the cut facing this page), and since that time many Egyptian books have been translated into modern languages. Among them are poems, histories, cook books, geographies, catalogues, novels, books about religion and science and morals, many fairy stories (one about an Egyptian Cinderella and her fairy glass slipper), and tales of exciting adventures that befell Egyptian traders among the savages of distant lands. One very ancient story of a shipwrecked sailor on the furthest coasts of the Red Sea seems to be the original of our familiar story of "Sindbad the Sailor."

**Amazing skill was shown in architecture and in sculpture.** Aside from the pyramids, the most famous buildings were the gigantic temples of the gods. In these we find the first use of *columns*, arranged often in long colonnades. (Until a much later period other early civilizations used at best only square piers.) The Egyptians understood also how to use the *arch* (they used it sometimes in their private mansions), but in the huge temples the roofs and ceilings were formed always by laying immense flat slabs of rock across from column to column. The result is an impression of stupendous power, but not always of surpassing beauty or grace.

On the walls and columns, and within the pyramid tombs, we find long bands of pictures ("reliefs"; page 20) cut into the stone. Often these represent historical scenes, the story of which is told in detail by inscriptions above or below the band of



sculpture. The Egyptians, to be sure, did not understand "perspective," and so in such carving and drawing they could not represent one figure behind another, or give the sense of varying distances. All the figures in a drawing appear in one plane, and on one scale. (Compare the reliefs in this chapter with the Roman relief facing page 303.) In other respects, however, the Egyptian work is exceedingly lifelike.



RAMESES III, the most famous conquering pharaoh of the New Empire (page 39). See also cuts facing this page and 40. This was evidently a "portrait" statue (now in the Turin Museum). A glass will show the nicety with which even the toes were carved.

In carving *complete* statues, the ignorance of perspective did not injure the effect. The Egyptians, accordingly, excelled here, especially in portrait statues, small or life-size. They were fond, too, of making colossal statues (like the Sphinx, facing 25), which, however unnatural, have a gloomy grandeur in keeping with the melancholy desert stretching about them.

There was a curious mixture of religions. Each family worshiped its ancestors. Such *ancestor worship* is found, indeed,

among all primitive peoples, along with a belief in evil spirits and malicious ghosts. There was also a *worship of animals*. Cats, dogs, bulls, crocodiles, and many other animals were sacred. To injure one of these "gods," even by accident, was



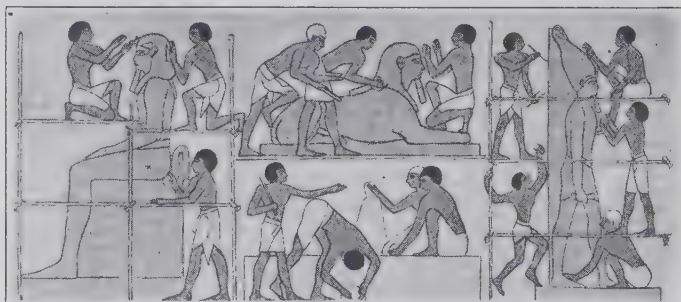
PEASANTS HARVESTING GRAIN. — From a papyrus of about 1700 B.C. Why was it unnecessary to "shock" the bound bundles as our farmers have to do?



COLUMNS OF THE KARNAK "TEMPLE OF RAMESES" of which a reconstruction is pictured facing page 35. For another view, see facing page 40.



"THE HALL OF COLUMNS"—a "reconstruction" (page 19) of one part of a vast, many-roomed temple at Karnak (near Thebes) built about 1500 B.C. (*For part of the ruins to-day, see facing page 34.*) There were 134 of the columns. The central ones were 66 feet high, each of them spreading out at the top into a "capital" that looks like an immense bell upside down. These capitals were ornamented with carvings of the beautiful lotus flower that blooms by the Nile, and they were large enough so that a hundred men might stand upon one of them. Compare the ruins facing page 34 with Stonehenge ruins facing page 11. What can you see in this picture intended to suggest to you the height of the columns?



EGYPTIAN SCULPTORS at work on colossal figures. — From a relief.

to incur the murderous fury of the people. Probably this worship was a degraded kind of ancestor worship known as *totemism*, which is found among many peoples. North American Indians of a wolf clan or a bear clan — with a fabled wolf or bear for an ancestor — must on no account injure the ancestral animal or “totem.”<sup>1</sup>

Above that worship of ancestors and animals, there was a *nature worship* with countless deities and demigods representing sun, moon, river, wind, storm, trees, and stones.

With the better classes this nature worship mounted sometimes to a lofty and pure worship of one God. “God,” say some of the inscriptions, “is a spirit: no man knoweth his form,” and again, — “He is the creator of the heavens and the earth and all that is therein.” These lofty thoughts never spread far among the people, but a few thinkers in Egypt rose to them at an early period. The following hymn to Aton (the Sundisk), symbol of Light and of Life, was written by an Egyptian pharaoh of the fifteenth century B.C. (*Ikhнатон*, or *Akhenaten*): —

“Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,  
O living Aton, the beginning of life! . . .  
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.  
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.  
Thou bindest them with thy love. . . .  
The birds fly in their marshes —  
Lifting their wings to adore thee. . . .  
The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell —  
Thou givest it breath within the egg. . . .  
How many are the things which thou hast made!  
Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,  
With peoples, herds, and flocks. . . .  
*Thou givest to every man his place, thou framest his life.*”

This pharaoh tried to lift all Egypt to his noble belief in one God, the loving father of all life, and for a time he seems to have had some success in discouraging the lower kinds of religion. But the powerful priesthoods kept stirring up the people against his reforms, and plotting rebellion with the army — which was

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<sup>1</sup> Students who know Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* will recall an illustration of totemism.

discontented because Akhenaten did not give it chance for plunder by carrying on wars of conquests against his neighbors, as his predecessors had been doing. So the reign of this reformer came to a close amid turmoil and confusion, and under his successor, Tût-Ankh-Amen, the old forms of worship were restored.



HEAD OF AKHENATEN — with the head-dress “restored” — from a battered statue of red quartzite. All memorials of this reformer were destroyed, so far as possible, by the victorious priests.

As to character, Professor Petrie (probably the greatest living authority on Egyptian antiquity) calls the people “more moral, sympathetic, and conscientious than any other ancient people.” “The Egyptian,” he adds, “sought out a fair and noble life. His aim was to be an easy, good-natured gentleman, and to make life as agreeable as he could to all about him.”

That this was at least the ideal is borne out by many inscriptions. One noble of nearly three thousand years B.C. is made to say in his epitaph, “I have caused no child to mourn; I have robbed no widow; . . . None about me have been unfortunate or starving in my time.” And a papyrus of about the same date (nearly two thousand years older than Solomon’s proverbs), in a long collection of precepts for young nobles, contains the following injunctions:—

Inspire not men with fear. Listen to the discourses of the petitioner; be not abrupt with him. The way to secure a clear explanation is to listen with kindness.

Keep thyself from every attack of bad humor.

Treat thy dependents kindly.

If thou hast become great after having been little, harden not thy heart. . . . Thou art only become the steward of the good things of God.



**Regarding a future life** there were two or three stages of belief. In the oldest tombs there are found dishes where had been placed food and drink for the spirit. This is in accord with a common custom among savage peoples, who generally believe that unless the body is given proper burial, and unless the proper gifts are supplied, the soul is likely to become a restless and harmful ghost.

This burial practice continued through all ancient Egyptian history — and even to-day, after these six thousand years of different faiths, the Egyptian peasant still buries food and drink with his dead. But among the better educated classes, in quite early times, there grew up a belief in a truer immortality — *for those who had earned it by good lives on earth*, especially by kindness and mercy to their fellow men. The following extract comes from the “Repudiation of Sins.” This was a statement which the Egyptian believed he *ought* to be able to make truthfully before the “Judges of the Dead”: —

Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! . . . I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! . . . I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! *I have not pulled down the scale of the balance!* I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings. . . . Grant that he may come unto you — he that hath not lied or borne false witness, . . . *he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst, and that hath clothed the naked with garments.*<sup>1</sup>

When the soul had made this last prayer (after denying forty-two different sins in all), his heart was supposed to be taken out and placed on one side of the “scales of justice,” to see whether it would balance a little image of the god of truth (cut on page 38). If the scales did not balance, the soul had lied — and then it was thrown to be devoured by a fierce doglike monster that always waited hungrily near by. But if the scales balanced, it joined the souls of other good men in far-off “Isles of the Blessed” in the midst of an always-peaceful, blue, sun-lit sea, to enjoy all the pleasures of life without its pains.

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<sup>1</sup> See Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 9 and 10, for the Egyptian's idea of duty.

After all, the Egyptians seem to have thought it likely that happiness in the next world (like happiness in this one) was only for the aristocratic classes. According to a very old belief, the



WEIGHING THE SOUL before the Judges of the Dead. — From a papyrus funeral service 5000 years old. The figures with animal heads are gods and their messengers. The human forms represent the dead who are being led to judgment.

body of the dead man remained the home of his soul. Enough of this idea survived in later Egyptian times so that great care was taken to preserve the body from decay after death. Before it was placed in the tomb, it was soaked in

costly oils, then treated with spices, and finally wrapped closely in fold after fold of fine linen. This process of “embalming” turned the body into a “mummy.” Many mummies of very early times have a lifelike look when the wrappings are opened to-day. (Poor men could not afford to be mummified.)

### III. EGYPT AND HER NEIGHBORS

Egyptians lived for thousands of years in much the way we have been describing. The detailed story of Egypt during all those centuries would be too long to give here. The following short sketch of the chief changes that took place is given for the student to read and use for later reference.

During the thousand years of the pyramid-building pharaohs, Egypt seems to have been completely cut off from other lands, except for a little trade. Mountains, deserts, and seas made it almost safe from attack.<sup>1</sup> The only easy approach was across the narrow Isthmus of Suez, beyond which lay **Syria**. This

<sup>1</sup> Study the map facing 15. Find the barriers that protected Egypt on the North, South, East, and West. Would these barriers be as complete to-day? If they were protection against attack, why did they not prevent trade?

narrow strip of habitable ground north of the Arabian Desert was divided by mountains and rivers into several states, where dwelt the Phoenicians, Philistines, Canaanites, Hebrews, and Moabites, whom we read of in the Bible. At the far northern end, in a region rich in iron, lived a stronger people, the Hittites.

*These small states of Syria were a tempting prey to ambitious Egyptian monarchs.* The Theban pharaohs (page 25) led their armies across the Isthmus and laid the region waste in long wars, until they finally made themselves its masters. (Map, page 60.)

**Then, about 1700 B.C., Egypt was itself invaded and conquered by a strange race of nomads from the Arabian Desert whose rulers we know as the Hyksos, or Shepherd-kings.** These invaders brought the horse into Egypt (page 20).

The Hyksos rule, however, lasted less than a century. A native pharaoh, who had been one of their under-kings at Thebes, started a rebellion against them and drove them out. **The period of Egyptian greatness that followed is called the New Empire (1600-1350).** A succession of powerful pharaohs of the New Empire recovered all Egypt's old conquests, and then carried their victorious arms clear around the fertile Syrian strip, which bends in a great crescent over the northern end of the Arabian Desert, to the city of Babylon on the Euphrates. That whole district was soon garrisoned here and there by Egyptian fortresses, and along its roads, from Thebes to Babylon, passed hurrying streams of officials, couriers, and merchants.

**But now the Hittites had learned to use the iron ore which abounded in their home land on the slopes of the Taurus mountains.** With their iron weapons they **drove the Egyptians out of Syria**, about 1350 B.C., and ruled that region themselves. Then, after some centuries of weakness, **Egypt itself was conquered in 672 by Assyria** (page 45 f.), which had first overthrown the Hittites in Syria.

**Only twenty years later, Psammetichus restored Egyptian independence,** and founded *the last line of native pharaohs.* He had been a military adventurer, and he won his throne largely through the aid of mercenary Greek troops. During all her earlier greatness, however much her traders visited foreign

lands, Egypt had kept herself jealously closed against strangers. But Psammetichus threw open the door to foreigners, especially to the Greeks, who were just coming into notice. Greek travelers visited Egypt; large numbers of Greek soldiers served in



CARTOON in a papyrus of 4000 years ago showing a lady using a "lip-stick." In her left hand she holds a mirror and a tube of paint.

the army; and a Greek colony grew up at *Naucratis*. Egypt "had lit the torch of civilization" ages before: now she passed it on to the Western world through this vigorous new race.

**Neco**, son of Psammetichus, is remembered for a fine attempt to reopen the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea (page 27). This failed; but Neco did find another sea route from the Red to the Mediterranean. One of his ships sailed around Africa, down the east coast, returning three years later through the Mediterranean. Herodotus (page 25), who tells us the story, adds: "On

their return the sailors reported (others may believe them but I will not) that in sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun on their right hand." This report, so incredible to Herodotus, is good proof to us that the story of the sailors was true. (If you do not see why, trace the route on a globe.)

This voyage is the last important event in ancient Egyptian history. In 525 B.C. the land became subject to Persia (page 64), and native rule was never restored — until England recently surrendered her control. A hundred years ago the poet Shelley pictured the ruin of Egyptian greatness thus:

Two vast and trunkless legs of stone  
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,  
Half-sunk, a shattered visage lies. . . .  
And on the pedestal, these words appear:  
"My name is Ozymandias, king of kings.  
Look on my works, Ye Mighty, and despair!"  
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay  
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,  
The lone and level sands stretch far away.



"COLOSSI OF MEMNON" NEAR THEBES: statues of Amenophis III (1400 B.C.), whom the Romans called Memnon. In the lower view the two "Colossi" are in the background, while the structure in the foreground is part of a temple of Rameses III with colossal statues of that pharaoh. (Another view of part of these ruins, on a larger scale, is shown facing page 34.) The "Memnon" statues (69 feet high with the missing crowns, gilded heavily with gold) were originally the portals of a temple of which few vestiges remain.





FROM A WALL PAINTING of about 1550 in a tomb at Thebes. Two servants pour water over a noble lady at her bath, while a third holds a flower up for her to smell. A fourth attendant holds a collar ready for her.



PART OF A PAFYRUS giving an illustrated ritual, or burial service, for a great noble who had been superintendent of the cattle of the pharaoh of his day. (His office is indicated in the lower border.) His wife and daughter are shown worshipping his mummy, just before it is to be placed in its coffin, while behind them are servants with fruits and other offerings. It is in papyrus rolls of this character that such passages as those quoted on pages 36, 37 are found.

## EXERCISES

1. Make a list, from memory, of the things we owe to Egypt, and then consult the book for corrections or additions.

2. What can you learn from the extracts on Egypt in Davis' *Readings* that has not been brought out in this chapter?

3. Some student might well report to the class still other things to be learned about old Egypt from books in the reference library — especially from the illustrations in those books.

4. How did the farms of ex-soldiers compare in size with those of peasants? (Did you think of that comparison as you read the passage about Egyptian soldiers?)

5. When you read the first paragraph on page 15, did you look up a map of the United States so as to compare the size of Colorado with that of Maryland — or did you not need to?

6. Page 21 mentions the Egyptian flail. On page 442 there is a picture of the same tool in use in England some six thousand years later.

7. The date palm (mentioned on page 15) is a good topic for a special report by some student.

Further questions and exercises on Egypt are given at the close of the next chapter (page 53), where there is a chance for comparison with other early civilizations.

CHAPTER III

THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES COUNTRIES

I. LAND AND PEOPLES

An almost continuous desert stretches across the Old World from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The western third, the Sahara, lies in north Africa and is broken at its eastern end by the Nile oasis. Over in Asia, just across the Red Sea, the desert begins again, reaching, with only one important break, to the Yellow Sea. The western part of that Asiatic desert is much like the African desert, consisting of low barren plains; the eastern and larger part is made up of a series of lofty arid plateaus, crossed irregularly by rugged mountain ranges; the two parts are separated from each other by that one important break — a patch of luxuriant vegetation reaching away from the Persian Gulf toward the northwest (map facing page 15).

**This oasis is the work of the Tigris and Euphrates**, and it is the home of the second great civilization with which our study is concerned. (We have already had occasion to mention it briefly, and now we take it up in more detail.) Those twin rivers rise on opposite slopes of the snow-capped Armenian mountains and approach each other by majestic sweeps until they form a common valley. Then they flow in parallel channels for most of their course but join their waters just before they empty into the Persian Gulf. The land between has always taken its name from them. The Jews called it "Syria of the Two Rivers"; the Greeks, "Mesopotamia" ("Between the Rivers"); and the Arabs to-day, "The Island."

**The valley has three parts.**<sup>1</sup> (1) Like the delta of the Nile, the lower part had been built up out of alluvial soil carried out, in the course of ages, into the sea. This district is known as

<sup>1</sup> Map facing page 15. What nations hold these regions to-day?

*Chaldea*, or (from its chief city) as *Babylonia*. Its fertility, in ancient times, was kept up by the annual overflow of the Euphrates, regulated, like the Nile's, by dikes, reservoirs, and canals. (2) To the north, the rich Chaldean plain rises into a broad table-land. The fertile half of this, on the Tigris side, is ancient *Assyria*. (3) The western part of the upper valley (to which



we now restrict the name *Mesopotamia*) is more rugged. In recent years it has proved to be exceedingly rich in oil, so that modern nations have come to look upon it as a prize worth even the evil and risk of war, but in ancient times it was important mainly as part of the crescent road around the Arabian desert from Chaldea to Egypt (page 39).

Like the lower Nile valley, the lower Euphrates valley at an early time had a dense population dwelling in many cities. Each city, with its surrounding hamlets and farms, was a "city-

state." These petty states waged many wars with one another, until first *Accad* and then *Ur*, both of which we read about in the Bible, won control over all the valley. The



A BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONE of about 2000 B.C. — From Jastrow's *Babylonia and Assyria*. Such stones were placed at each corner of a grant of land. The inscription records the title, and the gods are invoked to witness the grant or sale and to punish transgressors upon the owner's rights.

people (sometimes called *Accadians* in the early period) had a civilization much like the Egyptian, and almost or quite as early as the people of the Nile. They were short, dark, quick-witted, gentle, pleasure loving, and fond of industry and art.

From time to time the *Accadians* were conquered by hordes of invading nomad herdsmen from the Arabian desert — a taller, larger-framed, hook-nosed race (whom we speak of, along with the Jews and Arabs, as Semites). Those conquerors finally made their *Semitic* language the speech of all Chaldea (so that the old Accadian speech became a "dead" language, as Latin is with us), but they were only a small part of the population. In the Assyrian district, however, where there were fewer people, these conquerors became the dominant race physically also and gave their bodily characteristics to the whole population.



## II. A SUCCESSION OF THREE EMPIRES

Do not try to fix all details of this "Division II" in your memory. Like III in the preceding chapter, these pages are given mainly for convenient reference.

About 2150 B.C. a new Semitic conqueror, *Hammurapi*, moved the capital of Chaldea up the valley from Ur to *Babylon* and soon extended his rule even to the Mediterranean. This was the **First Babylonian Empire**.<sup>1</sup> From this time the people of Chaldea are commonly called Babylonians, and, ever since, the name Babylon has remained a symbol for magnificence and power. For hundreds of years, Babylonian manufactures were used, Babylonian fashions were copied, and Babylonian books were read, over all Syria. Some centuries after Hammurapi, however, Egypt for a time seized much of this Babylonian Empire (page 39).

In 745 B.C. the Assyrian district, long subject to Babylon, became independent, with its capital at *Nineveh*, and that city quickly became the seat of an empire larger and



THE OLDEST ARCH KNOWN (about 4000 B.C.) This vaulted drain was discovered a few years ago fifteen feet below what had long been supposed to be the earliest remains of Babylonian civilization. It seems to have been part of a highly complex drainage system in a crypt of an ancient temple. The arch is two feet high. The clay pipes, whose forms can be seen dimly on the bottom, are eight inches in diameter, and lie in two-foot joints.—From Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*. (The later Babylonians made little or no use of the arch.)

<sup>1</sup> An empire is properly a state containing many sub-states. Egypt was called a *kingdom* while it was confined to the Nile valley, but an *empire* when its sway extended over Ethiopia and Syria (page 39).

**mightier than any before it.** In 722 B.C. the king *Sargon* carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into a captivity in which their history is lost. Sargon's son, *Sennacherib*, subdued Judah (all that was left of the once powerful Hebrew kingdom), and Sennacherib's son conquered Egypt (page 39). Assyrian rule united all the civilized regions of which we have been reading and reached out also into new districts in Asia Minor and Media.

The Hebrew story of the Assyrian conquest of Judah is told in 2 Kings, xviii. For the Assyrian account, see Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 12. Sennacherib, however, is best remembered from the Jewish account of the destruction of his army, in an earlier expedition, by a sudden plague — "smitten by the angel of the Lord." This is the incident referred to in Byron's lines:

The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,  
And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold . . .  
Like leaves of the forest when Autumn has blown,  
That host on the morrow lay withered and strown.

Semitic Assyria delighted in war and had almost no other art or learning except such as she borrowed from conquered neighbors. She gave every energy to making her army a perfect fighting machine. It was armed with iron weapons, adopted from the Hittites (page 39), and was equipped with battering rams and great hurling engines, to beat down the earth walls of hostile cities. To remove a conquered nation from its home and scatter it in distant lands, with unimaginable sufferings (as in the case of the "Lost Tribes" of Israel), was a common practice, to guard against rebellion. "Frightfulness" was the deliberate policy of the Assyrians, to intimidate their enemies, and the rulers exulted fiendishly in details of cruelty. Said parts of two royal inscriptions:

*They did not embrace my feet. . . . I captured the city. . . . The spoil I carried away. . . . [Some of the captives] I burned with fire. I cut off the hands and feet of some; I cut off the noses, ears, and fingers of others. . . . I built a pyramid of the living and a pyramid of heads. The city I overthrew, dug up, and burned.*

The nobles *I flayed*. With their skins I covered the pyramid [of slaughtered citizens]. . . . Some of them *I buried alive in the midst of the pyramid*; others *I impaled on stakes*.

The wide rule of Assyria was short-lived. Her strength was wasted by constant wars abroad, and her industries decayed at home. A burning hatred, too, against her cruelties and her crushing taxation rankled in the hearts of the oppressed peoples. After twenty years of subjection, Egypt broke away. Twenty years more, and Babylon followed. Hordes of "Scythians" (probably Tatar nomads) from the north devastated the empire. Finally the Medes and Babylonians captured Nineveh itself, and the proud "city of blood," which had razed so many other cities, was given to sack and pillage. The passionate exultation of all neighboring peoples was spoken in the stern words of the Hebrew prophet: "All that hear the news of thy fate shall clap their hands over thee — for whom hath not thy wickedness afflicted continually?"<sup>1</sup> Two hun-

<sup>1</sup> Nahum iii, 1-19. See also Isaiah xiii, 16-22, and Jeremiah 1 and li.



OBELISK OF SHALMANESER II OF ASSYRIA (860 B.C.). — From Jastrow's *Babylonia and Assyria*. This is a huge black stone, four-

faceted. The five bands of sculpture shown upon the one face in this cut run around the four faces, as do the inscriptions. Each band illustrates the conquest by Shalmaneser of a different nation, and the inscriptions contain part of the cruel passages recorded on this page. This obelisk is the predecessor of the triumphal columns of Roman Emperors (chapter xxii).

dred years later the Greek adventurer Xenophon, standing on the crumbling ruins of Nineveh, could not even learn their name.

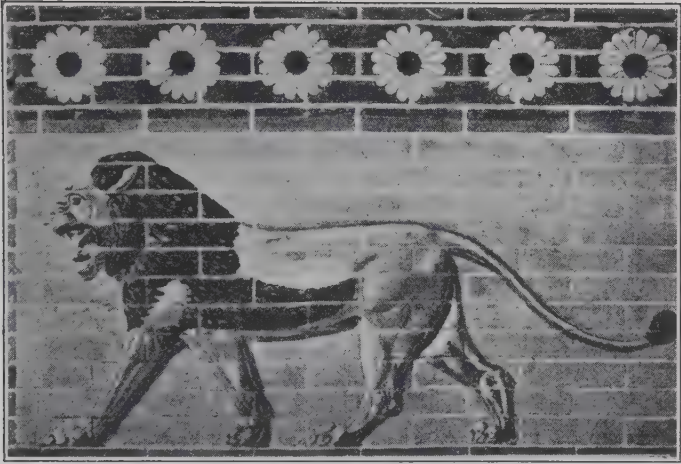
When the Babylonians rose against Assyria (in 625 B.C.), there began a **Second Babylonian Empire**, but it lasted less than a century. The glory of this period belongs chiefly to the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* (604-561 B.C.). He carried away the Jews into a "Babylonian Captivity" — in imitation of Assyrian policy — but he also rebuilt Babylon on a magnificent scale and renewed the ancient engineering works (Davis' *Readings*). Soon afterward, Babylon fell before the rising power of Persia (page 64).

For fifteen hundred years more — under Persian, Greek, Roman, Saracen — though a subject state, Babylonia remained a center of wealth and civilization. Then, for a thousand years, came decay under Turkish misrule, lasting almost to our own day. The myriads of canals were choked with sand; the last vestiges of ancient engineering works went to ruin; and the uncontrolled overflow of the rivers turned the eastern districts into a dreary marsh, while on the west the sands of the desert drifted in to cover the most fertile soil in the world — and the sites of scores of famous cities became only shapeless mounds, where sometimes roaming Arabs camped for the night.

Recently, however, since 1910, first under German influence and now under English, some of its old prosperity is returning to "the Land of the Chaldees," and many thousand acres have been reclaimed by new irrigation works for fields of cotton and grain.

### III. LIFE AND THOUGHT

**Merchants played a more important part in the Euphrates valley than on the Nile.** Moneyed men, rather than nobles, were the important class, next to the king. The position of Babylonia, at the head of the Persian Gulf, made its cities the natural market for the exchange of goods between India and Syria. Even the bloody wars of Assyria were not merely for love of conquest. Like most modern wars, they were mainly

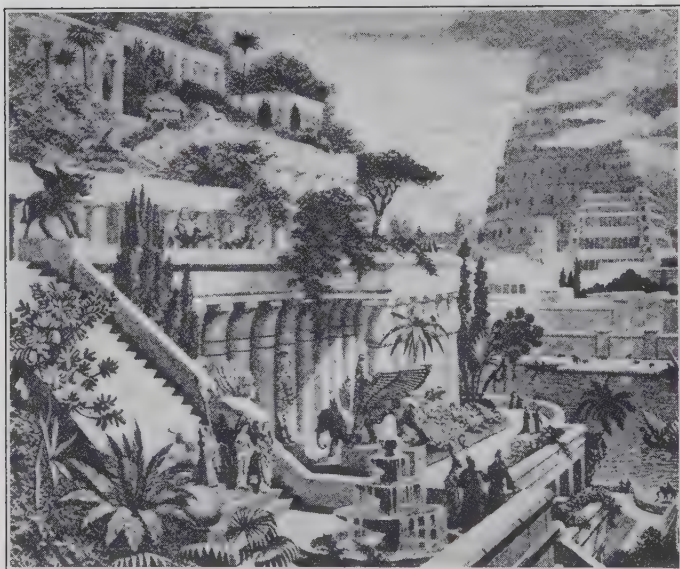


BABYLONIAN LION FROM THE SACRED WAY. Straight north and south through Babylon ran a famous "Procession Street," or "Sacred Way," from the temple of Marduk, the city's guardian god, to the city gate. In Nebuchadnezzar's time this street was paved with huge smooth slabs of stone. On either side of this pavement ran a high brick wall, ornamented along its entire length with a frieze of lions in low relief, each six feet long, brilliantly enameled in white and yellow upon a dark blue ground and crowned with white rosettes. This procession of lions (symbol of the god) led to the colossal guardian bulls of the city gateway.



BABYLONIAN TABLETS with the older hieroglyphics and the later cuneiform equivalents in parallel columns, probably for students.





A king of Babylon married a princess from mountainous Media, and, to satisfy her longing for the scenery of her old home, he built, on the flat Babylonian plain, wonderful "Hanging Gardens," which became famous through all the rest of ancient times as one of "the seven wonders of the world." Earth was piled up in vast mounds, terrace above terrace, and planted with trees and flowering shrubs. To hold the earth in place, the mounds were "faced" with brick, and probably for this great work the king even brought in some stone from outside Babylonia. This picture is from a modern painting which seeks to "reconstruct" that "wonder."

commercial in purpose. They aimed to destroy trade centers, like Damascus, Jerusalem, Tyre, and Babylon, that were rivals of Nineveh for that trade.

There was little stone in Babylonia, but there was good clay for bricks, and **the Babylonians made all their buildings, even palaces and temples, mostly of clay bricks dried in the sun.** Of course these would crumble away after many years. Then the people kept building new houses on the ruins of those that crumbled. To-day when travelers see a spreading mound standing up in the flat Babylonian plain, they feel quite sure that an ancient city once stood there.

**Even the Babylonian books were made of brick.** The early Chaldeans had a system of hieroglyphics not unlike the Egyptian. But, in the lack of stone and of papyrus, they came to press the characters with a sharp metal instrument into clay tablets (which were then baked to preserve them). This change of material led to a change in the written characters also. The pictures shriveled and flattened into wedge-shaped symbols, and so scholars call this writing *cuneiform* (from the Latin *cuneus*, or "wedge"). Recently a Babylonian *schoolhouse* has been excavated, where boys were taught to write. The floor was strewn with many "slates" (soft clay tablets when the Babylonian boys used them), covered with writing exercises, evidently from set copies — some easy, some harder. When such a "slate" was full, the boy cleaned it by scraping it smooth with a straight-edge scraper.

**Each of the numerous cities** that studded the valley of the twin rivers **had its library**, sometimes several of them. A library was a collection of clay tablets or bricks covered with minute cuneiform writing — six lines, perhaps, to an inch. In Babylon the ruins of one library contained over thirty thousand tablets, of about the date 2700 B.C., all neatly arranged in order. A tablet, with its condensed writing, corresponds fairly well to a chapter in one of our books. Each tablet had its library number stamped upon it, and the collections were carefully catalogued. The kings prided themselves on keeping libraries open

to the public, and a large part of the inhabitants (including many women) could read and write.

Science was somewhat hindered by belief in charms and magic. Some of our boyish forms of "counting out" such as "eeny, meeny, miny, moe," are playful survivals of solemn forms of divination used by Chaldean magicians. Still, in *geometry* the Chaldeans made as much progress as the Egyptians; and in *arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit (used as we use the hundred) because it is divisible by both ten and twelve. (That way of counting survives on the faces of our clocks in our "minutes and seconds," and on every school globe, and the Chaldean "dozen" is still one of our units.)

As in Egypt, too, the clear skies and level plains invited an early *study of the heavenly bodies*. Every great city had its lofty observatory and its royal astronomer; and in Babylon, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found the record of an unbroken series of observations running back 1900 years before that time. Toward the close of their civilization the Chaldeans learned to *foretell eclipses*. Largely, however, they studied astronomy as a means of foretelling human fortunes — because the stars were thought to influence men's lives. This pretended science we call *astrology*, to distinguish it from real astronomy. It was practiced in earnest in Europe as late as Queen Elizabeth's time, and, even after so many hundred years, a European astrologer was always called "a Chaldean."

In many new ways these men of the Euphrates made practical use of their science. They taught the Egyptians to use *wheeled* carts and chariots. They wrote books on *agriculture*, which passed on their skill in that field to the Greeks. They understood the *lever* and *pulley*, and used the *arch* in vaulted drains and aqueducts. They invented an excellent system of *measures*, based on the length of finger, hand, and arm; and these measures, along with their *weights*, have come down to us through the Greeks. Our *pound* and *ounce* (Troy Weight) are merely the Babylonian *mina* and *shekel*. The symbols in our

"*Apothecaries' Table*," still used in every physician's prescription, are Babylonian, as are also the curious "*signs of the zodiac*" in our almanacs. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so from the Chaldeans we get the *week*, with its "seventh day of rest for the soul," and the subdivisions of our hours.

Babylonian metal-workers and engravers had surpassing skill in *cutting gems, enameling, and inlaying*. Assyrian looms, too, produced the finest of *muslins* and of fleecy *woolens*, to which the *dyer* gave the most brilliant colors. The rich wore long robes of those cloths, decorated with embroideries. Tapestries and carpets, wonderfully colored, were woven, for walls and floors—as like fabrics are made in the same districts to-day.



**CYLINDER SEALS.**—Every well-to-do Babylonian had his "seal," with which to sign legal papers. The rich used engraved precious stones arranged to revolve on an axis. Some of the jasper or chalcedony or onyx seals, with delicate engraving, would be hard to surpass to-day. See page 54 for the impression from a very early seal.

**Property rights were guarded carefully**, as is shown by multitudes of deeds, wills, and skillfully drawn business contracts.

In 1902 A.D., in one of the city mounds there was found a collection of 280 laws inscribed in some 2600 lines upon an eight-foot shaft of stone. This collection, enacted by Hammurapi (page 45), is **the oldest known code of laws**. It tries to guard against bribery of judges and witnesses, against careless medical practice, against ignorant or dishonest building contractors, as well as against the oppression of widows and orphans. Some provisions remind us of the later Jewish law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth—though injuries to a poor man could be atoned for in money. Two extracts from the code read:

If a man has caused a man of rank to lose an eye, one of his own eyes must be struck out. If he has shattered the limb of a man of rank, let his own limb be broken. [But] If he has caused a poor man to lose an

eye, or has shattered a limb, let him pay one maneh of silver [about \$32 in our values].

If a doctor has lanced an abscess on the eye of a noble, and has caused the loss of the eye, his hands shall be cut off. . . . If a builder has made a house for a man, and it has fallen and killed the owner, that builder shall be put to death.

Assyria had excellent stone. Still for centuries her builders slavishly used brick, like the people from whom they borrowed their art. Finally, however, they came to make use of the better



A CONTRACT IN DUPLICATE. — A contract-brick was sometimes inclosed within another wrapping of clay, upon which the agreement was then written again before the bricks were burnt. If any one ever suspected that the outer writing had been tampered with, the inner record could be consulted by breaking the outer one.

material about them for sculpture and for at least the facings of their public buildings. In architecture and sculpture, though in no other art, Assyria, land of stone, excelled Babylonia, land of brick. In the royal palaces especially, the almost unlimited power of the monarchs and their Oriental passion for splendor and color pro-

duced a sumptuous magnificence. The following description of a palace of ancient Nineveh is taken from Dr. J. K. Hosmer's *The Jews*.

Upon a huge, wide-spreading, artificial hill, faced with masonry, for a platform, rose cliff-like fortress walls a hundred feet more, wide enough for three chariots abreast and with frequent towers shooting up to a still loftier height. Sculptured portals, by which stood silent guardians, colossal figures in white alabaster, the forms of men and beasts, winged and of majestic mien, admitted to the magnificence within. . . . Upward, tier above tier, into the blue heavens, ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar, cornices glittering with gold, capitals blazing with vermillion, and, between them, voluminous curtains of silk, purple and scarlet, interwoven with threads of gold. . . . The mind grows dizzy with the thought of the splendor — the processions of satraps and tributary kings, winding up the stairs and passing in a radiant stream through the halls — the gold and embroidery, the ivory and the sumptuous furniture, the pearls and the hangings.





COLOSSAL MAN-BEAST FROM SARGON'S PALACE IN NINEVEH — one of the "alabaster guardians" mentioned in the quotation on page 52. — Now in the Louvre.



ASSYRIAN RELIEF SCULPTURE of about 860 B.C. (illustrating the campaigns to which the quotations on pages 46 f. apply). Three fugitives are seeking escape by swimming a river to a walled town where friends await them — an archer and two men who are offering up prayers for them. On the further bank are Assyrian archers shooting at the fugitives, one of whom is already pierced by two arrows. Two of the swimmers are supported by inflated skins — which, however, they have to clasp with one arm.



A BASVIDNIAN "BOOK"—an octagon brick of about three times the size of this picture, with all sides covered with fine cuneiform writing. Now in the British Museum. Compare with the description on page 49.

**Babylonians and Assyrians worshiped ancestors.** Mingled with this religion was a **nature worship**, with numerous gods and demigods. Ancestor worship is usually accompanied by a belief in witchcraft and in unfriendly ghosts and demons. In Chaldea these superstitions appeared in exaggerated form. The pictures in early Christian times representing the devil with horns, hoofs, and tail, came from the Babylonians, through the Jewish *Talmud* (a Hebrew book of learning and legends).

Nature worship, in its lower stages, is often accompanied by debasing rites, in which drunkenness and sensuality appear as acts of worship. The stern reproaches of the Hebrew prophets have made Babylon notorious for such features in her religion; but the following hymn composed in Ur, before the time of Abraham, shows that some Chaldeans rose to noble religious feeling.

Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the  
life of all mankind! . . .

First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none  
who may fathom it! . . .

In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!

As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their  
faces.

As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below  
kiss the ground.

### EXERCISES

1. In studying long periods of history, especially where different peoples are concerned, it is well to have always before you a *time line*. If you allow four inches to a century, you can represent 7000 years by a 280-inch line on the blackboard. Mark its beginning 5000 B.C. (Bronze Civilization in Egypt). (You may like to suggest the still earlier and almost unknown period of human life by a few *dots* running back from that point. How long do you think a line would have to be to represent all of that earlier period?) Now place marks for the *Birth of Christ, 1000 A.D., the year in which you are living, the Discovery of America by Columbus, and the American Declaration of Independence*. These points will give a convenient background. As our work goes on, you will find occasion to make many entries. At present it will do to mark points for the first Egyptian calendar, the pyramid age in Egypt, the period of Egyptian conquests in Asia, the rise of the Hittite power in

Syria, Hammurapi's code, the first voyage around Africa, and the Persian conquest of Egypt. Do not put in too many events at this time, because you will have need to make other entries in this same part of the line as you study some of the following chapters.

If you keep a history notebook (*a desirable thing to do*), you can keep a time line there, on a smaller scale, letting it run across the top of successive pages.

2. Without consulting the past chapters, try to place the following names and events in the right time-order: *Neco*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Hammurapi*, *Akhenaten*, *cuneiform writing*, *Ur's fall from leadership*, *Sennacherib*, *hieroglyphic writing*. Verify your list now, if necessary, by consulting the text. Explain or identify each name clearly by a few words after it in your list.

3. Let five students each present a list of five terms from this chapter for brief explanation by the class — not using any of the terms mentioned in 2 above.

4. Would it have been easier or harder for civilization to start in the valley of the Nile or of the Euphrates if these valleys had had dense forests, as the Amazon valley has? Can you think of any reason why a mighty forest did not cover those fertile valleys?

5. Give reasons why a history of our early civilization gives more space to Babylonia than to China, whose civilization still exists.

6. Re-read "Explanation" 4 at the close of chapter 1. Can you see any reason why Babylonia should have suffered oftener from such nomad invasions than Egypt did?

It is probably not advisable to *require* young high-school students to use the library with reference to these early Oriental civilizations. It *is* well worth while, however, for the class to use all the material upon them in Davis' *Readings*. Those who wish to read more will find a few select books named in the appendix of this volume.



IMPRESSION FROM THE SEAL OF AN EARLY BABYLONIAN KING. (See page 51.) The seated figure is the Moon-God, the king's special protector, to whom a divine messenger is conducting him.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MIDDLE STATES

Three small Syrian states in the middle district between the Nile and the Euphrates became mighty factors in civilization, although two of them never grew into powerful empires.

#### I. THE PHOENICIANS

**The Phoenicians** dwelt on a little strip of broken coast shut off from the interior by the Lebanon Mountains (map, page 60). Long before 1000 B.C. they **had far outrun Egypt and Babylonia in trade**, so that we think of their country as almost the first land of commerce. The Mediterranean was to them all that the Nile was to the Egyptians. Their many harbors invited them seaward, and the "cedar of Lebanon" offered the best of ship timber. At first, half traders, half pirates, their crews crept from island to island, to barter with the natives or to sweep them off for slaves, as chance might best suggest. Then, more daringly, they sought wealth farther and farther on the sea, until they passed even the Pillars of Hercules,<sup>1</sup> into the open Atlantic, and we see them exchanging the precious tin of Britain, the yellow amber of the Baltic, and the slaves and ivory of West Africa, for the spices, gold, scented wood, and precious stones of India. The ship that Neco sent to circumnavigate Africa was manned by Phoenician sailors; and the chief Phoenician cities, Tyre and Sidon, were among the most splendid and wealthy in the world. The Hebrew prophet Ezekiel exclaimed:

O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples . . . thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty.

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<sup>1</sup> Two lofty hills, one on each side of the Strait of Gibraltar, beyond which, the Ancients generally thought, lay inconceivable perils (map after page 88).



*Thy borders are in the heart of the seas; thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees. . . . They have taken cedars from Lebanon to be masts for thee; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood from the isles of Kittim [Kition in Cyprus]. Of fine linen with brodered work from Egypt was thy sail, . . . blue and purple from the isles of Elishah [North Africa] was thy awning. . . . All the ships of the sea were in thee to exchange merchandise. . . . With silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded for thy wares. [Ezekiel names also, among the articles of exchange, emeralds, coral, ivory, ebony, rubies, wheat, honey, oil, balm, wine, wool, yarn, spices, horses, mules, lambs, and goats.]*

And when we think of these adventurous "ships," we must try to remember that they were still only small open boats, driven mainly by oars. Sometimes the boatmen used also a square sail, but only to run before the wind. (It was many hundreds of years before sailors learned to "tack.") They had no compass. Their only guides, when they were out of sight of land, were the sun and stars. Centuries later, the Greeks still called the North Star the "Phoenicians' Star," because the daring Phoenician mariners had become famous for steering by it.

**The Phoenicians were the first colonizers.** They fringed the larger islands and the shores of the Mediterranean with trading stations, which became new centers of civilization. Carthage, Utica, Gades (Cadiz, on the Atlantic), were among their colonies (map after page 88). They worked tin mines in Colchis, in Spain, and finally in Britain, and so made possible the manufacture of bronze on a larger scale than before, to replace stone implements. Probably they first introduced bronze into many parts of Europe.

To get things wherewith to trade, the Phoenicians became manufacturers, — learning from Egyptians and Babylonians to work in metals, glass, and textiles. Hammer, loom, potter's wheel, engraver's knife, were always busy in Tyre, and quantities of their products are found in ancient tombs of Greece and Italy — the earliest *European* homes of civilization. Especially prized, too, among wealthy and ruling classes of all the world was a rich crimson dye, the long-famous "Tyrian

purple" (obtained from the bodies of a shellfish that abounded near Phoenicia), with which Phoenician weavers colored their most costly woolen robes.

The main service of the Phoenicians was to *spread civilization that others had created*. They were "missionaries of culture." Especially did they teach the Greeks, who were to teach the rest of Europe.

One mighty invention does seem due chiefly to the Phoenicians themselves. When the Egyptians first conquered Syria, about 1600 B.C., the Phoenicians were using the cuneiform script of Babylon (introduced among them by Hammurapi's conquest). But their commerce made it necessary to keep complicated accounts and to communicate with agents in distant ports. This called for a simpler way of writing; and, about 1100 B.C., we find them with a true alphabet of twenty-two letters (for consonant sounds only) probably based upon Egyptian "sound-symbols." This, it is well said, was "their chief export." All the alphabets in use in the world to-day are derived from this one.

The Phoenician cities submitted easily, as a rule, to any powerful neighbor. From Babylonia, from Egypt, from Persia, in turn, they bought security by paying tribute in money and in ships. Assyria, however, destroyed many of them, because jealous of their trade, but Tyre was saved by her position on a rocky island-promontory. Finally, in 332 B.C., Tyre, too, was captured by Alexander the Great (page 175). From this downfall the proud city never fully recovered, and fishermen now spread their nets to dry in the sun on the bare rock where once her tall towers rose.

## II. THE HEBREWS

As the Phoenicians were men of the sea, so the early Hebrews were men of the desert. They appear first as wandering shepherds along the grazing lands on the edge of the Arabian sands. *Abraham*, the founder of the race, emigrated from "Ur of the Chaldees," about 2100 B.C. He and his descendants, *Isaac*

and *Jacob*, lived and ruled as patriarchal chiefs, much as Arab sheiks do in the same regions to-day.

Finally, "the famine was sore in the land." **Jacob and his sons**, with their tribesmen and flocks, **sought refuge in Egypt**. Here they found *Joseph*, one of their brethren, already high in royal favor. The rulers of Egypt at this time, too, were the Hyksos (page 39), themselves originally Arabian shepherds, and the Hebrews were allowed to settle in the fertile pasturage of Goshen, near the Red Sea, where flitting Arab tribes have always been wont to encamp. But soon the native Egyptian rule was restored by Theban pharaohs, "who knew not Joseph." Those powerful princes of the New Empire reduced the Hebrews to slavery, and employed them on great public works, and "made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field."

**Three centuries later, while the Egyptian government was in a period of weakness and disorder, the oppressed people escaped to the Arabian desert again, led by the hero *Moses*.** For a man's lifetime, the fugitives wandered to and fro, after their ancient manner; but they were now a numerous people and had become accustomed to fixed abodes. **About 1250 B.C., under *Joshua*, to whom Moses had turned over the leadership, they began to conquer the fertile valleys of Palestine for their home.** Then followed two centuries of bloody warfare with their neighbors, some of whom had long before taken on the civilization of Babylonia.

During this period the Hebrews remained a loose alliance of twelve shepherd tribes, led by a series of popular heroes, like *Samson*, *Jephthah*, *Gideon*, and *Samuel*, known as ***Judges***. Much of the time there was great and ruinous disorder, and bands of robbers drove travelers from the highways. Finally, the Philistines for a time overran the land at will.

**Thus the Hebrews felt the necessity for stronger government.** *Saul*, a mighty warrior, roused them against the Philistine spoilers, and led them to victory. In return they made him their first king. Alongside this monarch and his successors,

however, there stood religious teachers without office but with great authority. These "prophets" were shepherd preachers, clad perhaps only in the sheepskin of the desert; but they did not hesitate to rebuke or oppose a sovereign.

**David, the second king** (about 1070-977), **completely subdued the Philistines.** The great states on the Nile and the Euphrates were now in a period of decay. This made it possible for David also to raise the Hebrew state into a considerable empire, including nearly all Syria except Phoenicia. He will be remembered longest, however, not for his deeds as a daring warrior or even as a wise organizer of an empire, but rather as "the sweet singer of Israel." As a shepherd boy, he had attracted Saul's favor by his beauty and his skill upon the harp; and, in the most troublous days of his kingship, he sought rest and comfort in composing songs and poems which are now included in the sacred Book of Psalms.

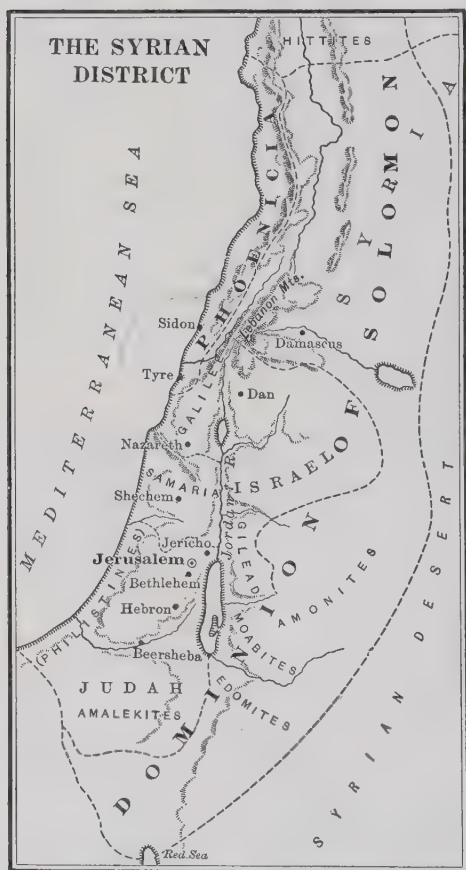
**David had planned a noble temple at Jerusalem** for the worship of Jehovah, **but the work was actually carried out by his son, Solomon.** The Hebrews had little ability in architecture; but Solomon's ally, King Hiram of Tyre, sent skilled Phoenician builders for the work, and it was completed with great magnificence. Through the rest of their history it remained the chief center of interest for the Hebrew people.

Until this period, Hebrew life had been plain and simple. The people were merely herdsmen and tillers of the soil. But Solomon built rich palaces with his foreign workmen, and copied within them all the magnificence and luxury of an Oriental court.

The Hebrews now began to grow prosperous — with the usual inequality of great wealth and extreme poverty. And soon the prophets, like Micah and Amos (the first social reformers in history), were denouncing fiercely the fraud and violence of the greedy rich, who "corrupt judgment" (in law cases) and "grind the faces of the poor."

The punishment for the nation, which the prophets foretold, was already on the way. **Solomon's reign closed the brief age of political greatness.** The twelve tribes had not come to feel

themselves really one nation. They had been divided into two groups in earlier times: ten tribes in one group; two in the other. The "ten tribes" now held the north, the more fertile



part of Palestine, with numerous cities. The "two tribes," in the rugged south, were still largely shepherds and herdsmen. David had belonged to the smaller group, and his *early* kingship had extended over only the two tribes. Jealousies against the rule of his house had smoldered all along among the ten tribes. Now came a final separation. Solomon's taxes had sorely burdened the people. On his death, the ten tribes petitioned his son for relief, and when the young king (*Rehoboam*) replied with haughty insult, they set up for themselves as the *King-*

*dom of Israel*, with a capital at Samaria. The tribes of Benjamin and Judah remained faithful to the house of David, and became the *Kingdom of Judah*, with the old capital, Jerusalem.

The **Kingdom of Israel** lasted 250 years, until Sargon carried the ten tribes into that Assyrian captivity in which they are



“lost” to history (page 46). **Judah lasted four centuries after the separation**, most of the time tributary to Assyria or to Babylon. Finally, in punishment for rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people into the *Babylonian captivity* (page 48).

**When the Persians conquered Babylon a little later** (page 48), they showed special favor to the Jews, and the more zealous of that race returned to Judah. From this time, such control of their own affairs as was left to them by Persia, or by the other conquering nations that followed Persia, was in the hands of the priests, led by the High Priest of the Temple. At this time the sacred writings of the Hebrews — our “Old Testament” — were recopied and rewritten in their present form, though they were not put together into one volume until much later.

**The Hebrews added nothing to material civilization**, nor did they contribute directly to any art. **Their work was higher.** *The true history of the Hebrews is the record of their spiritual growth.* Their religion was infinitely purer and truer than any other of the ancient world.

At first this lofty faith belonged to only a few — to the patriarchs, and later to the prophets, with a small following of the more spiritually minded of the nation. For a thousand years the common people, and some of the kings, were constantly falling away into the superstitions of their Syrian neighbors. But it is the supreme merit of the Hebrews that a remnant always clung to the higher religion, until it became the universal faith of that “chosen” and sifted people who, after the Babylonian captivity, found their way back to Judah through so many hardships.

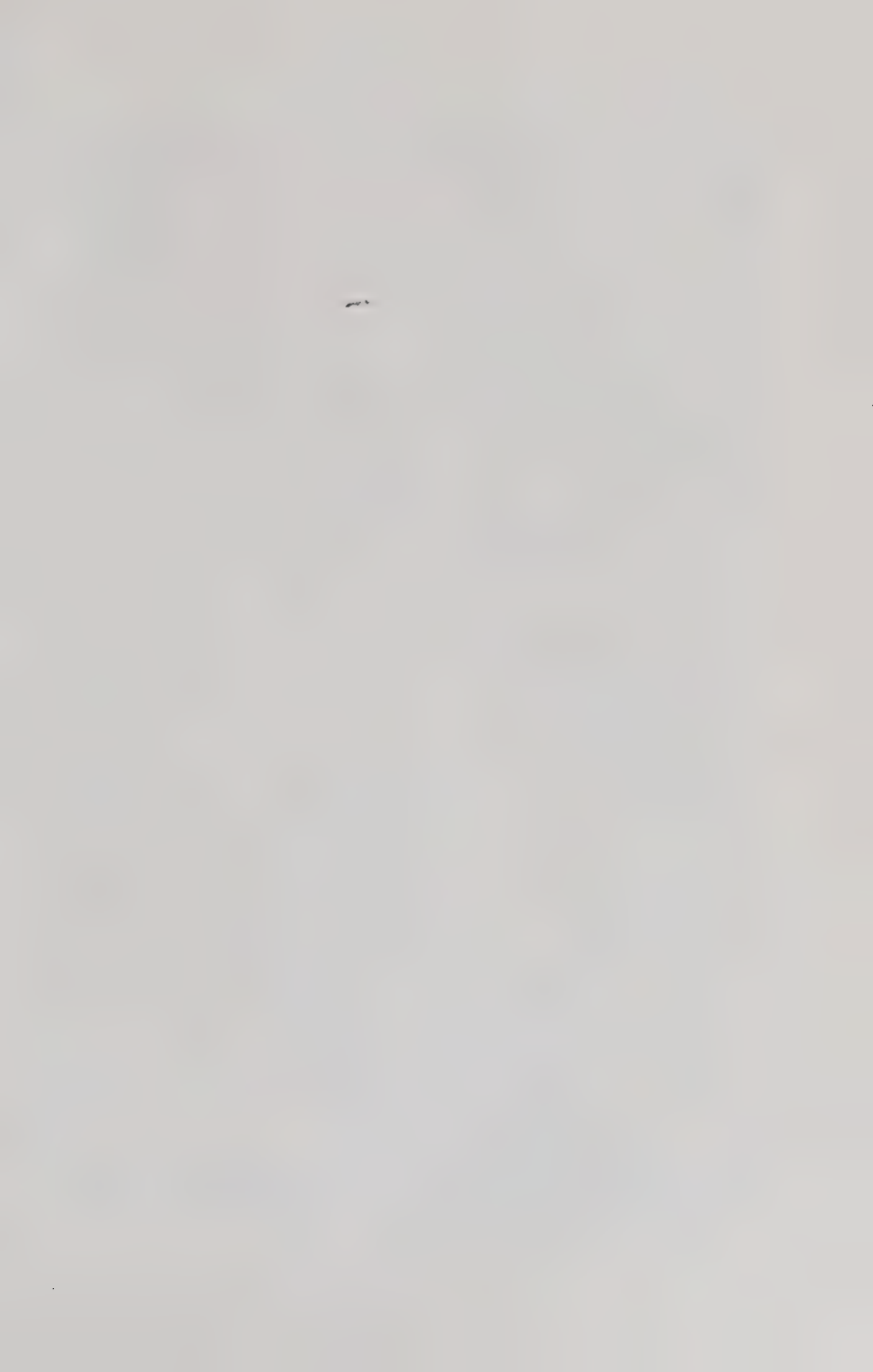
### III. THE HITTITES AND THE AGE OF IRON

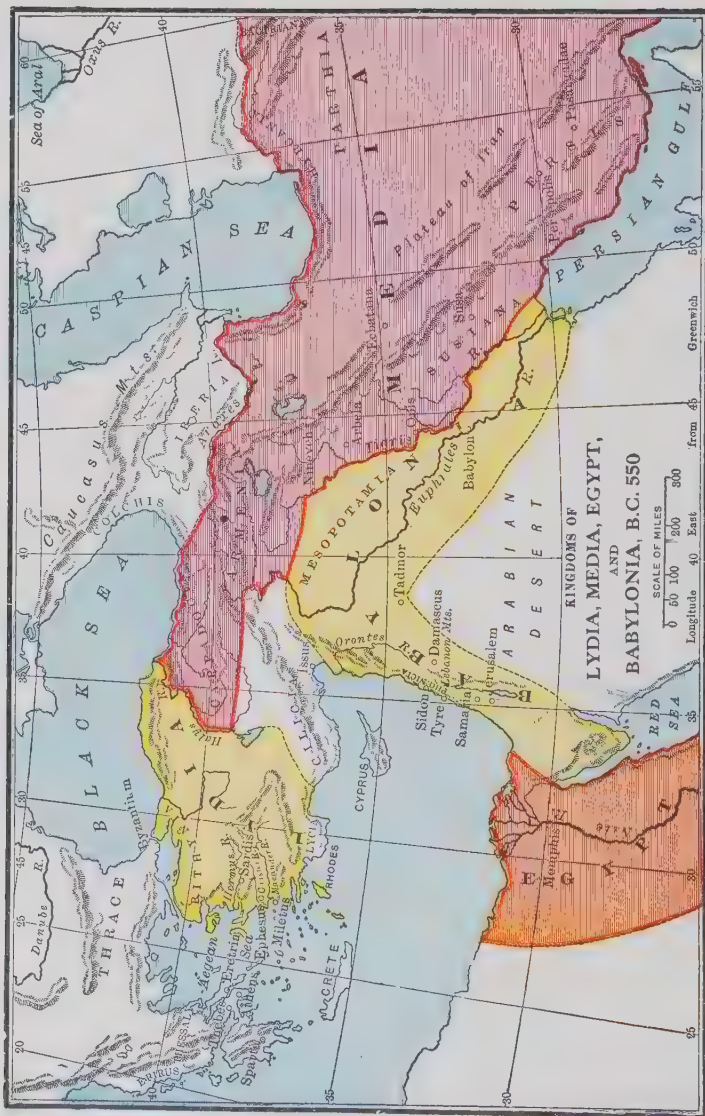
Two or three times (pages 28, 39, 46) we have had cause to refer to **the Hittites** who dwelt on the slopes of the Taurus Mountains at the northwestern corner of the Syrian district. Very little is known about that strange people except that **they certainly made one of the most important inventions in**

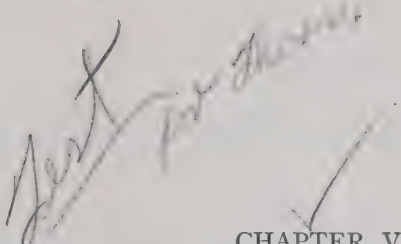
**all history.** Tools of iron are vastly superior to bronze tools. But to separate iron from the ore (where it is usually mixed with other substances), and to work it up afterward, call for more skillful smiths and better forges with hotter fires than are necessary to work in bronze. Most of *our* iron, too, is obtained from underground mines, where early man could never have found it. But in various places there were once small *surface* deposits of iron — sometimes of almost “free” iron. **At some time between 2000 and 1500 B.C.** the Hittites had learned how to work the abundant deposits of that kind near their homes. With their new iron weapons they then conquered widely among their bronze-armed neighbors — until they were overthrown, soon afterward, by the Assyrians, to whom they had taught the use of the new metal.

**By 800 B.C. the Age of Iron had begun in many places around the eastern half of the Mediterranean coasts.** Bronze, however, remained the more common metal for most purposes for a long time after that date — just as the common Egyptian soldiers continued to use stone-headed arrows for two thousand years after the Age of Bronze began in the Nile valley.

EXERCISES. — Locate four places that became centers of civilization before 1500 B.C. Notice, on the map facing page 15, where they would naturally be expected to come in touch with one another. What other center became important before 1000 B.C.? (One more center for the early period — Crete — is yet to be discussed.)







## CHAPTER V

### THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

**Now the map grows.** Shortly before the overthrow of Babylon, two new centers of civilization appeared, one on either side of the Syrian crescent. These were *Persia* and *Lydia*.

**Lydia** was a kingdom in western Asia Minor. Somewhat before 550 B.C. its sovereign, *Croesus*, united all Asia Minor west of the Halys River under his sway, including the many Greek cities on the eastern Mediterranean coast. This made the Lydian Empire for a time one of the great world-powers (map opposite).

The region abounded in gold and silver, and "rich as Croesus" became a byword. **Lydia's gift to the world was the invention of coinage.** As early as 650 B.C., a Lydian king stamped upon pieces of silver a statement of their weight and value, with his name and picture as guarantee that the statement was true. Until this time, little advance had been made over the old Egyptian method of trade, except that the use of silver rings had become more common. The Babylonians had taught the world to count riches in *shekels*, — which meant "ounces" of silver; but there were no *coined* shekels, and there was little security against the mixing of cheaper metals with the silver. The true money of Lydia made all forms of trade vastly easier. Other states began to adopt systems of coinage of their own. Ever since, the coinage of money has been one of the important duties of governments. The old sort of "barter," however, remained the common method of exchange in all but the great markets of the world for centuries more.

Barter has always remained the way by which civilized men trade with savages. Why? In new countries, even in quite recent times civilized men themselves have used



it when coined money was scarce. In the early American colonies the people often paid debts and taxes with tobacco or grain or other produce.

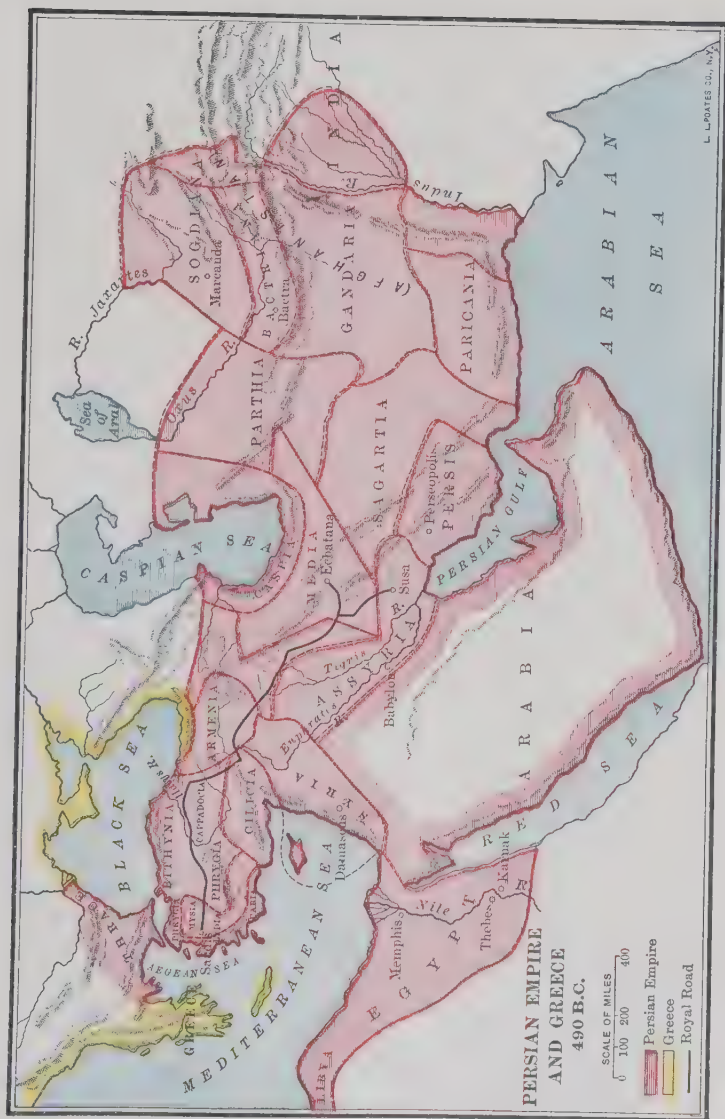
**The lofty and arid plateau of Iran, to the east of the Two Rivers, was the home of barbarous Medes and Persians.** Assyria had repeatedly repulsed and subdued them, but gradually they adopted the civilization of their neighbors. In 606 B.C. the Medes joined Babylon (page 47) in overthrowing Nineveh. Then for some fifty years the civilized world was divided between four great powers, — Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, and Media, — in friendly alliance.

But in 558 B.C., **Cyrus, a tributary prince of the Persian tribes, threw off the yoke of the Medes and set up an independent Persian monarchy — which quickly became the most powerful empire the world had known.** Cyrus conquered Media and her allies, Lydia and Babylon; and a few years later his son subdued Egypt. The new empire included all the former ones, together with the new districts of Iran and Asia Minor.

The next three Persian kings added to their dominions modern Afghanistan and northwestern India on the east, with vast regions to the northeast beyond the Caspian Sea, and on the west, the islands of the Aegean and the European coast from the Black Sea to the Greek peninsula. This huge realm contained possibly seventy-five million people, and its eastern and western frontiers were farther apart than Seattle and New York. Its only civilized neighbors were India and Greece. Elsewhere, indeed, it was bounded by seas and deserts.

Persian art and literature were wholly borrowed, mainly from Babylonia. Besides the expansion of the map, already noted, **Persia's services to the world were three: the repulse of Scythian savages; a better organization of government; and the lofty character of her religion.**

1. About 630 B.C., shortly before the downfall of Nineveh, the steppes of the North had poured hordes of savages into western Asia (page 47). By the Greeks these nomads were called Scythians, and their inroads were like those of the Huns, Turks,





and Tatars, in later history. They plundered as far as Egypt, and were a real danger to all the culture the world had been building up so painfully for four thousand years. *The early Persian kings*, by repeated expeditions into the Scythian country, *saved civilization* from these ruthless ravagers.

2. The first "empires" had been held together very loosely. Conquered kingdoms had to pay tribute and to assist in war, and from time to time their kings were expected to attend the court of their master. Otherwise, the subject states were separate units. They kept their old kings and their own languages, laws, and customs. Two of them sometimes made war upon each other, without interference from the head king. A foreign invasion or the unexpected death of a ruler might shatter the loose union; and then would follow years of bloody war, until some king built up the empire once more.

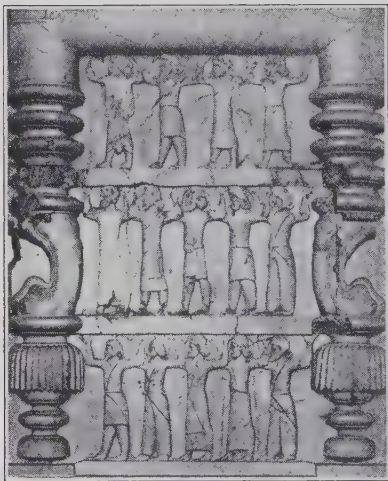
The Assyrian rulers had begun to reform this plan of government. They left the subject peoples their own laws and customs, as before, but they broke up some of the old kingdoms into *satrapies*, or provinces, ruled by appointed officers. The system, however, was still unsatisfactory. In theory the *satraps* were wholly dependent upon the will of the imperial king; but in practice they were very nearly kings themselves, and they were under constant temptation to try to become independent rulers, by rebellion.

The Persians adopted and extended this system of satraps, and *Darius "the Organizer,"* the fourth Persian king (521-485 B.C.), *introduced three new checks upon rebellion.* (1) In each of the twenty provinces, power was divided between the satrap himself and the commander of the standing army. (2) In each province was placed a royal secretary (the "King's Ear") to communicate constantly with the Great King. And (3), most important of all, a special royal commission (the "King's Eye"), backed with military forces, appeared at intervals in each satrapy to inquire into the government, and, if necessary, to arrest the satrap.

This was the most satisfactory organization ever invented by an Oriental empire, ancient or modern. To the vast Persian

world it brought a long period of freedom from the waste and horror of *internal* war. Each of the subject provinces kept its own language and customs; but Darius did something also to create a *spirit* of union in the empire. He reopened the ancient Egyptian canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and he built a magnificent system of post roads, with milestones and excellent inns, with ferries and bridges, and with relays of swift horses for royal couriers. — The

chief road, from Susa to Sardis (map after page 62), was fifteen hundred miles long. Says Benjamin Ide Wheeler of this grand highway (*Alexander the Great*, 196), —



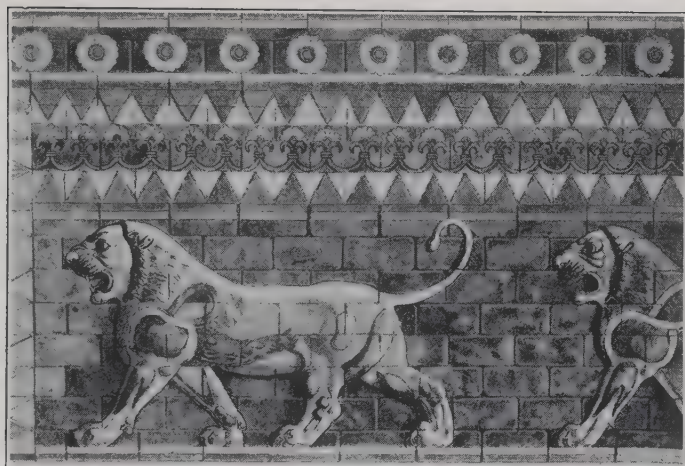
RELIEFS ornamenting one side of the throne of the Persian King Xerxes (about 480 B.C.; ch. ix) in his capital of Persepolis. (Now in the Louvre.)

All the diverse life of the countries it traversed was drawn into its paths. Carians and Cilicians, Phrygians and Cappadocians, staid Lydians, sociable Greeks, crafty Armenians, rude traders from the Euxine shores, nabobs of Babylon, Medes and Persians, galloping couriers mounted on their Bokhara ponies or fine Arab steeds, envoys with train and state, peasants driving their donkeys laden with skins

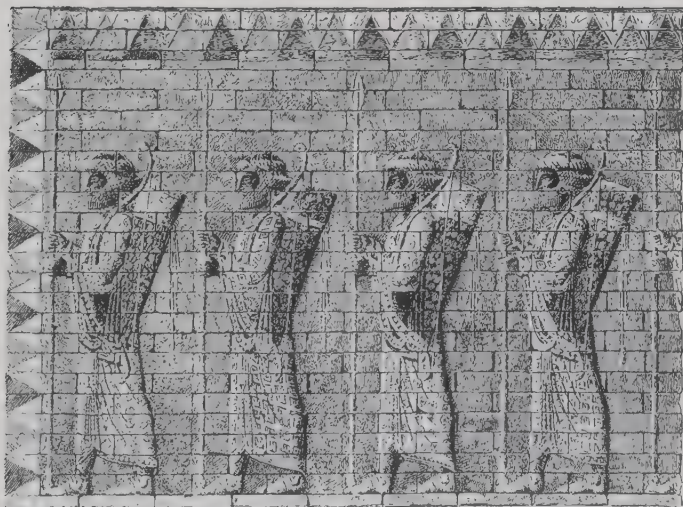
of oil or wine or sacks of grain, stately caravans bearing the wares and fabrics of the south to exchange for the metals, slaves, and grain of the north, travelers and traders seeking to know and exploit the world, — all were there, and all were safe under the protection of an empire the roadway of which pierced the strata of many tribes and many cultures.

3. While they were still barbarous tribes, the Persians had learned to worship the forces of nature, — especially sun, moon, stars, and fire. This worship was in the hands of priests, called *Magi*, who were believed to possess “magic” powers over nature and other men. But *the Persians* of the historic age

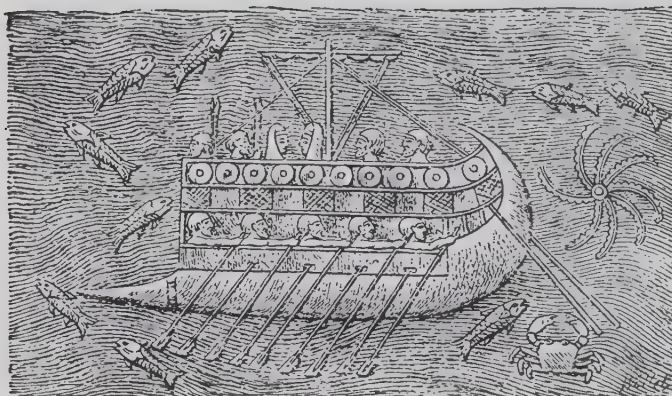




A LION FRIEZE from a palace at Susa built by Artaxerxes Memnon, a Persian king, about 404 B.C. Note the Babylonian influence. Now in the Louvre, Paris.



ARCHERS OF THE PERSIAN GUARD, from a glazed frieze of Darius' palace at Susa, restored later by Artaxerxes Memnon. This frieze, too, is now in the Louvre.



A PHOENICIAN SHIP of about 1000 B.C., as represented by an Assyrian sculptor of that time. Notice the shields along the side. The sculptor did not know very well how to represent the vessel with fish on both sides of it.



HEBREW PROPHETS. — One group from John Sargent's paintings in the Boston Public Library.

had risen to a nobler worship. This is set forth in the Zend-Avesta (the Persian Bible), and it had been established about 1000 B.C. by Zoroaster. According to this great teacher, the world is a stage for unceasing conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. It is man's duty to assist the good power by resisting evil impulses in his own heart and by fighting injustice among men. It is also his place to kill harmful beasts, to care tenderly for other animals, and to make the earth fruitful. The cardinal virtue was *truthfulness*. Darius' instructions to his successor began: "Keep thyself utterly from lies. The man who is a liar, him destroy utterly. If thou do thus, my country will remain whole." A century later, the Greek Herodotus admired the manly sports of the Persians and the simple training of their boys, — "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth." The following passage from the Zend-Avesta shows the Persian idea of a future life:

At the head of the Chinvat Bridge, betwixt this world and the next, when the soul goes over it, there comes a fair, white-armed and beautiful figure, like a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world. And the soul of the true believer speaks to her, "What maid art thou, — all surpassing in thy beauty?" And she makes answer, "O youth of good thought, good words, good deeds, and of good religion: — *I am thine own conscience.*" Then pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura-Mazda, of the Archangels, to . . . "The Abode of Song."

(Another passage tells how the souls of the wicked are met by a foul hag and are plunged into a hideous pit, to suffer endless torment.)

Persia was at the height of her power about 500 B.C. The Oriental peoples had then possessed a complex civilization for almost 5000 years — twice as long a time as has passed since. Through those long ages, Egyptian and Babylonian art and handicraft and science, Phoenician trade and alphabet, Lydian coinage, and finally Persian rule and road, set the world amixing and built foundations for our civilization of to-day — though, for a thousand years more, our own ancestors were merely wandering savages, clad in skins, among the swamps and forests of northern Europe.

FOR FURTHER READING. — There is an admirable twenty-page treatment of the Persian Empire in Benjamin Ide Wheeler's *Alexander the Great* (pages 187-207), — a book which for other reasons deserves a place in every school library. Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 25-31, contain much interesting material upon Persian religion and morals.

EXERCISE. — Would you have expected the Persians to adopt the Egyptian hieroglyphs or the cuneiform writing? Why? In what ways was the organization of the Persian Empire an improvement upon that of the Assyrian? In what way did Assyrian organization improve upon Egyptian?

### SUGGESTIONS FOR REVIEW OF PART I

1. Let the class prepare review questions, each member five or ten. Criticize the questions, showing which ones help to bring out important facts and contrasts and likenesses, and which are merely trivial.

*Sample Questions:* (1) In what did the Egyptians excel the Babylonians? (2) In what did the Babylonians excel the Egyptians? (3) In what did the Persians excel both? (4) Trace the growth of the map for civilized countries.

2. Let three students each make separately a list of five names or events for a time-order test (cf. page 54), and then combine their lists into one, to be given to the class. This may be made still more of a "socialized" exercise by having the class exchange their test papers for correction.

3. Explain in a few words each of the following terms or names: *Hyksos, Cyrus the Persian, papyrus, coins, Saul, alphabet, bronze, nomads, Oriental, Tyre.*

4. On an outline map, trace the best trade route between Egypt and Babylon. Color green the especially fertile districts of the map so far as our study has gone.

5. Do you see any feature of Persian civilization that may have inclined the Persian rulers to favor the Jews, whom they found in captivity at Babylon?

6. Scholars tell us that the name for wheat is the same in the Egyptian and Babylonian languages. Does that fact suggest anything to you?

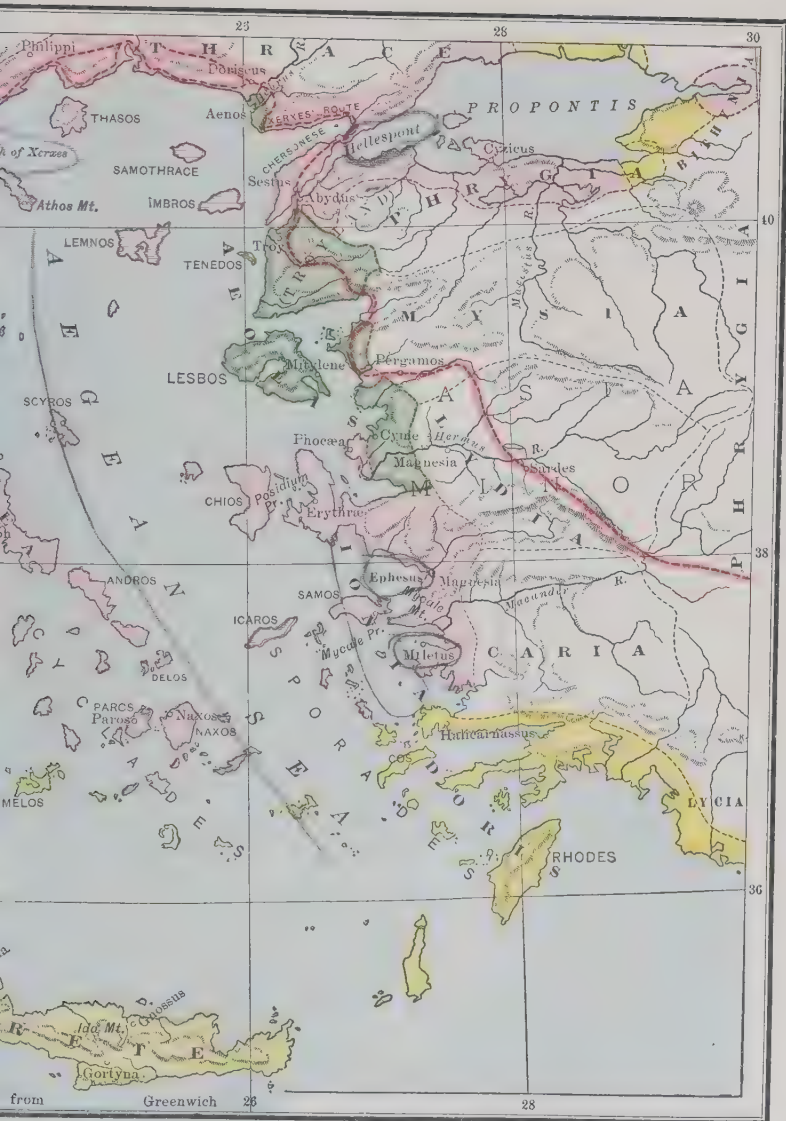
7. What condition in the Oriental world in 550 B.C. made it possible for a conqueror to extend his empire more swiftly than any one could 2000 years earlier?

*Caution:* Make sure that the terms "empire," "state," "tributary state," "civilization," have a definite meaning for all students.











## PART II

### THE GREEKS

*Greece — that point of light in history! —* HEGEL.

*We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our art have their roots in Greece. —* SHELLEY.

#### CHAPTER VI

##### AEGEAN CIVILIZATION, 3500–1500 B.C.

Now we return to Europe. At least as early as 3500 B.C. slim, short, dark-skinned men in the New-Stone stage were living in round-hut villages on the shores and islands of the eastern Mediterranean. Especially about the Aegean Sea with its clustering islands, these men were making a graceful pottery charmingly decorated, and were carrying on some trade. About 3000 B.C. these Aegeans learned the use of bronze from Egypt, and, having once begun, they soon drew many other gifts and hints from the Oriental states, to which they were so near.

In the early period, leadership in the Aegean fell naturally to Crete. Two thousand years later, when the Greeks on the mainland were rising from barbarism, their writers told many legends of powerful kings of Crete, who, ages before, had compelled other Greeks to pay them tribute. Recent excavations prove that these legends are based on truth. Crete stretches its long body across the mouth of the Aegean, and forms a natural stepping-stone from Egypt to Europe. By 2500 B.C. it had advanced far into the Bronze Age, and for the next thousand



VASE FROM KNOS-  
SOS (2200 B.C.).

years (twice as long a time as has passed since America was discovered) its civilization rivaled that of Egypt itself. Its vase paintings, of birds and beasts and plant and sea life, were as lifelike as anything in Egyptian art. The walls of the houses were decorated with a delicate "egg-shell" porcelain, in artistic designs. Gold inlay work had reached great perfection. At Knossos, a palace, built about 2200 B.C., has been



MOUTH OF THE PALACE SEWER AT KNOSSOS, with some of the terra cotta piping. — From Baikie.

unearthed recently, spreading over more than four acres of ground (nearly two city blocks) with splendid halls, corridors, living rooms, throne rooms, and treasure rooms. Especially amazing are the bathrooms, with a drainage system superior to anything in later Christian Europe until less than a hundred years ago. The pipes could be flushed; and a man-trap permitted inspection and repair. One room in the Queen's apartments contained a bathtub similar to those of to-day, and back of that room stood a smaller room with a baby's bath.

This plumbing system was no doubt a direct gift from Egyptian civilization. One of the very early Egyptian





THE VAPHIO CUPS, found in 1889 A.D. at Vaphio in the Peloponnesus, but probably of Cretan origin and dating back to about 2000 B.C. The two cups, of beaten gold with delicate but vigorous ornament, are of about the size of ordinary coffee cups.



THE SCROLL FROM THE VARNHO CREE (LIVING 70) : stages in netting and taming wild birds for the plover.  
Probably this goldsmith's work of 4000 years ago has never been exceeded.

palace-temples had nearly three-quarters of a mile of copper pipe for its water supply and drainage. But no queen in Europe possessed such a luxury in the days when Columbus found America — nor for three hundred years afterward.

Frescoes on the palace walls at Knossos picture the brilliant life of the lords and ladies of the court. Gayly adorned dames and gentlemen wearing their hair in long curls stand in lively groups, or dance, or sit, or flirt, making many gestures as southern Europeans do to-day. Often the court is entertained by the spectacle of troops of daring bull-trainers taming wild bulls; <sup>1</sup> and on such outdoor occasions, the ladies protect their complexions with veils — as *our* ladies did until a few years ago. Vase paintings, too, show peasants in joyous harvest festivals, bearing sheaves of grain on their shoulders or in their arms.

This palace is usually called the palace of "King Minos," the only Cretan name of that early period known to us. **Minos was famed by the later Greeks as a great lawgiver.** We may think of him as ruling widely over the surrounding seas from his throne at Knossos, while Hammurapi was issuing his code of laws at Babylon, or while some one of the beneficent pharaohs of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom was constructing Lake Moeris, or about the time when Abraham set out westward from Ur of the Chaldees.

In the treasure rooms of the palace at Knossos, **there were found several hundred small clay tablets covered with writing** — which our scholars have not yet learned to read. A Roman historian who wrote a little before the birth of Christ mentions that in his day the Cretans claimed that their ancestors had *invented* the alphabet and that the Phoenicians had only made it better known. Modern Cretans had forgotten this claim, but these recent discoveries show that Cretans had an alphabet before Phoenicians did, though not the same one.

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<sup>1</sup> The bull was a favorite subject for Cretan art. See some illustrations in these pages. Compare also the later story of the Athenian hero Theseus and the Cretan *Minotaur* (Minos' bull) in any collection of Greek legends, as in Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*.

The chief article of dress for men was a linen cloth hanging from the waist or drawn into short trousers (like the dress of men on the Egyptian monuments). To this, except in war or hunting, the noble added a short, sleeveless mantle, fastened over one shoulder with a jeweled pin. A belt, drawn tight about the waist, always carried his dagger, inlaid with gold figures. *Women's dress* was elaborate, with "careful fitting, fine sewing, and exquisite embroidery." The skirts were bell-shaped — like a modern fashion of sixty years ago — and flounced with ruffles, and the bodice was close-fitting, low-necked, and short-sleeved, — much more like



BRONZE COOKING UTENSILS OF 2200 B.C.,  
from one Cretan tomb.

female dress of a recent day than the later Greek and Roman robes were. Men and women alike wore gold bracelets and rings, and women added long coils of beaded necklaces.

Each home wove its own cloth, as we learn from the loom-weights in every house. Each home, too, had its stone mortars

for grinding the daily supply of meal. Kitchen utensils were varied and numerous. They include perforated skimmers and strainers, and many other devices strangely modern in shape. Most cooking was done over an open fire — though sometimes there was a sort of recess in a hearth, over which a kettle stood.

When the destroying foe came upon Knossos, one carpenter left his kit of tools hidden under a stone slab, which preserved them; and among them we find saws, hammers, adz, chisels heavy and light, awls, nails, files, and axes. They are of bronze, of course, but in shape they are so like our own that it seems probable that this handicraft passed down its skill without a break from the earliest European civilization to the present. One huge crosscut saw, like our lumberman's, was found in a mountain town.



Crete did not stand by itself in this civilization. The later Greeks of 400 or 500 B.C. had many legends of an ancient Mycenae "rich in gold," and at a place long known by that name, in southern Greece, an explorer some fifty years ago uncovered remains of a long-buried city of perhaps 1800 B.C. It had been surrounded by massive walls of huge un-cemented stones ("Cyclopean" walls), and within were found a curious group of tombs where lay in state the embalmed bodies of ancient kings —

in the splendor of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold, their swords studded with golden imagery, their faces covered strangely in golden masks. The very floor of one tomb was thick with gold dust — the heavy gilding from some perished kingly vestment. In another was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers. And amid this profusion of fine fragments were rings, bracelets, . . . dainty butterflies for ornaments, and a wonderful golden flower on a silver stalk.



LION GATE IN THE MYCENAEAN RUINS. — From a photo. The huge slab over the opening is 15 feet long and 7 feet thick. Lions were not found in Greece in any period of which we know. How do you explain their figures here?

In one tomb, five bodies were "literally smothered in jewels." And, with these ornaments, there were skillfully and curiously wrought weapons for the dead, with whetstones to keep them keen, and graceful vases of marble and alabaster, carved with delicate forms, to hold the funeral food and wine. Near the entrance, in strange contrast to this delicate beauty, lay bodies of slaves or captives who had been offered in sacrifice.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested: Davis' Readings*, I, No. 32, gives an interesting extract from an account of Cretan re-



mains by one of the discoverers. *Additional*, for students who wish wider reading: Hawes, *Crete the Fore-runner of Greece*; or Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete*.

### EXERCISES

1. The reference, two pages back, to a crosscut saw makes this a good place to call attention to one particular gain when the Stone Age gave way to the Age of Bronze. The most skillful worker in stone could not have made a successful stone *saw* — and without saws, large and small and coarse and fine, many of the advances that we have traced could not have been made. In particular, you should now be able to see why Stone-Age men could not possibly invent a wheel. The first wheels, almost certainly, were solid circles, or “cross-sections,” *sawn* from tree trunks and pierced in the center to receive an axle. And the first cart, or chariot, was no doubt merely a rude box resting on the axle that joined two such wheels. Carts of that kind are still in use in backward parts of the world — as in the Balkans and the mountain regions of Spain and in the Philippines where Spanish conquerors introduced them four centuries ago.

That invention of the early Bronze Age was to work many revolutions in human life. Without it, there could have been neither wagon nor railway train nor auto, nor indeed much of the complex machinery that does man's work in modern times. Even the wheeled chariots that the Egyptians of 1500 B.C. had learned to make from the Babylonians were much more advanced than that Philippine cart shown opposite. None of them have lasted to our day, but the engravings on the Egyptian monuments show that they must have been much like the lower cut opposite — which represents probably the oldest wheeled cart now in existence.

2. This is a good place for time-order exercises, to include some of the old terms with some of those found in the last three chapters. The following terms make a sample list to rearrange in time-order: *Darius the Organizer*, *Psammetichus*, *Solomon*, *the Babylonian Captivity of the Jews*, *destruction of Knossos*.

Let three members of the class, consulting together, make such a list of ten terms and give the list to the class for an exercise. (Every such exercise should be written *rapidly*.)

3. The time line ought now to have dates upon it for at least two of the terms given in 2 above. (Which ones?) These exercises ought to teach you, if you learn a few dates thoroughly, to place many other events in order in reference to those few.



*Underwood & Underwood*

A PHILIPPINE CART. — From a recent photo. To show a primitive wheel; see Exercise 1 on page 74.



AN ETRUSCAN CHARIOT, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Made, probably, about 700 B.C.; found in 1901 in an ancient Etruscan cemetery, not far from Rome, in Italy. The body of the chariot is of bronze, the surface of which is worked into beautiful figures. Even the wooden parts of the chariot had been covered with bronze. Note that the horses were to be harnessed to the pole by *yokes*, so that no doubletree was used.



United World  
The United States Supreme Court Building in Washington — after a Czech temple.

## CHAPTER VII

### HOW HOMER'S ACHAEANS BECAME GREEKS 2000 B.C. — 600 B.C.

#### I. THE ACHAEAN CONQUEST

About 2000 B.C. bands of tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, semi-barbarous *Achaeans* from the north, drawn by the splendor and riches of the south, broke into the Aegean lands, as northern barbarians many times since have broken into southern Europe. Some fortunate chance had given these mighty-limbed strangers a knowledge of iron;<sup>1</sup> and now, armed with long iron swords, and bringing their flocks and herds, with their women and children in rude carts drawn by oxen or cows, they established themselves among the short, dark, bronze-weaponed natives, became their masters, dwelt in their cities, married their women, and possessed the land.

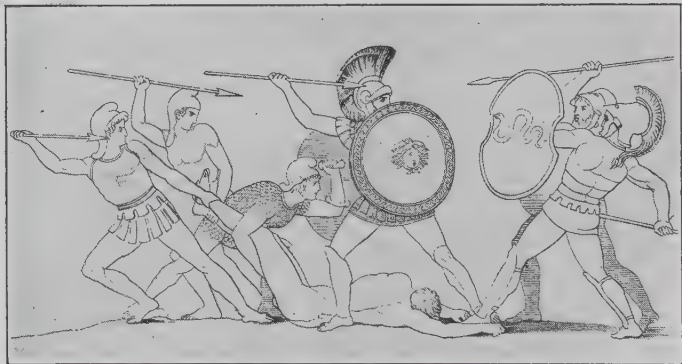
This conquest was a slow process. For the most part, the newcomers *filtered* in, band by band, seizing a valley or an island at a time. Occasionally, however, large armies warred long and desperately about some stronghold of the old civilization. The legends of the Trojan War were probably based on one of the closing struggles.

Our knowledge of the early Achaeans comes largely from the so-called "Homeric poems," the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The later Greeks believed that these were composed about 1100 B.C. by a blind minstrel named Homer. Scholars now think that each collection was made up of many ballads sung originally by different bards at different times and handed down orally from father to son for centuries before they were put into writing.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably we shall never know whether this use of iron came in some way from the Hittites or whether it was an independent invention.

The *Iliad* describes part of a ten-year siege of Troy by Achaean chieftains from all parts of Greece. The *Odyssey* tells the adventures and wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses), one of the heroes, in the return from that war. Whether or not there was a Trojan War, the poems certainly tell us much about the customs and ideas of the Greeks of 1100 B.C., and their pictures of Greek life have been confirmed by recent excavation of remains in the soil.



A modern drawing showing a scene from Homer's story of an incident in the Trojan War. Achilles, the Greek hero, defends the body of his slain friend Patroclus from Trojans who wish to dishonor it—probably by mutilating it and giving it to dogs to devour. (Cf. page 82.) Notice the armor, especially the "greaves." For Achilles' shield (with its Medusa head) see also the vase on page 82.

The first explorer in excavation in Greek lands was *Henry Schliemann*. When Schliemann was a child in a German village, his father told him the Homeric stories, and once showed him a fanciful picture of the huge "Walls of Troy." The child was told that no one now knew just where Troy had stood, and that the city had left no traces. The boy insisted, however, that such walls *must* have left remains that could be uncovered by digging, and his father playfully agreed that sometime Henry should find them. Later, to carry out his childhood dream of finding the great walls of Homer's Troy became the passion of Schliemann's life.

In 1870, after many years spent in winning the necessary



wealth and learning, Dr. Schliemann began excavations at a little village in "Troy-land," on a mound of earth three miles inland from the shore. The explorations continued more than twenty years and disclosed the remains of *nine* distinct towns, one above another. The oldest, on native rock, some fifty feet below the present surface, was a rude village of the Stone Age. The second, thought by Schliemann to be Homer's Troy (though its remains did *not* correspond to the descriptions in the *Iliad*), showed strong walls, a citadel that had been destroyed by fire, and a civilization marked by bronze weapons and gold ornaments. We know now that this city passed away more than a thousand years before Homer's time. Above it came the remains of three inferior settlements, and then — *the sixth layer from the bottom* — a much larger and finer city, which had perished in conflagration some 1100 or 1200 years before Christ. More complete explorations, *after Schliemann's death*, proved this sixth city to be the Troy described so fully by "Homer."

Above this Homeric Troy, you may like to know, came a later Greek city, then a magnificent city of the time of Alexander the Great, then a Roman city, and finally the squalid Turkish village which Schliemann had had to buy up and remove before he could begin to dig. The point at which these towns stood (near the mouth of the Hellespont) commanded the trade between the Black Sea regions and the Aegean (map after page 68). This probably accounts for the succession of towns there, and perhaps for the destruction of several of them by trade rivals — possibly even for the attack by the Achaeans of 1200 B.C. For the Troy of which Homer sang, you must remember, was not Achaean. Like Knossos and Mycenae, it represented the last of the old Aegean civilization. (If the above account of the successive settlements is not clear to all the class, let some student who does understand it make it clear by a diagram.)

The tall, fair, yellow-haired Achaeans of Homer's poems left little trace in the *looks* of the Greeks of a few centuries later,

about whom we are to study. The conquering invaders were absorbed by the people they conquered (more numerous and better used to the climate), so that the later "Greeks" were short and dark like the old Aegeans. But first the Achaeans had imposed their language on the conquered race, as conquerors usually do,<sup>1</sup> and had destroyed much of the old civilization. In the long run, however, this destruction was a good thing, for the new Greeks proved able finally to build a better kind of civilization — one less like the Oriental.

## II. RISE OF A NEW "GREEK" CIVILIZATION

During the next three or four centuries Achaeans and Aegeans were blending into a new race that we call Greek, and by a little after 500 B.C. these Greeks had become the leading people of the world. Their story, for several centuries more, remains one of the most glorious parts of the world's history. But before beginning to study that, we must gather together such further scraps of knowledge as we can about the way the Greek race grew up. Greece had lost the art of writing during the Achaean invasions, because of the ignorance of the conquering barbarians and the change of language, but our scholars have learned a good deal about the period from the legends of later times and from remains in later customs and in the soil.

Greece is a small country. Leaving out of account two large divisions in the north (Epirus and Thessaly) which were of little account in ancient Greek history, it is only about one fourth as large as the State of New York, and its criss-cross mountain ranges and deep arms of the sea break it into still smaller districts. Few of these are as large as a small American county. Indeed, many are no larger than an American township; and in early times one could be reached from another only by rugged mountain paths or by boat. (This helps explain why small bands of Achaeans were able to conquer Greece *piecemeal*.)

There were more than twenty of these little divisions in Greece

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<sup>1</sup> Some old Aegean words lived on. Thus the later Greek word for *bathtub* was taken from that older language. Can you see a probable reason?

itself, besides a much larger number of little islands in the sea near by, and each district became the home of a separate "nation." That is, the people of each had its own government, as distinct from all the others as separate nations to-day are from one another. They did all come to speak the same language; but there was no common government over them all, and often they warred among themselves.

Homer's Achaeans were made up of many tribes, each composed of several clans (or "gentes"). A clan was a sort of large family, a body of kinsmen, descended from one common ancestor. The nearest descendant of the clan's forefather (counting from oldest son to oldest son) was the *clan-elder* — a kind of "priest-king"; and the clan-elder of the leading clan was the priest-king of the tribe. Each geographical division of Greece was seized upon finally by one of the Achaean tribes, or by a group of allied tribes. The tribe settled in a group



WOMEN POUNDING GRAIN into meal.  
— From a vase painting. The ancient Greeks had no better way to make flour.  
Cf. page 23.

of farming villages, which had a common meeting place for worship on some hilltop near by. A ring-wall, part way up the slope, made the sacred place also a fort, or (as the Greeks called it) an *acropolis*, where the whole tribe could take refuge from any powerful attack.

In hilly Greece several hill-forts sometimes stood quite near together, and so, as population grew, it was natural for them to unite into a city. Or sometimes one tribe conquered the others and brought about the union of the whole little district in that way. (The later Athenians had a tradition that in very early times the hero *Theseus* founded their city by bringing together

four tribes living in Attica.) The chief of the leading tribe, of course, became the priest-king of the city.

*If the cities could have combined into larger units, Greece might have become a "nation-state," like modern England or France. But the Greeks, in the time of their glory, never got beyond a city-state. To them the same word meant "city" and "state." To each Greek, his city was his country.* The *political*<sup>1</sup> relations of one city with another five miles away were *foreign* relations, as much as its dealings with the king of Persia. Wars, therefore, were incessant.

**The government of the city** in Homer's times was mainly in the hands of the *king*. He was the chief priest; he was judge in disputes between his people; and he was leader in war. But his power was much limited by a *council of chiefs* (the other members of the royal family and the elders of the clans) and also in some degree by an *Assembly of the common freemen*.

Before the king did any important *new* thing, such as starting a war or making peace or changing any of the old customs, he felt it necessary to call the freemen together to listen to the plan that he and the chiefs had decided to adopt. There the freemen shouted approval or muttered disapproval. They could not themselves start any new movement; they met not very often; and it took great bravery for a common man openly to oppose the king and chiefs. Still the Assembly had to be *persuaded*: it could not be simply *ordered*.

Homer shows that sometimes a common man did venture to oppose the "kings." In an Assembly of the army during the siege of Troy, the discouraged Greeks break away to launch their ships and return home. Odysseus hurries among them, and by persuasion and threats forces them back to the Assembly, until only Thersites bawls on, — "Thersites, uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words *wherewith to strive against the chiefs*. Hatful was

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<sup>1</sup> "Political" means "relating to government."

he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, *for them he was wont to revile*. But now *with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings even upon goodly Agamemnon*" (the chief commander of the Greeks). Odysseus, it is true, rebukes Thersites sternly and smites him into silence, while the crowd laughs. "Homer," sang to please the chieftains, his patrons, — and so he represents Thersites as a cripple, ugly and unpopular; but there must have been opposition to the chiefs, now and then, or the minstrel would not have mentioned such an incident at all.

**Society was simple.** When the son of Odysseus, in the poem, visited a city where some of the old Mycenean greatness survived, he was astounded by the splendor of the palace, with its "gleam as of sun and moon," lighted as it was by torches held by massive golden statues, — the walls blazing with bronze and with glittering friezes of blue glass. Mighty Odysseus had built *his* palace with his own hands, and it has been well called — from the poet's description — "a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court." The one petty island, too, in which Odysseus was head-king, held scores of yet poorer "kings." So, too, when Odysseus was shipwrecked on another island, he found the daughter of the chief king — the princess Nausicaa — doing a washing, with her band of maidens, treading out the dirt by trampling the clothes with their bare feet in the water of a running brook, as the peasants of southern Europe do to-day.

**Manners in Homer's day were harsh.** When the Trojan hero Hector was slain, the Greek kings gathered exulting about



WOMAN WITH DISTAFF, — a great advance upon stone whorls (page 6), and the best spinning tool until the invention of the spinning wheel three hundred years ago. The diadem suggests a lady of high rank. — From a Greek vase painting.



the dead body, "*and no one came who did not add his wound.*" The commonest boast was to have given a foe's body to be devoured by the packs of savage dogs that hung about the camp for such morsels. The chiefs were borne to the combat in chariots. They were clad in bronze armor, and fought with bow and spear. A battle was little more than a series of single



A GREEK AMPHORA (large, open-mouthed vase) of the fifth century, illustrating Homer's story that the divinely born mother of Achilles persuaded Hephaestus to make new armor for her son. Some smith's tools are shown above the worker. See page 76 for a picture of the completed armor in use.

combats between these warriors. The common freemen followed on foot, without armor or effective weapons, and counted for little except to kill the wounded and strip the slain. It took centuries for that barbarous society to grow into the civilization of cultivated Greek gentlemen that we are soon to read about.

**Greece was not a fertile country, like Egypt.** Most of it was barren and rocky. Still, in every state, there were small strips of thin soil where (with a good deal of toil) the people might raise crops of grain and plant olive trees, and on the lower mountain slopes they could raise grapes and fig trees. Even the higher and more rugged slopes furnished pasture for flocks of goats. The climate, too, was mild, — neither too hot nor too cold for men to work all through the year.

So, for a long time, the mass of the people remained small farmers and herdsmen — though their homes were in a city or in little farm villages grouped around it. Even Homer's

“kings” tilled their farms, in part at least, with their own hands. Odysseus boasts that he can drive the oxen at the plow and “cut a clean furrow,” and that when the long days begin he can mow all day with the crooked scythe, “pushing clear until late eventide.” In those early times artisans and smiths were found only among the retainers of the chiefs. Smiths were highly honored, but their skill was inferior to that of the earlier Aegean age. Some shields and inlaid weapons of that older time that had passed into the hands of the Achaeans were always spoken of as the work of Hephaestus, god of fire and metal work.

There had appeared a class of miserable landless freemen (perhaps descended from dispossessed Aegean farmers) who hired themselves to farmers. Slaves were few, except about the great chiefs. There they served as household servants and as farm hands, and they seem to have been treated kindly. When Odysseus returned from his twenty years of wandering, he made himself known first to a faithful swineherd and to one other slave — and “they threw their arms round wise Odysseus and passionately kissed his face and neck. So likewise did Odysseus kiss their heads and hands.”

**One chief influence in turning the barbarous Achaeans into civilized Greeks was the sea.** The new land into which the Achaean shepherds had come had a wonderful length of sea coast with countless good harbors (for the small boats of that time). The very heart of Greece is broken into islands and promontories — so that it is hard to find a spot thirty miles from the sea. Accordingly, the Achaean shepherds soon became also fishermen and sailors, and, in intervals of farm labor, the chiefs turned to trading voyages and to piracy. In Homer's time it was no offense to ask a stranger sea-captain whether he came as a pirate or for peaceful trade (*Odyssey*, iii, 60 f.).

**Before long, there grew up a distinct class of traders.** Indeed, in many of the small districts trade became more important than agriculture. Traders and sailors come in touch constantly with new manners and new ideas, and they are more likely to make progress than a purely agricultural people. Exchanging com-

modities, they are ready to exchange ideas also. The *seafaring* Greeks were "always seeking some new thing."

And these early seekers found "new things" within easy reach. This "most European of all European lands" lay nearest of all Europe to the old civilizations of Asia and Egypt. Moreover, it faced *this civilized East* rather than the barbarous West. On the other side, toward Italy, the coast of Greece is mostly cliff or marsh, with only three or four good harbors. On the east, however, the whole line is broken by deep bays, from



GREEK WOMEN completing their toilet. — From a painting on the inside of a shallow bowl (half only being shown here). Do not forget to notice, among other things, the beautiful chairs in which women are seated.

whose mouths chains of inviting islands lead on and on. In clear weather, *the mariner may cross the Aegean (in a small boat) without losing sight of land.*

Moreover, the civilization which the Achaeans had destroyed was restored to them, in part, by the Phoenicians, who had had much to do also with building the earlier Aegean civilization. After the overthrow of the Cretan sea-kings, about 1500 B.C., Phoenicia for a thousand years was almost the only sea-power of the Mediterranean. Along the Greek coasts and islands her traders bartered with the inhabitants (much as European traders did three centuries ago with American Indians), tempting them to high payments for strange wares — lions and other beasts carved in little ivory ornaments, purple robes, blue-glass bottles,

or perhaps merely colored glass trinkets — and counting it best gain of all if they could lure curious maidens aboard their black ships for distant slave markets. In return, they made many an *unintended* payment. Language shows that they gave the Greeks the Phoenician names for linen, myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon, soap, lyres, cosmetics, and writing tablets (and so no doubt the *use* of these things). The forgotten art of writing, too, they introduced again.

*But the lively Greeks were not mere imitators.* They added vowel letters to the Phoenician signs — and so first really *completed* an alphabet. Soon, too, they began to manufacture the Phoenician trade articles for themselves, and finally they became rivals in trade.

The Greek names for the first two of their letters were *Alpha* and *Beta*. This shows the origin of our word *alphabet*. As we say that a child knows his A B C's, so a Greek might say that he knew his alpha-beta.

### III. RELIGION

**Meantime the Greek religion had taken its later form.** The early Aegeans worshiped ancestors, and *buried* their dead near a family altar. They had also some nature-deities, especially *Demeter*, the great Earth-Mother, and *Poseidon*, god of the sea. Homer's Achaeans adored especially a sun god and *burned* their dead. Homeric poems show no trace of ancestor worship. Neither Aegeans nor Achaeans would give up their forms of worship, and so the later Greek religion was a fusion of these two worships.

1. **The clan religion** was a worship of clan ancestors. If provided with pleasing meals at proper times and invoked with magic formulas (so the belief ran), the ghosts of the ancient clan elders would continue to aid their children. The food was actually meant for the ghost. The clan tomb was the altar. Milk and wine were poured into a hollow in the ground, while the clan elder, the only lawful priest, spoke sacred formulas inviting the dead to eat. (Travelers describe similar practices

among primitive peoples to-day — as when a heathen chief prays: “Compassionate Father! Here is food for you. Eat it, and be kind to us!”)

In like manner, the families of the clan each came to have its separate *family worship* of ancestors. *The hearth was the family altar.* Near it were grouped the *Penates*, or images of household gods who watched over the family. *The father was the priest.* Before each meal, he poured out on the hearth the *libation*, or food-offering, to the family gods and asked their blessing.

Originally, no doubt, the family tomb was *under* the hearth. This explains *why* the hearth became an altar, and why food offerings to ancestors continued to be made there all through Greek and Roman history.

2. But the religion that we hear most of in later Greek history, after all, grew out of nature worship. The nature-gods of Egypt and Babylon and Phoenicia had usually been rather terrible monsters with bodies part man, part beast. The Greeks thought of their gods as strong and beautiful men and women — but immortal and of somewhat more majesty than mere humans.

Chief of all Greek gods was *Zeus* (whom the Romans called Jupiter), “father of gods and men,” god of the sky and hurler of the thunder-bolt. His younger brother, *Poseidon* (Neptune), ruled the sea and the rivers that feed it, while a third brother, *Hades* (Pluto), was master of the dark underworld, peopled with the spirits of the dead.

The ancient Aegean earth-goddess, *Demeter* (Ceres), was still worshiped, though much of her old power of creating life had come to be thought of as belonging also to *Aphrodite* (Venus), daughter of Zeus and goddess of love — loveliest herself of all creatures human or divine. And the queen of the gods was the wife of Zeus, the cold and stately *Hera* (Juno).

Most important of all sons of Zeus was *Apollo*, the sun god, who brought warmth and light to men. He was also the god of music and of wisdom, giving light and joy to men’s minds, and he was always pictured as youthful and as the most glorious in





APOLLO AND THE NINE MUSES — who, in Greek mythology, helped him look after different kinds of learning: one for history, one for song-writing, another for the drama, and so on. (Possibly some of the class know the different names.) — From a painting in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts by John Sargent. The sun-disk and the harp are common symbols for Apollo.



*Photo by Ewing Galloway, N.Y.*

RUINS OF TEMPLES AT DELPHI.



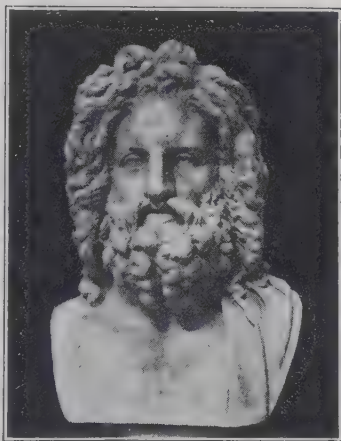
RUINS OF THE MOST FAMOUS TEMPLE OF ATHENE (the *Parthenon*, or "Maiden's Chamber") on the Athenian Acropolis, where she was the special guardian. (See also facing 133, 138.)



MODERN GREEK GIRLS (1927 A.D.) rehearsing dance and music for a revival of an ancient Greek play at Delphi. Through energy and money furnished by a Greek woman (who, however, had been born in America and had been graduated at an American college) some such play is now given there each year — in a celebration known as the Delphic Festival. In 1927 the play was the *Prometheus Bound*, by Aeschylus (page 142). The girls in this picture represent a chorus of "Daughters of Old Ocean" who come to lament with Prometheus — who has been chained to a rock by jealous gods because he brought fire from heaven to men (page 4). (This rehearsal took place, not at Delphi, but on the shore of the Aegean near Athens.)

form of all the gods. Still the Greeks seem often to have loved even better one of his sisters, the goddess of wisdom, Athene (Minerva), who, they said, had sprung full-grown from the head of Zeus — as a wise thought does sometimes from the brain of man. Another sister was *Artemis* (Diana), protector of maidens and goddess of the moon and of hunting.

Three other sons of Zeus were *Ares* (Mars), the fierce god of war; the lame *Hephaestus* (Vulcan), god of fire, especially worshiped by all smiths who worked in metals; and *Hermes* (Mercury), the swift messenger, god of the winds — worshiped by sailors, thieves, and merchants. There was also a special goddess of the hearth fire in the home, *Hestia*, whom the Romans called Vesta.



A SCULPTURED HEAD OF ZEUS. — The artist sought to represent a kindly Omnipotence.

These great deities are usually called the Olympian gods, because they were believed to dwell on the summit of cloud-capped Mt. Olympus, the highest peak in Greece. There they were thought to spend most of their time in joyous feasting and talk and careless laughter. Sometimes, however, according to certain irreverent Greek stories, a group of the gods would plot against Zeus while he slept and cause all his plans to go awry; and often the jealous Hera would nag him into unseemly family quarrels. Even the *Iliad* tells how some of the gods went down to fight for their favorites during the siege of Troy and were wounded and driven away, weeping, by the spears of Greek heroes. True, the wiser of the later Greeks regretted deeply that any of their poets put forth such fables, and Greek literature sometimes expresses high and noble ideas about religion. In the *Odyssey* the poet once exclaims (when a

wicked thing was done), — “ Verily the blessed gods love not insolent acts in men, but they reverence justice and righteous deeds ”; and a much later Greek poet makes his heroine, helpless maiden though she was, defy a tyrant nobly :

Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough  
That thou, a mortal man, couldst overpass  
The unwritten laws of God, that know no change.

3. Besides the Olympian gods, there was (to the Greek imagination) a **multitude of lesser local gods and demigods** peopling the world roundabout — spirits of spring and wood and river and hill, all of whom were personified, too, as glorious youths or maidens. In a whole literature of legends the Greeks gave to all these gods, great or small, a delightful charm that makes their stories still a lasting part of the world’s culture.

4. As to a future life, most Greeks believed in a place of terrible punishment (*Tartarus*) for a few great offenders against the gods, and in an *Elysium* of supreme pleasure for a very few others particularly favored by the gods. But for the mass of men the future life was to be “ a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth ” — its pleasures and pains both shadowy. Thus Odysseus tells how he met Achilles in the home of the dead :

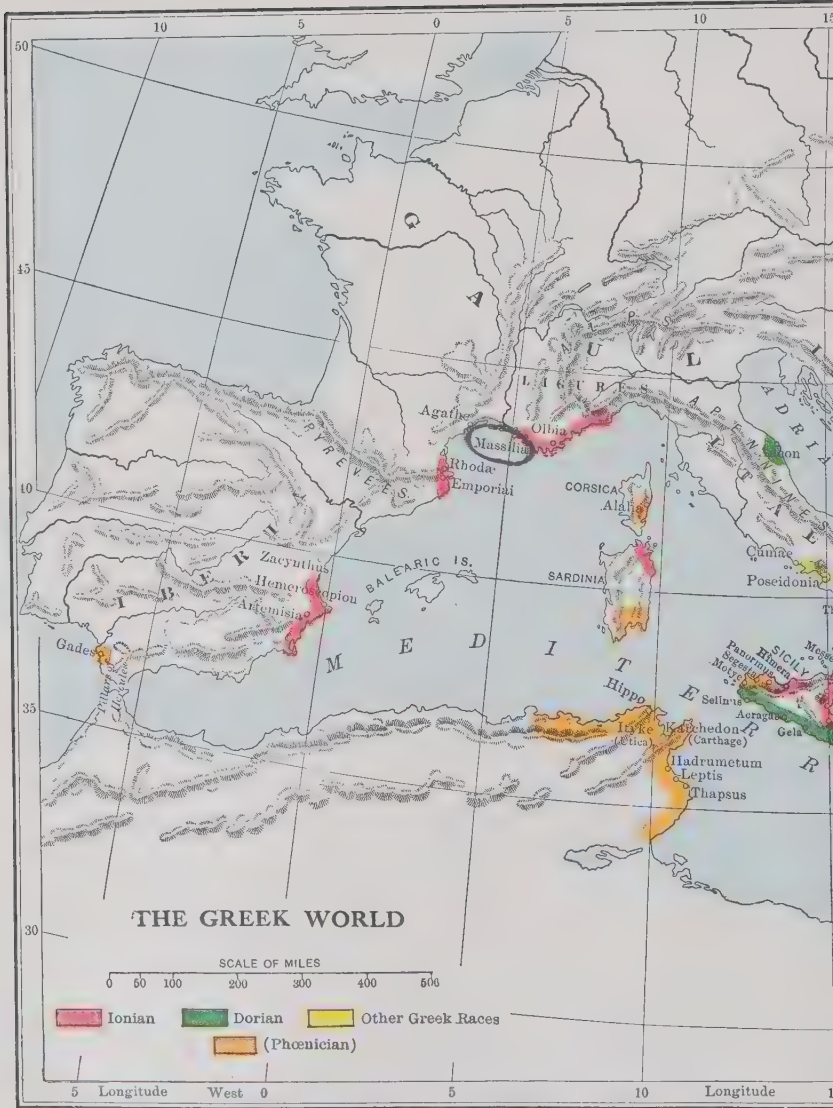
“ And he knew me straightway, *when he had drunk the dark blood* [of a sacrifice to the dead]; yea, and he wept aloud, and shed big tears as he stretched forth his hands in his longing to reach me. But it might not be, *for he had now no steadfast strength nor power at all in moving*, such as was aforetime in his supple limbs.” And in their talk, Achilles exclaims sorrowfully : “ Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Odysseus. *Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another*, even with a lack-land man who had no great livelihood, *than bear sway among all the dead.*”

#### IV. THE GREEKS BEYOND GREECE

Soon after Homer’s time, civilization in parts of Greece was checked again, for a time, by another invasion from the north. The new barbarians called themselves *Dorians*. They were probably merely a rear guard of the Achæan invasion, delayed somewhere on the way for two or three centuries. But in this











interval they had come to fight as heavy-armed infantry in close ranks, with long spears projecting from the array of shields. The Achaeans, who fought still in loose Homeric fashion (until the Dorian example taught them better), could not stand against this disciplined onset.

The Dorians passed through central Greece and settled mainly in the Peloponnesus. That district (an old center of both Aegean and Achaean glory) then lost its leadership in all but war. After about 900 B.C. leadership in civilization passed to new centers, especially to *Attica* and to *Asia Minor*.

The three-sided peninsula of Attica, guarded on the one land side by rugged mountains, was the one part of southern Greece not overrun by the Dorians. The Greeks there had come to call themselves *Ionians*. Many fugitives from the Peloponnesus sought refuge in Attica. Some of these were adopted into the old Attic tribes, and so made the people of that district more open to new ideas and more progressive. But Attica could not support all the newcomers, and, after a brief stay, many passed on across the Aegean, to the coast of Asia Minor. There they established themselves in twelve great cities, of which the most important were *Miletus* and *Ephesus* (map after page 68). All the middle district of that coast took the name *Ionian*, and looked upon *Ionian Athens* as a mother-city. (Other Greek tribes soon colonized the rest of the eastern Aegean coast.)

A century or so later the Greeks began a new colonizing movement, which went on until about 600 B.C. and carried Greek settlement far beyond the Aegean Sea both east and west. The cause, this time, was not war. *The new colonies were founded largely for trading stations*, — to capture trade from the Phoenicians, — and at the same time to provide the crowded and discontented farming class with new land and more fertile soil. Miletus sent colony after colony to the north shore of the Black Sea, to control the grain trade there, and finally sixty Greek towns fringed that sea and its straits. The one city of Chalcis, in Euboea, planted thirty-two colonies on the Thracian coast, to secure the gold and silver mines of that region. *Sicily* became

almost wholly Greek, and *southern Italy* took the proud name of *Magna Graecia*, "Great Greece." Among the more important of the colonies were *Syracuse* in Sicily, *Tarentum*, *Sybaris*, and *Croton* in Italy, *Corcyra* near the mouth of the Adriatic, *Massilia* (Marseilles) in Gaul, *Olynthus* in Thrace, *Cyrene* in Africa, *Byzantium* at the Black Sea's mouth, and *Naucratis* in Egypt (page 40). The colonists always ceased to be citizens in their old homes. Each new city enjoyed complete independence. It kept a strong *friendship* for its "metropolis" (mother city), but there was no *political* union between them.

## V. "GREEKS" AND "BARBARIANS"

All Greeks came to call themselves *Hellenes* (as they still do), and all the scattered lands they inhabited made part of *Hellas*. **For, just while the Greeks were dispersing in space, they were growing together in feeling.** Their little states remained wholly separate from one another in government, but all Greeks believed in a kinship with one another and felt a deep pride in their particular kind of civilization, setting them off from the rest of the world.

**The chief forces which had created this oneness of feeling were language and literature, and the Olympian religion, with its games and oracles and councils.**

1. The Greeks understood one another's dialects, while the men of other speech about them they called "Barbarians," or babblers (*Bar'bar-oi*). *This likeness of language made it possible for all Greeks to possess the same literature.* The poems of "Homer" were sung and recited in every village for centuries, and the universal pride in Homer, and in the glories of the later literature, had much to do in binding the Greeks into one people. *The poets, too, invented a system of fables, representing the four great divisions of Hellenes — Aeolians, Dorians, Achaeans, and Ionians — as descended from a common ancestor, Hellen.*

2. The features of the Olympian religion that helped especially to bind Greeks together were the *Olympic Games* and the *Delphic Oracle*.



a. To the great festivals of some of the gods, men flocked from all Hellas. This was especially true of the Olympic Games, celebrated each fourth year at Olympia, in Elis, in honor of Zeus. The contests consisted of foot races, chariot races, wrestling, and boxing. The victors were felt to have won the highest honor open to any Greek. They received merely an olive wreath at Olympia, but at their homes their victories often were commemorated by inscriptions and statues. Only Greeks could take part in the contests, and there was a strong feeling that all wars between Greek states should stop during the month of the festival.

To these games came merchants, to secure the best market for rare wares. Heralds proclaimed treaties there — as the best way to make them known through all Hellas. As civilization grew, poets, orators, and artists gathered there, and gradually the intellectual contests and exhibitions became the most important feature of the meeting. The oration or poem or statue which was praised by the crowds at Olympia had received the approval of the most select and intelligent judges that could be brought together then anywhere in the world.

The four-year periods between the games were called *Olympiads*. These periods finally became the Greek units in counting time: all events were dated from what was believed to be the first recorded Olympiad, beginning in 776 B.C., as we date events from the Birth of Christ. (All high-school boys know about the modern "Olympic Games" in which famous athletes of many countries compete.)

b. Apollo was the god of prophecy. His favorite temple was at *Delphi* on Mt. Parnassus. It was built over a crack in the earth, from which arose thin puffs of gas. The priestess of the temple went into a kind of swoon when she breathed this



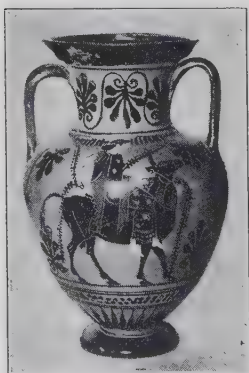
YOUTH, WITH OLYMPIC VICTOR'S WREATH, traveling home from the games. — From a vase painting.

gas, and then she would speak strange words, which were supposed to be the words of Apollo. No Greek liked to begin any important matter until he had gone to this temple and asked Apollo's advice. The oracles were not very clear, but people could usually find some meaning for them.

Each of these religious influences, you will notice, had its center in the European peninsula — which explains in great part why all Greeks, though scattered all along the distant Mediterranean coasts, looked upon that little peninsula as their home land.

## VI. ADVANCE IN INDUSTRY, ART, AND THOUGHT

While trade was sowing cities along distant coasts, it also brought on a **revival of manufacturing** in parts of old Greece.

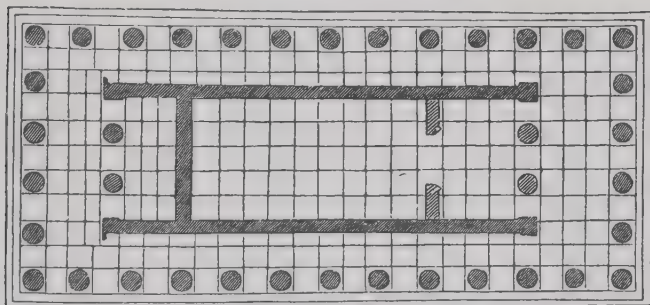


VASE OF 6TH CENTURY B.C.  
— Jupiter, in form of a bull, carrying off the maiden, Europa. Large wide-mouthed vases were used largely (instead of boxes or metal containers) to hold grain.

The ships that sailed from Athens or Corinth or Miletus to the Black Sea regions carried (besides the usual glass beads and toys for savages) metal work, vases, and different kinds of cloth, to exchange for amber, fish, grain, and for products of the North and East, brought overland to the Black Sea. Thus the Greek artisans had to produce more and more, and more and more improve their products — as with Phoenicia earlier (page 56). In Athens one large section of the city was given wholly to factories in which beautiful pottery was made (see “*Ceramicus*” in the plan of Athens, page 134), and vases of this period, *signed* by artists in these factories, are unearthed to-day all the way from central Asia Minor to northern Italy.

*Oriental* vase-painting had delighted in forms half-human, half-beast, as Oriental sculpture did. **Greek Art** dropped those

unnatural features and found its chief delight in depicting the beauty of the human body, with or without draperies. The artist first colored the vase black, and then painted his designs in red on that background. (In the fifth century, this use of the colors was reversed.) He began, too, to see how to draw figures in perspective. As in earlier times, he liked to picture scenes from the legends about the gods and demigods, but a growing interest in everyday life is shown by an increasing proportion of scenes from the work and play of common men (cuts on pages 79, 81, 91, 95, 151, and elsewhere).



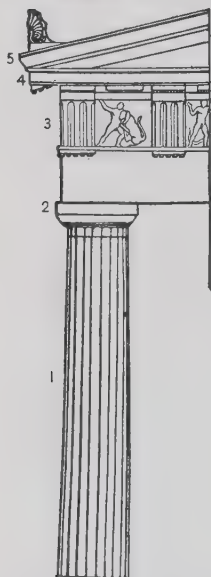
GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS.

Before 600 B.C., too, architecture began to make a similar advance. Its chief use was in building temples for the gods, to be used by all the people, rather than merely in building palaces for a few nobles, as in the Cretan age. In every Greek city, through the rest of Greek history, the temples were the most beautiful and most noticeable structures.

The plan of a temple was very simple. People did not gather within the building for regular services, as in our churches, nor did troops of priests live there, as in Oriental temples. The inclosed part, therefore, was small and rather dark, — containing only one or two rooms, for the statues of the god and the altar and the safe-keeping of the offerings. It was the god's house, where people could bring him gifts when they wished to ask favors.

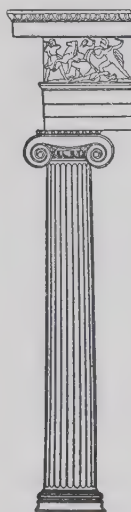
The temple was rectangular. The roof projected beyond the inclosed part of the building and was supported not by walls,

but by a row of columns running around the four sides. The gables (*pediments*) in front and rear were low, and were filled with *relief statuary*, as was also the *frieze*, between the cornice and the columns. Sometimes there was a second frieze upon the walls of the building *inside* the colonnade. The building took much of its beauty from its colonnades. The hint was taken from Egypt; but the Greeks far surpassed all previous builders in the use of the column and in shaping the column itself.



DORIC COLUMN. —  
From the Temple of  
Theseus at Athens.

1, the shaft; 2, the  
capital; 3, the frieze;  
4, cornice; 5, part of roof,  
showing the low slope.



IONIC ORDER



CORINTHIAN

The chief differences in the styles of architecture were marked by the columns and their capitals. According to the kind of column, a building is said to belong to the *Doric* or *Ionic* "order." Later there was developed a *Corinthian* order. (See cuts herewith, and find examples of each in later chapters.)

In poetry there was more progress even than in architecture. The earliest Greek poetry had been made up of *ballads*, celebrating wars and heroes. These ballads were *stories* in verse,

sung by wandering minstrels. The greatest of such compositions rose to *epic poetry*, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the noblest examples. Their period is called the *Epic Age*.

In the seventh and sixth centuries, most poetry consisted of odes and songs in a great variety of meters. Love and pleasure are the favorite themes, and the poems describe the *feelings of the writer* rather than the deeds of some one else. These poems were intended to be *sung*, or chanted, to the accompaniment of the lyre (a sort of harp). They are therefore called *lyrics*, and the seventh and sixth centuries are known as the *Lyric Age*. *Pindar*, the greatest of many great lyric poets, came from Boeotia. He delighted especially to celebrate the rushing chariots and glorious athletes of the Olympic games. *Sappho*, of Lesbos, wrote exquisite love songs, of which a few fragments survive. The ancients were wont to call her "the poetess," just as they referred to Homer as "the poet."



A DRAWING from a Greek vase painting.

The sixth century saw also the appearance of another kind of poetry — when *Thespis* at Athens wrote the first plays. Still another kind, somewhat earlier, was written by *Hesiod*, a hard-working farmer of Boeotia. Davis' *Readings* gives extracts from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, a sort of textbook on agriculture, with vivid pictures of the rather dreary life of a Greek peasant.

In Ionia, in the sixth century B.C., men first began fearlessly to try to explain the origin of the universe. Such men were called *philosophers*, or "lovers of wisdom." *Thales*, of Miletus, taught that all things came from water: that is, from the condensation of an all-pervading moisture. One of his disciples asserted that the world had evolved from a fiery ether.



Another taught that the higher animal forms had developed from lower forms.

These explanations were merely daring guesses; but the great thing is that men should have begun to think about *natural* causes at all, in place of *supernatural* causes, for all that happens. Thales argued that the movements of sun and stars were determined, not by the whims of gods who dwelt in them, as people thought, but by *fixed natural law*, and he proved his argument by predicting an eclipse of the sun — which came off as he had foretold. (He had visited Egypt; and some writers *guess* that he had had access to the astronomical observations of the Babylonians. He foretold *about* the time of the eclipse, not the exact hour or minute.)

All these sages taught lofty moral truths, far above the level of the common religious faith of the time. (See Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 98.) *Xenophanes* of Ionia (in the only fragment of his teaching that has come down to us in his own words) spoke of God as "one and changeless, not in body like unto men, nor in mind."

## VII. NEW KINDS OF GOVERNMENT

About 1000 B.C. the nobles began to grow rapidly in power and wealth. For a long time they controlled most trade; and when a common farmer had to borrow seed and supplies, after a crop failure or a hostile raid, the noble who advanced the loan charged exorbitant interest (sometimes twenty per cent) and so was able to seize farm after farm by "foreclosing" mortgages. Then the nobles used their increased wealth and power to take to themselves, little by little, the former authority of the kings. By 500 B.C. the only Greek cities that kept their kings were Sparta and Argos, and in those places little power was left them. Everywhere, for a time at least, the old monarchy (a "government by one") gave way to an oligarchy (a "government by a few").

Each city, then, had two classes of people. The rich nobles (the ruling class) called themselves "the few" or "the good," while all those below them they called "the many" or "the

bad." "The many" were bitterly discontented, and sometimes they tried to overthrow their masters; but they were usually too ignorant and disunited to rebel successfully until the way was made easier for them by tyrants.

Now and then, either from selfish ambition or from generous sympathy for the oppressed masses, some noble turned against his own order and became a champion of the common people. Sometimes, in a popular uprising, such a leader might make himself master of the city, or "tyrant." He then surrounded himself, in the acropolis, with a garrison of soldiers, whom he paid by plundering the leading nobles. Usually, too, he drove many nobles into exile or even murdered the chief among them, but almost always he sought to keep the favor of the common people.

As the Greeks used the word "tyrant," it does not necessarily mean a bad or cruel ruler: it means merely a ruler who seized power by force. The old kings, whom Homer sang about, were not *absolute*: they had to respect not only the Council of Nobles and the opinion of the people but also many ancient customs which had all the force of law, and, except in war, they kept no soldiers about them. But there was no such check on the tyrants. Many of them, to be sure, were generous, far-sighted rulers. But, some, of course, were selfish and vicious. *And all arbitrary rule was hateful to the free-spirited Greeks* — so that the murder of a tyrant was usually praised as a good deed.

Tyrants became common in Greece about 700 B.C., but by 500 they had disappeared from the Greek peninsula, though some were still found in outlying districts. By the time they were overthrown, the nobles had been so weakened in most cities that the people themselves had a better chance. Especially in the Ionian parts of Greece, the next step commonly was to set up a democracy — a "government by all the people." Greece was the first land in which this kind of government really became important.

## VIII. A CIVILIZATION "WESTERN," NOT ORIENTAL

During the five hundred years from 1000 to 500 B.C., the Greeks had grown into a brilliant, jostling people, widely dispersed in space and with no political unity but with a strong feeling of oneness of race. Toward the close of the period they had made great advance in new forms of art and poetry and philosophy as well as in political freedom, and **Greek civilization had become far more promising than any the world had seen before.**

Most important of all, **Greek civilization was essentially one with our own.** The remains of Egyptian or Babylonian sculpture and architecture arouse our admiration and interest as curiosities, but they are foreign to us. With a Greek temple or a Greek poem we feel at home. *It might have been built, or written, in our own day.* Some of our most beautiful buildings are copied from Greek models.<sup>1</sup> Our historians venerate the Greek Herodotus and Thucydides as their masters. Our children delight in the stories that the blind Homer chanted, and older students still find his poems a necessary part of literary culture.

As we have already noticed in part, **the differences between this first European civilization and the older Oriental civilizations were due largely to geography.**

1. Like most of Europe, Greece has a more temperate climate than the semitropical river valleys of Asia, and *its food crops demand more cultivation.* This called for greater exertion upon the part of man. *The beginnings of civilization were slower in Europe, but man was finally to count for more there than in Asia.*

2. *The many little Greek states differed greatly among themselves.* In some the government was a monarchy ; in some, an oligarchy ;

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<sup>1</sup> A few years ago Congress was seeking plans for a new "Temple of Justice," to be erected as the future home of the United States Supreme Court. Of all the plans submitted, the one selected as being the most beautiful and appropriate was a classic Greek model. See the illustration facing page 75

in others, a democracy. In some the chief industry was agriculture; in others, trade. In some the people were slow and conservative; in others, enterprising and progressive. A vast Oriental state, like Egypt or Babylonia, had been marked by deadly *uniformity*: Greek civilization showed a wholesome *diversity* — as our civilization does.

3. Mountain people, living apart by themselves, are usually rude and unprogressive. We have already noted (page 83 f.) that much of Greece was saved from that tendency by the sea — which brought Athens into as close touch with Miletus or Byzantium as with near-by Sparta or Argos. But here let us recognize another great service of the sea. *Greece was saved from Asiatic conquest largely by its position behind the broad moat of the Mediterranean.* Some civilizations not so very unlike the Greek had *started up* in some of the small Syrian districts, but they had always fallen, almost at a blow, before some one of the conquering Oriental despotisms. Shortly before 500 B.C., even the Greek cities in Asia Minor fell in like fashion before a Persian attack (page 114 f.); but against the European Greeks, as we shall see, Persia's supreme efforts failed.

4. It is not hard to see why Oriental man bowed down in fear and in superstitious dread before the overwhelming power of natural forces. The floods of mighty rivers (floods of which he could not know the cause) ruled his fate; his state spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. But Greece had no large plains and no great rivers — only mountain brooks unfit even for rowboats. It was a land of *intermingled* sea and mountain, *with everything on a moderate scale.* Even the mountains stirred feelings of delight rather than of awe. There were no destructive earthquakes, no



A VASE PAINTING OF THE FIFTH CENTURY  
(figures red on a black background).

tremendous storms, no overwhelming floods. Nature was not terrible, and men began early to search into her secrets. *Oriental submission to tradition was replaced by fearless inquiry and originality.* In the ordinary religion, as we have seen, even the gods were often treated rather lightly.

5. In like way, *Oriental despotism in government gave way to Greek freedom.* Greece had no parallel to the slavish Babylonian or Persian submissiveness before their kings, or to the Egyptian's before his priests.

6. No doubt, too, the moderation and variety of the world about them had a part in producing the many-sided genius of the Greek people and their lively but well-controlled imagination. And the varied beauty of hill and dale and blue, sunlit sea, the wonderfully clear, exhilarating air, and the soft splendor of the radiant sky helped to give them deep joy in mere living. Above all other peoples, they developed *a love for harmony and proportion.* And so the statues they shaped, the temples they built, the poems they wrote are (of their kind) the most nearly perfect that have ever been known. They learned, too, that the truest happiness was found in self-control. Their favorite mottoes were "Nothing overmuch" and "Moderation in everything," and they came to use the same word for *good* and *beautiful*.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Specific suggestions for library work in Greek history, in connection with this text, are confined to Davis' *Readings* and (at most) to one other work on each important topic. For convenience of the pupil, that other volume, so far as possible, is a one-volume Greek history (Bury's), but for some topics an adequate treatment calls for reference to other books.

It is desirable for every pupil to have a copy of the *Readings*, but, if that is found inadvisable, from five to ten copies will equip the library fairly well for class work. Throughout Greek history in particular, it is well worth while for the student to consult the *Readings* each day for added light on the day's lesson.

For this chapter — specially recommended: Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 33-56; in particular the extracts on the Homeric Assembly (No. 33), on farm life (No. 39), on Olympic Games (No. 44), on oracles (Nos. 41-43), and on *founding a colony* (No. 46). This last might well be the subject of a special report by a student to the class. Additional reading suggested: an excellent secondary account, fuller than that in



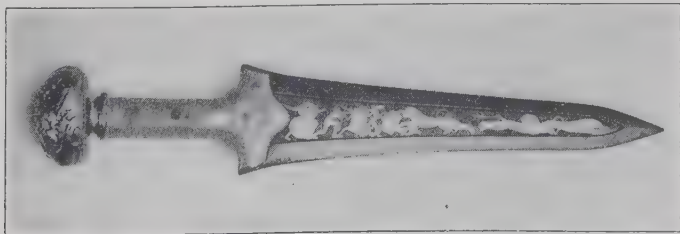
this text, is given in Bury's *History of Greece*, 69-79, 86-117, 149-155, 159-161.

Students who have not already done so in earlier years should now try to become familiar with legends of Greek gods and heroes as retold charmingly for young people by Hawthorne, Gayley, Guerber, and Kingsley. There will never be a better time to gain some knowledge also of Homer in a good translation (see Book List in Appendix). And Halliburton's *Glorious Adventure* is a fascinating story of how a modern college boy followed the route taken by Odysseus in his wanderings.

#### MAP STUDY (maps after pages 68, 102)

Note the three great divisions: *Northern Greece* (Epirus and Thessaly); *Central Greece* (a group of eleven districts, to the Isthmus of Corinth); and the *Peloponnesus* (the southern peninsula). Name the districts from Phocis south, and the chief cities in each. Which districts have no coast? Locate Delphi, Thermopylae, Tempe, Parnassus, Olympus, Olympia, Salamis, Ithaca, eight islands, three cities on the Asiatic side. *Keep in mind that the islands shown are only a few of the many score that dot the Aegean.* (The index tells on what map geographical names can be found except for a few familiar names, such as Atlantic and Mediterranean.)

EXERCISES. — 1. Before the Greeks, the Persians built great roads. So did the Romans even more extensively afterwards. You will hear no mention of roadbuilding among the Greeks. Why? 2. How many kinds of government are defined in Division VII of this chapter? Can you define each kind clearly from memory? 3. Why is Greece properly called "the most European of European lands"?



Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BRONZE DAGGER found at Mycenae, with beautiful inlay work in gold. More than 3000 years old. Why should a Greek artist of that time have used a lion-hunt for his decoration? (The edges and handle of this dagger have been "restored.")



## CHAPTER VIII

### ATHENS AND SPARTA IN 500 B.C.

Until about 500 B.C. there is little connected *story* of Greek life. Some written inscriptions have been found, and later times had many fanciful legends about the early period, but just how far these are true we cannot tell. After 500 the Greeks left quite complete histories of their doings. When that "historical period" began, two cities were more powerful and important than any others. These were Sparta and Athens. They were only 150 miles apart (no farther than our New York and Albany), but they were more different from each other than Frenchmen and Germans are to-day — and more jealous of each other.

#### SPARTA

Sparta was one of the little states set up by invading Dorians in the Peloponnesus. As late as the year 900 B.C. it had no seacoast and held sway over only a few square miles. About that time, according to legend, through the influence of a reforming law-giver, *Lycurgus*, the Spartans adopted certain peculiar manners of living that soon made them superior to their neighbors in war. In fact, however, many of their customs seem to have been merely survivals of barbarous habits that other Greeks had outgrown.

It is certain, anyway, that soon after 900 B.C. the Spartans began to conquer their neighbors. By 700 they were masters of all *Laconia*, and soon after, of *Messenia*. Then they brought all the rest of the Peloponnesus, except hostile *Argos*, into a military league of which they were the head.

Until almost the close of ancient Greek history, Sparta had far less change in government than most Greek cities had. There did come, very early, to be two kings instead of one.











(Legend explains this as due to the birth of twin princes.) Then, with the kingly power so divided and weakened, the nobles did not try to abolish it, as was done about that time in most Greek states. They did, however, take most of the real authority to themselves in a Council, or Senate, of thirty elders, who held office for life. Before 500 B.C., to be sure, the old Assembly had gained the power of electing senators, when there was a vacancy, but it never got the right to discuss, or even to propose new measures. The Senate or the kings put questions and nominations before it, and it could merely vote yes or no.

Even then, the Senate kept a veto upon the Assembly's decision, and so **remained the controlling part of the government.** Sparta was practically an oligarchy — controlled by the small class of senatorial families — and it always preferred to see oligarchic government in other Greek cities, rather than democratic.

Sparta did come finally to have certain new officers, called Ephors. Five Ephors were *elected* by the Assembly each year, and, in appearance, these officers were supreme rulers. In practice, however, the Senate really controlled the *nominations*, and so kept the Ephors as its agents.

As a whole, the Spartans were a ruling class in the midst of subjects eight or ten times their number. They were *a camp* of some 9000 conquering soldiers, with their families, living always under arms. Most Greek cities had protected themselves with stone walls, but the Spartans proudly refused to build a fortification, boasting, "The walls of Sparta are her men."

They had taken for themselves the most fertile lands of Laconia, but *they never worked.* Their lands were tilled by slaves, called *Helots*, who probably were the descendants of the country dwellers at the time of the Dorian conquest. In war the Helots furnished light-armed troops for the army. There were five or more of them to one Spartan; and, to keep them down, the Spartan youths occasionally carried out extensive

secret massacres of the more ambitious and intelligent among them.

The inhabitants of the hundred small *towns* of Laconia were not slaves, but they were strictly subject to Sparta. They kept some land for themselves, and they carried on whatever other industry was found in Laconia. Their heavy-armed troops (under Spartan commanders) made up most of the Spartan army. Each town (*under the supervision of a Spartan military governor*) was allowed to manage most of its local affairs in its own way.

Spartan mastery rested on a sleepless vigilance over subjects and on a rigid and brutal discipline for their own citizens. *The family, as well as the man, belonged absolutely to the state.* Officers examined each child, at its birth, to decide whether it was fit to live. If they declared it weak or puny, it was exposed in the mountains to die without regard to the feelings or wishes of the mother and father. If it was strong and healthy, it was returned to its parents for a few years. But after a boy reached the age of seven he never again slept under his mother's roof: he was taken away to live until he was twenty in a public "home" with other boys. There he learned a little martial music and how to read, and he was trained more especially to obey orders, to run, wrestle, fight, and, as soon as he could handle weapons, to use spear and sword. It became his especial pride to bear hunger and cold and pain bravely and to do with few comforts. On certain festival days boys were whipped at the altars, to test their endurance, and sometimes they died under the lash rather than utter a cry. (This was much like the savage "sundance" of some American Indian tribes that our government is trying now to stop.)

From twenty to thirty, the youth lived under arms in barracks. At thirty the man was required to marry, in order to rear more soldiers, but he must still eat in barracks and live there most of the time.

Years of constant military drill made it easy for the Spartans to adopt more complex tactics than were possible for their

neighbors. They were trained in small regiments and companies, so as to maneuver readily at the word of command, and they stood to the other Greeks as disciplined soldiery always stands to untrained militia.

Apart from this, there was a kind of virtue, no doubt, in such training. The Spartans had the quiet dignity of born rulers. In contrast with the noisy Greeks about them, their speech was brief and pithy ("laconic" speech). They used only iron money. And their plain living made them appear superior to the weak indulgences of other men. Spartan women, too, kept a freedom which unhappily was lost in other Greek cities. Girls were trained in gymnastics, much as boys were; and the women were famous for beauty and health, and for public spirit and patriotism.

Still, the value of the Spartans to the world lay in the fact that they made a garrison for the rest of Greece, and helped save something better than themselves. If the Greeks had all been Spartans, we could afford to omit the study of Greek history.

## ATHENS

**Athens was the only city in Attica.** In other districts of such size there were several cities. Boeotia had twelve, each jealous of the others, and all jealous of Thebes, the largest among them. In Attica, in very early times, the beginnings of many cities had in some way been consolidated into one (page 79 f.). Athens was the true "home" of *all* the free inhabitants of the whole district — the central home, though many of them lived, outside the walls, in little farming hamlets.

The heads of the "noble" families (the "well-born") held their council on the hill called the Areopagus (the Field of Ares, god of war). **Very early this Council of the Areopagus took from the king his command in war** and other important parts of his power, giving them instead to "**archons**" (rulers) whom they chose from their own number. Gradually the "king" became only the city-priest; and in 752 B.C., a "king-archon" was elected for even this religious office. (Cf. page 96.)

By mortgages, by purchase perhaps, by fraud and force sometimes, the "well-born" had come also to own nearly all the land of Attica. Most of it was tilled for them by tenants on shares. Commonly these were old owners, who had lost their farms on mortgages. A bad season, or ravages by hostile bands of invaders, would force these tenants to mortgage *themselves*, since they had no more land to mortgage, in order to get food and seed. If the debtors failed to pay, the noble who held the mortgage could drag them off in chains and sell them for slaves.

Nor did the common tribesman have any part in the *government*. Even the Assembly had shrunk into a gathering of noble families to decide upon peace and war and to choose archons. "*The poor*," says Aristotle (a later Greek writer, in an account of this period), "were the very bondsmen of the rich. . . . They were discontented with every feature of their lot . . . for . . . they had no share in anything."

The discontent of the masses, and the quarrels among factions of the nobles, gave opportunity to ambitious adventurers, and (625 B.C.) one young noble seized the citadel of Athens with a band of troops, in order to make himself tyrant. The attempt was crushed, but the nobles were frightened enough so that they granted two reforms: (1) they admitted to the Assembly all men who would buy their own heavy armor for war, and (2) they *put the laws into writing*.

Athenian law had been a matter of *ancient custom*. It was not written down, and much of it was known only to the nobles. Only nobles were chosen as judges (archons) and often they abused their power in order to favor their own class in law suits. The people had long clamored for *written laws*, and now in 621 B.C. *Draco*, one of the archons, engraved the old laws on wooden blocks and set them up where all might see them.

The first result was to make men feel more keenly how harsh the laws were. The "laws of Draco," it was said in later times, were "*written in blood rather than ink*." *The Athenians now demanded new laws* — which the nobles were not willing to



grant. Soon new class struggles so weakened Athens that she was in danger of being ruined by Megara — a small state near by with which she was at war. From this peril the city was finally saved by the courage and generalship of a certain Solon (one of the nobles, already famous as a philosopher and poet); and this brilliant success pointed to Solon as the possible savior from perils at home. He was known to sympathize with the poor. In his poems he had long blamed the greed of the nobles and had pleaded for reconciliation between the warring classes. The Assembly now made Solon "sole Archon," with authority to remodel the government and the laws.

Solon used this extraordinary power first to reform *economic*<sup>1</sup> evils. (1) He gave to all tenants the full ownership of the lands which they had been renting (and which in most cases they or their fathers had lost earlier through debt); and he forbade the ownership in future of more than a moderate amount of land by any one man, so that there might be enough to go around. (2) He freed all Athenians who were in slavery in Attica, and forbade the enslaving of any Athenian tribesman in future. (3) He canceled all debts (by a sort of general bankruptcy law<sup>2</sup>), but he resisted a wild clamor for the division of all property. In later times, the people celebrated these acts by a yearly "Festival of the Shaking-off of Burdens."

*Indirectly* these economic reforms also gave a share in the government to more of the people. Many tribesmen who before had been poor tenant farmers could now afford to buy heavy armor (page 106) and so came into the Assembly on a level with the nobles there.

Then, in more direct ways, Solon reformed the government. (1) All tribesmen were taken into the Assembly, to make laws and choose officers — though, for some time more, only those who ranked as "heavy-armed" could be chosen to important

<sup>1</sup> *Economic* means "relating to property." It is not the same as "economical."

<sup>2</sup> Just a short time ago an inscription was unearthed in Crete showing that at least one other Greek city adopted similar laws at almost that same time.

offices. (These three changes went far toward making Athens a true democracy. Noble birth ceased to count in politics, but a rich man still had some advantage over a poor man.) (2) He set up a Senate, chosen from the "heavy-armed," to recommend measures to the Assembly and so to replace the Areopagus as the *guiding* part of the government. (3) The Areopagus henceforth was only a sort of law court, to deal with religious matters; and *indirectly* it became *elective*, since now it was to be made up only of ex-archons.

The members of Solon's Senate were chosen each year, *by lot*, — so that neither wealth nor birth could control the election. This method seems absurd to us, but it was then looked upon as an appeal to the decision of the gods, and its use was preceded by religious sacrifices and prayers. The Puritans in colonial America sometimes used the lot in a like way.

Solon also made it the duty of every father to teach his sons a trade; limited the wasteful extravagance at funerals — especially the amount of wealth that might be buried with the dead; and replaced Draco's bloody laws by milder punishments for offenses. **To establish all these changes kept him busy through the years 594 and 593 B.C.** Then, to the surprise of many, **he resigned his power.** He had really been an "elected tyrant," or a "dictator." His acts were so popular with the great mass of the people that he might easily have made himself tyrant for life. *For the first time in history, a man holding vast power laid it down voluntarily in order that the people might govern themselves.*

Perhaps Solon resigned too soon; for now a new strife of factions followed between *the Plain* (the larger land-owners), *the Shore* (merchants), and *the Mountain* (small farmers and shepherds)—until, 30 years later, **Pisistratus**, a near kinsman of Solon, **made himself tyrant.**<sup>1</sup> His rule was mild and wise.

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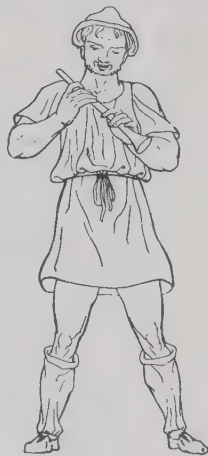
<sup>1</sup> If you are keeping a time-line in your notebook, you will notice that this was almost at the same time that Cyrus became king of Persia.

He lived simply, like other citizens. He even appeared in a law court, to answer in a suit against him. And he always treated the aged Solon with deep respect, although Solon always opposed him. Indeed Pisistratus kept nearly all of Solon's laws in force, — taking care only *to have his own friends elected to the chief offices*. He was more like the “boss” of a great political “machine” than like the ordinary “tyrant.”

Pisistratus encouraged commerce and laid the basis for Athens' later leadership in trade by seizing for her the mouth to the Black Sea. He also enlarged and beautified Athens; improved the roads and built an aqueduct to bring a supply of water to the city from the hills; and drew to his court a brilliant circle of poets, painters, architects, and sculptors, from all Hellas. The first written edition of the Homeric poems is said to have been put together under his encouragement, and *Thespis* (page 95) began Greek tragedy at the magnificent festivals which were now set up in honor of Dionysus (god of wine).

When the nobles rebelled, as they did twice, Pisistratus banished a number of them and divided their estates among landless tribesmen, increasing the number of peasant landholders. He also set up rural festivals in different parts of Attica, to make country life more attractive, and, Aristotle (page 106) tells us, —

he . . . often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it, and to settle disputes between persons, that they might not come to the city and neglect their farms. It was on one of these progresses, as the story goes, that Pisistratus had his adventure with the man in the district of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as the Tax-free Farm. He saw a man digging at very stony ground with a stake, and sent and asked what he got out of such a plot of land. “Aches and pains,” said the man, “and out of these Pisistratus must



PEASANT with musical pipe. — A drawing from a Greek vase.

get his tenth." Pisistratus was so pleased with the man's frank speech and industry that he granted him exemption from taxes.

In 527, Pisistratus was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Hipparchus was soon murdered, at the cost of their own lives, by two youths whom the Athenians in later times honored by public statues and patriotic poems. (See also page 97 and Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 53.)



THE TYRANT-SLAYERS. — A bronze copy of an Athenian statue; now in the Museum of Naples. A favorite Athenian festival song ran:

I'll wreath my sword in myrtle bough,  
The sword that laid Hipparchus low,  
When patriots, burning to be free,  
To Athens gave equality!

The rule of Hippias had been kindly, but after the assassination of his brother he grew cruel and suspicious, and Athens soon became ready for revolt. *Clisthenes*, one of a band of exiled nobles, saw an opportunity to regain his home. The temple of Apollo at Delphi had just been burned, and Clisthenes engaged to rebuild it. He did so with great magnificence, using the finest of marble where the contract had called only for common limestone. After this, whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, no matter what the occasion, they were always ordered by the priestess to "*first set free the Athenians.*" The

Spartans had no quarrel with Hippias; but repeated commands from the god could not be disregarded. In 510, a reluctant Spartan army, with the Athenian exiles, expelled the tyrant.

The Athenians were now stronger than before the rule of Pisistratus, and better able to govern themselves. The nobles strove to regain control; but Clisthenes threw his strength upon the side of the people, and drove out the plotters. A Spartan army restored them for a moment, but was itself soon besieged in the Acropolis and captured. A century later the Athenian dramatist Aristophanes portrayed the Athenian

exultation (and hinted some differences between Athenian and Spartan life) in the following lines :

. . . For all his loud fire-eating,  
The old Spartan got a beating,  
And, in sorry plight retreating,  
Left his spear and shield with me.  
Then, with ~~only~~ his poor shirt on,  
And who knows what years of dirt on,  
With a bristling bush of beard,  
He slunk away and left us free.

"The Athenians," says Aristotle in his *Constitution of Athens*, "now showed that men will fight more bravely for themselves than for a master." The Euboeans and Thebans seized the moment of confusion to invade Attica from two sides at once; but the Athenians routed them in a double battle in one day, pursued the Euboeans into their island home, stormed Chalcis there, and took for their own city its trade with Thrace (page 89).

Athens at this time began a new kind of colonization. She sent four thousand citizens to possess the best land of Chalcis and to serve as a garrison there; but (the new thing) *she let them keep full Athenian citizenship* — besides giving them (as usual) full control over their own settlements in their own Assemblies. These colonists were known as *cleruchs*, or "out-settlers." By this device Athens found land for her surplus citizens without losing them wholly (as she would have done by sending them away in the older kind of colonies), and at the same time she greatly strengthened her power outside Attica. This was the most important step toward *enlarging* the city-state into something more like a true nation ever taken among the Greeks. Athens continued the practice, on various occasions, for a hundred years, but no other Greek city ever imitated it.

At almost the same time, too, Athens took one more step far in advance of ordinary Greek custom. Since Solon's time the growing trade of the city had drawn to it many "aliens." These people were enterprising, and they added much to the wealth of Athens; but they had no part in the city's govern-



ment, nor any of the rights of Athenian citizens. No alien could vote or hold office, or sue in a law court (except through the favor of some citizen), or take part in a religious festival, or marry an Athenian, or even own land in Attica. The city usually found it worth while to protect his property (especially if he was rich enough to pay well for protection), in order to attract other strangers; but *neither he nor his son nor any later descendant could acquire any rights merely by continuing to live in Athens*. Our modern way of making aliens into citizens easily by "naturalization" had not yet been thought of.

To prove himself a real citizen of Athens a man had to prove that he was an Athenian tribesman: that is, that he was a member of some one of the many clans into which the tribes of Attica were divided. Indeed in the Assembly each clan voted by itself.

But this way of voting was becoming troublesome as the city population grew larger and larger and as the clansmen of a given clan scattered in different kinds of work. **And now Clisthenes persuaded the Assembly to adopt another way.** All Attica was divided into a hundred little areas called *demes* — which were like the ward divisions that we call "precincts." Clisthenes was given authority to see that each citizen was "registered" in the deme in which he lived. Such deme-registration, thereafter, was proof of citizenship and of the right to vote in the Assembly. Even the cleruchs (page 111) *and their descendants* kept their old deme-enrollment.

And now while Clisthenes was registering the old citizens by demes he **seized the chance** to do away with the injustice to the aliens living in Attica by getting authority from the Assembly to **enroll those aliens also** in the demes in which they lived — **and so to make them full citizens.**<sup>1</sup> Probably this step of itself nearly doubled the body of citizens. Perhaps, too, Athens was strengthened quite as much by the new impulse to progress that came from the introduction of new blood.

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<sup>1</sup> This reform of Clisthenes, it must be understood, applied only to the aliens then living in Attica. In a few years a new class of aliens appeared, with all the old disadvantages.

The reforms secured by Clisthenes also gave the Assembly more power. Solon's Senate was abolished. It was no longer needed, because now it was made lawful for any voter to bring forward new business by his own motion. The Assembly had become almost the whole government — though it did now elect a board of ten "Generals" to manage matters between the Assembly meetings. Light-armed citizens remained ineligible to office; but in all other ways Athens had become fully a democracy. Very fittingly the people celebrated a citizenship festival on a certain day of each year; and on that day, in a great public gathering, all the boys who that year had reached the age of fifteen took this solemn and noble pledge:

Never will we bring disgrace upon our city by dishonesty or cowardice. In company with comrades, or all alone, we will fight for its sacred things and for its ideals. We will revere and obey its laws. We will always try to quicken the sense of duty to the city in others. In all these ways we will strive to pass the city on to our sons more glorious and beautiful than when our fathers passed it to us.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, I (especially the Numbers containing extracts from Plutarch's "Life of Lycurgus," unless that "Life" is read in full in Plutarch's *Lives*). There are good treatments in Bury, 120-135 and 180-189.

EXERCISE. — Explain the following terms: helot; tyrant; Lycurgus; Clisthenes; ephors; oligarchy; Areopagus; archon; deme; clan.

(To *explain* a term, in such an exercise, the student ought now to understand, is to make brief statements concerning it that will at least prevent the term from being confused with any other. Thus if the term is *Solon* it will not do to say, "A Greek lawgiver," or "A lawgiver of the sixth century B.C." The answer *must* at least say, "An *Athenian* lawgiver of about 600 B.C."; and it *ought* to say, "An *Athenian* lawgiver *and democratic reformer* of about 600 B.C.")



## CHAPTER IX

### WARS OF THE GREEKS AND PERSIANS

Now the vast and despotic Persian world and the free but small Greek world joined battle. We have seen how the Persians had stretched their rule swiftly over the territory of all preceding empires, besides adding vast regions before unknown. By 500, they had advanced even into Europe across Thrace (map facing page 64). This brought their western frontier into touch with the scattered groups of cities in the peninsula of Greece, bustling and energetic but small and disunited. The mighty world-empire now advanced confidently to add these little communities to its dominions.

Indeed, Persia was already mistress of the Greek cities on the Asia Minor coast. For two centuries the Ionians there had led all the rest of Hellas in civilization (page 89), but, unfortunately, they lacked the defense of the wide Mediterranean moat. Because of that lack, Croesus, king of Lydia, had subdued them, about 550 B.C. (page 63). Croesus, however, admired the Greeks. He had wanted their coast line, so that Lydia might have part in the trade of the Mediterranean; but, having won that, he favored the Greek cities in many ways and left them their own governments. When Cyrus the Persian attacked Lydia (page 64), the Greeks fought gallantly for Croesus — in spite of tempting offers from the Persian king.

After the overthrow of Croesus, therefore, Cyrus turned upon them for stern punishment. Thales (page 95) urged the cities of Ionia to federate in one government, in order to resist this attack; but the one great Greek weakness in matters of government (page 80) kept them from adopting this wise plan. So by 540 B.C. the Asiatic Greek cities, *one by one*, fell to Persia — and Ionia's leadership in civilization was gone forever. Cyrus

oppressed them with heavy taxes and set up a tyrant in each city, to check any resistance to his overlordship.

**Then in the year 500 these cities of Asia Minor rose in the famous Ionian Revolt,** and called upon their kinsmen in Europe to help them. Sparta refused to send aid (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 57), but Athens did send a small army. At first the Ionians won swift success and even took Sardis, far in the interior. But they were divided by mutual suspicions; the Persians used gold skillfully to stir up treachery; and, at the first defeat, the loose Ionian league broke up. **Then Persia quickly subdued the cities again one by one.**

Herodotus says that Darius, the great Persian king, was so angered by the sack of Sardis that during the rest of his life he had a herald cry out to him thrice each day at dinner, — "O King, remember the Athenians!" But **Persia would soon have attacked European Greece anyway.** The same motives that had already carried Persian arms through Thrace and Macedonia would have carried them on into Greece. The Greek cities were becoming wealthy, and Persia coveted their ships and their trade. The Ionian war merely delayed the Persian onset upon Europe for seven or eight years, until the Greeks were better prepared.

**Even then, the conditions in Europe were discouraging enough.** After the fall of Ionia there remained two great divisions of Hellas, — (1) the *European peninsula*, which we usually call "Greece," and (2) *Magna Graecia and Sicily*. Elsewhere the scattered Greek cities, like those along the shores of the Black Sea, were too small or too busy defending themselves against surrounding savages to count for much in the coming struggle. *And now the two main divisions were attacked at the same time, — Greece by Persia, Sicily by Carthage.*

Carthage was a Phoenician colony on the north coast of Africa. It had built up an extensive empire in the western Mediterranean, and had often carried on war against the Greeks in Sicily. Stirred up now by Persia, Carthage made a new and determined effort to drive her rivals out of that island (so

desirable for the control of Mediterranean trade). Her attack was finally repulsed; but, as Darius had planned, it kept all those more western Greeks from aiding the Greek peninsula against his own attack.

Within that peninsula, the forces that could be mustered against the master of the world were small, at best, and, as usual, they were being wasted in internal struggles. Athens was at war with Aegina and with Thebes; Phocis was engaged in war with Thessalians on one side and Boeotians on the other. Many cities, too, were torn by cruel class strife at home, oligarchs against democrats. To almost all Greeks, Sparta's Peloponnesian League (page 102) seemed the one hope — and Sparta herself was engaged in a renewal of fruitless war with Argos, an ancient foe.

*By 492, Darius had gathered a mighty army at the Hellespont, with a huge fleet to carry its supplies. (To transport supplies for a large army by land was extremely hard in those days because of the lack of roads fit even for the small carts of that time.) This double expedition moved slowly but irresistibly along the north shore of the Aegean toward Greece, fleet and army keeping in daily touch with each other — until, in rounding the rocky promontory of Mt. Athos, the fleet was dashed to pieces by a sudden storm. The army then had to return hurriedly to Asia.*

*But in the spring of 490 a second expedition, made up of carefully selected soldiers, was embarked on a mighty fleet, which this time proceeded directly across the Aegean, stopping only to receive the submission of islands along its way. When the Persians reached Euboea, they destroyed the little city of Eretria and sent back the citizens in chains to Darius as slaves (because a few hundred Eretrians had been with the Athenian army that had helped the Ionian rebels a few years before). To most men it seemed sure that a like fate was at once to befall Athens, for the fleet then moved on to land its troops at the plain of Marathon in Attica. This position (the only level place in the neighborhood of Athens large enough for the Persian*



cavalry to move about in) had been suggested to the Persians by Hippias, the exiled tyrant (page 110), who accompanied the invaders, hoping, as a servant of Persia, to get back his throne.<sup>1</sup>

From the slopes where the hills of Mount Pentelicus meet the plain, the ten thousand Athenian hoplites<sup>2</sup> faced the Persian host for the first struggle between Greeks and Asiatics on European ground. Sparta had promised aid; and, at the first news of the Persian approach, a swift runner, Phidippides (Athenian victor in races at the Olympic games), had raced the hundred and fifty miles of rugged hill country to implore her to hasten. He reached Sparta on the second day! But the dilatory Spartans, who were getting ready to celebrate a sacred festival, explained that they must wait a week, on the ground that an old law forbade their setting out on a military expedition before the full moon. So Phidippides raced back, to conquer or die with his city. Athens was left to save herself — and all our later Western world — as best she could, against several times her numbers of the most famous soldiery of the world.<sup>3</sup> Just one heroic reënforcement did join her. Athens had sometimes protected the democratic government of little *Plataea*, in Boeotia near by, against the powerful oligarchs of Thebes; and now, on the eve of the battle, the grateful Plataeans marched into the Athenian camp with their full force of a thousand men.

Miltiades, the Athenian commander, did not wait to be attacked, but amazed the foe by taking the offensive, moving his forces down the slope toward the Persian array. While yet an arrow's flight distant, the advancing Greeks broke into a run, so as to cover the rest of the ground before the famous Persian archers could get in their deadly work. Once at close

<sup>1</sup> The whole story of the Persian attack should be read in Herodotus, or, even better in some ways, in the extracts in Davis' *Readings*, with Dr. Davis' admirable introductions.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek name for a heavy-armed soldier.

<sup>3</sup> All numbers given for the Persian army, in this or other campaigns, are guesses. Ancient historians put the Persians at Marathon at from a quarter to a half million. Modern scholars are sure that no ancient fleet could possibly carry any considerable part of such a force, and *estimate* the Persian numbers all the way from 100,000 down to 20,000.

quarters, the heavy weapons of the Greeks gave them overwhelming advantage. Their dense array, charging with long, outstretched spears, by its sheer weight broke the light-armed Persian lines. The Persians fought gallantly; but their darts and light scimitars made little impression upon the heavy bronze armor of the Greeks, while their linen tunics and wicker shields (or small bronze ones) offered little defense against the thrust of the Greek spear. For a time, Persian numbers did force back



PLAN OF MARATHON. — Cf. map, page 124.

the Greek center; but the two Greek wings (where Miltiades had massed his strength), having routed the forces in front of them, wheeled upon the Persian center, crushing both flanks at the same moment, and drove it in disorder to the ships. The invaders left more than 6400 dead, but of the Greeks only 192 fell.

(Recent excavation of the mound under which the slain Greeks were buried confirms this old statement by Herodotus.)

The Persians sailed away hastily on a course that might bring them to Athens. Miltiades, too, saw sun-signals flashed to them from a distant mountain — probably an invitation (from the shield of some friend of Hippias) to seize the city in the absence of the army. Only boys and old men had been left to garrison Athens. To encourage them to hold out against any attack, Miltiades at once hurried off Phidippides to announce the victory. Already exhausted by the battle, Phidippides put forth supreme effort, raced the twenty-two miles of mountain road, shouted exultantly to the eager, anxious crowds in the city street, — “Ours the victory!” — and fell dead.

Meanwhile Miltiades was hurrying his wearied army, without rest, over the same road. Fortunately, the Persian fleet had to sail around a long promontory (map after page 68), and when it appeared off Athens, the next morning, it found the



THE ATHENIAN CHARGE AT MARATHON.



victors of Marathon in battle order before it. Without further attempt, the fleet then returned to Asia.

Merely as a military event **Marathon** is an unimportant skirmish; but, in its results upon human welfare, it is **among the few really "decisive" battles of the world**. Whether Egyptian conquered Babylonian, or Babylonian conquered Egyptian, mattered little in the long run. But it did matter whether or not the huge, despotic *East* should crush the new free life out of the *West*. Marathon decided that the West should live.

**For the Athenians themselves, Marathon began a new era.** Natural as the victory came to seem in later times, it took high courage on that day to stand before the hitherto unconquered Persians, even without such tremendous odds. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "were the first of the Greeks to face the Median garments, . . . whereas up to this time the very name of Mede [Persian] had been a terror to the Hellenes." The sons of the men who conquered on that field could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling, in the years to come.

Soon after Marathon, Egypt tried to rebel against Persia. This gave the Greeks ten years to get ready for the next Persian attack, but the only city to make any good use of the time was Athens.

**Athens now had come to have two political parties.** The conservative party was content with the reforms of Clisthenes and wished to follow established customs without further change. Its leader at this time was *Aristides*, surnamed "the Just." The radical party wished further reforms and favored many changes. It was led by *Themistocles*. Themistocles was less upright than Aristides; but he was one of the most far-sighted and resourceful statesmen in all history.

Themistocles wanted to make Athens a naval power. He saw that Persia could not attack Greece successfully without command of the sea, so that she could transport men and supplies. Moreover, huge as the Persian Empire was, it was mainly an inland power: it could not so vastly outnumber



the Greeks in ships as in men. But up to this time the Greeks had never used ships much *for fighting*. The party of Aristides wished to hold to the old policy of fighting on land, and they had the glorious victory of Marathon to back their arguments. Feeling between the two parties ran high.

In many cities such quarrels resulted in bloody civil wars, but one of the reforms of Clisthenes had provided a safeguard against that in Athens. If at any time as many as six thousand citizens voted that there was reason to put a stop to a quarrel by sending one of the rival leaders away from the city for ten years, then each voter wrote on a shell or a piece of broken pottery (*ostrakon*) the name of the one he preferred to banish. In 483, a vote of this kind "ostracized" Aristides.

While the voting was going on, according to the story of Herodotus, a stupid fellow who could not write asked Aristides himself to write the name Aristides for him on his shell. Aristides did so, asking, however, "What harm has Aristides ever done you?" "No harm," replied the voter. "Indeed, I do not know him; but I am tired of hearing him called 'the Just.'" <sup>1</sup>

Themistocles was left free to carry out his plans. Rich mines of silver had been discovered in Attica a short time before. They belonged to the city, and it had been expected that the profits from them would be divided among the people. But Themistocles persuaded his countrymen instead to use the money in building a great fleet for the city, and, in the next three years, Athens became the greatest naval power in all Hellas.

During the ten years after Marathon, too, the great Darius died, and the invasion of Greece fell to his feebler son, Xerxes. Marathon had proved that no Persian fleet by itself could transport enough troops; so the plan of the first expedition (page 116) was tried again, but upon a larger scale, as to both army and fleet.

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<sup>1</sup> Read other anecdotes about Aristides in Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 61.

To guard against another accident at Mt. Athos, a canal for ships was cut through the isthmus at the back of that rocky headland, — a great engineering work that took three years. Supplies, too, were collected at stations along the way; the Hellespont was bridged with chains of boats covered with planks;<sup>1</sup> and at last, in the spring of 480, Xerxes led a mighty host of many nations into Europe. A fleet of twelve hundred ships accompanied the army.

The danger forced the Greeks into something like common action. Sparta and Athens joined in calling a *Hellenic congress* at Corinth, in 481 B.C. The deputies that appeared bound their cities by oath to aid one another, and chose Sparta for their leader to manage the war. Still the outlook was full of gloom. Argos, out of hatred for Sparta, and Thebes, from jealousy of Athens, had refused to attend the congress and were ready to join Xerxes.

The Greeks had three lines of defense. The first was at the Vale of Tempe near Mount Olympus, where only a narrow pass opened into Thessaly. The second was at Thermopylae, where the mountains shut off northern from central Greece, except for a road only a few feet in width. The third was behind the Isthmus of Corinth.

At the congress at Corinth the *Peloponnesians* had wished *selfishly* to abandon the first two lines. They urged that all patriotic Greeks should retire at once within the Peloponnesus and fortify the Isthmus by an impregnable wall. This plan was as foolish as it was selfish. Greek troops might have held the Isthmus against the Persian land army; but the Peloponnesus was readily open to attack *by sea*, and the Persian fleet would have found it easier here than at either of the other lines of defense to land troops in the Greek rear *without long losing touch with its own army*. Such a surrender of two thirds of Greece, too, would have meant a tremendous reënforcement of

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<sup>1</sup> Read Herodotus' story of Xerxes' wrath when the first bridge broke, and how he ordered the Hellespont to be flogged (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 64).

the enemy by excellent Greek soldiery. Accordingly, *it was finally voted to resist the entrance of the Persians into Greece by meeting them at the Vale of Tempe.*

Sparta, however, had no gift for going to meet an attack. A hundred thousand men should have held the Vale of Tempe; but only a feeble garrison was sent there, and it retreated before the Persians appeared. **Xerxes entered Greece without a blow.** *Then the Thessalian cities, deserted by their allies, joined the invaders with their powerful cavalry.*

This made it evident, even to Spartan statesmen, that to abandon central Greece also would strengthen Xerxes further, and **Sparta prepared, in a half-hearted way, to make a stand at Thermopylae.** The pass was only some twenty feet wide between the cliff and the sea, and the only other path was one over the mountain, equally easy to defend. Moreover, the long island of Euboea approached the mainland just opposite the pass, so that the Greek fleet *in the narrow strait* could guard the land army against having troops landed in its rear.

The Greek fleet at this place numbered 270 ships. Of these the Athenians furnished more than half. Sparta sent only 16 ships, but her admiral was in supreme command. The land defense had been left to Sparta, but the force which she had sent to attend to it was shamefully small. The Spartan king, *Leonidas*, held the pass with three hundred Spartans and a few thousand allies. *The main force of Spartans was again left at home, because of a religious festival!*

**The Persians reached Thermopylae without a check. Battle was joined at once on land and sea, and raged for three days.** Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested conflict at *Artemisium*. On land, Xerxes flung column after column of chosen troops into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. But on the third night a Greek traitor guided a force of Persians over the mountain path, which the Spartans had left only slightly guarded. Leonidas knew that he could no longer hold his position. He sent home his allies, but he and his three hundred Spartans remained to die in the pass which

their country had given them to defend. They charged joyously upon the Persian spears, and fell fighting, to a man.

Sparta had shown no capacity to command in this great crisis. Twice her shortsightedness had caused the loss of vital positions. But at Thermopylae her Three Hundred had set an example of calm heroism that has stirred the world ever since. In later times their burial place was marked by this inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her command."

**Sparta** would risk no further battle outside her own southern part of Greece, and she **fell back upon her first and unwise plan of turning the Peloponnesus into a citadel by building a wall across the Isthmus of Corinth.** This news threw Athens into uproar and despair. An appeal to the oracle at Delphi called forth only a warning "to flee to the most distant parts of the earth." Themistocles did finally get the priestess to add that, when all else was destroyed, "wooden walls should still defend the Athenians," and he then persuaded the people that these words referred to the walls of their ships.

The Spartan admiral meant to have all the fleet withdraw to the Isthmus, to keep in touch with the new position of the army behind its wall there. By vehement entreaties, Themistocles persuaded him to hold the fleet for a day or two at Athens, so as to remove the women and children and old men to Salamis and other near-by islands. There was no time to save property. The Persians marched triumphantly through Attica, burning villages and farmsteads, and laid Athens and its temples in ashes.

But in delaying the retreat of the fleet, **Themistocles** planned for more than escape. He **was determined that the decisive battle should be a sea battle, and that it should be fought where the fleet then lay.** No other spot so favorable could be found. The Greek fleet had grown to nearly 400 ships (of which Athens furnished a full half), but the Persian still had at least 800. The narrow strait between the Athenian shore and Salamis would embarrass the Persian numbers, and help to make up for the smaller numbers of the Greek ships. Themistocles saw, too,

that if the Greeks withdrew to Corinth, all chance of united action would be lost. The fleet would break up. Some ships would sail home to defend their own island cities; and others, like those of Megara and Aegina, feeling that their cities were deserted, might join the Persians.



G, Greek fleet at Salamis; PPP, Persian fleet; X, Throne of Xerxes.

The "Long Walls" on this map were not built until long after the Battle of Salamis. Notice that the "plans" on 124, 130, 134, facing 139, form a series, — each one an enlargement of a part of the preceding one. Can you find on the plans an explanation of the fact that the Long Walls on this map do not at first *seem* to run in the same direction as on page 130?

It had been Themistocles, indeed, who, by persuasion, entreaties, and bribes, had kept the fleet from abandoning the army at Thermopylae just before the battle of Artemisium. Now there fell to him a like task, but a mightier one. Debate waxed fierce in the all-night council of the captains. The Corinthian admiral sneered that the allies need not regard a



man who no longer represented a Greek city. Stung to fury, Themistocles retorted hotly that he represented two hundred ships, and could make a city, or take one, where he chose; and, by thus adding threats to entreaties, he at last forced the allies to accept his plan.

Probably this decision would have been reconsidered before morning; but Aristides, whose ostracism had been revoked in this time of peril and who just then slipped through the Persian fleet in his one ship, brought word that both ends of the strait were blocked up by the foe. There is an old story that the desperate and cunning Themistocles had secretly suggested this move to Xerxes, pretending to be his friend. At all events the Greeks had now no choice but to fight.

The battle of Salamis, the next day, lasted from dawn to dark, but the Greek victory was complete.

A king sat on the rocky brow <sup>1</sup>  
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;  
And ships by thousands lay below,  
And men in nations, — all were his.  
He counted them at break of day,  
And when the sun set, where were they!

Aeschylus, an Athenian poet who was present in the battle, gives a noble picture of it in his drama, *The Persians*. The speaker of the following lines is a Persian, telling the story to the Persian queen-mother:

Not in flight  
The Hellenes then their solemn paeans sang,  
But with brave spirits hastening on to battle.  
With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks:  
And straight with sweep of oars that flew thro' foam,  
They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call . . .  
And all at once we heard a mighty shout —  
"O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country!  
. . . The fight is for our all." . . .  
And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,  
And every ship was wildly rowed in flight,  
All that composed the Persian armament.

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<sup>1</sup> A golden throne had been set up for Xerxes, that he might better view the battle (map opposite). These lines are from Byron.

And they [Greeks], as men spear tunnies, or a haul  
Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars  
Or spars of wrecks, went smiting, cleaving down;  
And bitter groans and wailings overspread  
The wide sea waves, till eye of swarthy night  
Bade it all cease. . . . Be assured  
That never yet so great a multitude  
Died in a single day as died in this.

**This victory did not end the struggle.** Xerxes, it is true, fled at once to Asia with his shattered fleet, but he left three hundred thousand chosen troops under his best general, *Mardonius*. Mardonius withdrew from central Greece for the time, to winter in the plains of Thessaly, but he would be ready to renew the struggle in the spring. Meantime, since he looked upon the Athenians as the soul of the Greek resistance, *he offered them an alliance*, with many favors and with the complete restoration of their city at Persian expense. Terrified lest the Athenians should accept so tempting an offer, Sparta sent profuse promises of help, begging them not to desert Hellas. But the Athenians had already sent back the Persian messenger: "Tell Mardonius that so long as the sun holds on his way in heaven, the Athenians will come to no terms with Xerxes." Of Sparta they now asked only that she take the field early enough so that Athens need not be again abandoned without a battle.

**Sparta made the promise, but did not keep it.** When spring came, Mardonius marched southward. The Spartans found another sacred festival before which it would not do to leave their homes, and the Athenians, in bitter disappointment, fled once more from the city they had been rebuilding, to seek refuge at Salamis. Mardonius burned Athens a second time, laid waste the farms over Attica, cut down the olive groves (the slow growth of many years), and then retired to the level plains of Boeotia.

Athenian envoys had been at Sparta for weeks pleading for action, but they had been put off with meaningless delays. The fact was, in spite of her deceitful promises, Sparta still clung to the stupid plan of defending only the Isthmus. Some

of her keener allies, however, at last made the Spartan government see the uselessness of the wall at Corinth if the Athenians should be forced to join Persia with their fleet, as, in that case, the Persians could land an army anywhere they chose in the rear of the wall.

So Sparta decided to act, and gave a striking proof of her power. The Athenian envoys had given up hope, and one morning they announced indignantly that they would at once return home. To their amazement, they were told that during the night 50,000 Peloponnesian troops had set out for central Greece.

The Athenian forces and other reënforcements raised the total of the Greek army to about 100,000 and the final contest with Mardonius was fought near the little town of Plataea. Spartan generalship again blundered sadly; but the stubborn Spartan valor and the Athenian skill and dash won a victory which became a massacre. Only 3000 of the invaders escaped to Asia, and no hostile Persian ever again set foot in European Greece.

To the Greeks themselves their victory opened a new epoch. They were victors over the greatest of world-empires. New energies stirred in their veins. The matchless bloom of Greek art and thought, in the next two generations, had its roots in the soil of Marathon and Plataea.

### EXERCISES

1. Make a summary of the causes of the Persian Wars.
2. Devise and memorize a series of *catch-words* for rapid statement that shall suggest the outline of the story quickly. Thus:

*Persian conquest of Lydia and so of Asiatic Greeks; revolt of Ionia, 500 B.C.; Athenian aid; reconquest of Ionia. First expedition against European Greece, 492 B.C., through Thrace: Mount Athos. Second expedition, across the Aegean, 490 B.C.: capture of Eretria; landing at Marathon; excuses of Sparta; arrival of Plataeans; Miltiades and battle of Marathon.* (Let the student continue the series. In this way, the whole story may be reviewed in two minutes, with a reference to every important event. This is one good kind of review exercise for any long story.)

3. On an outline map, mark the routes of the three Persian expeditions, with names of important places.

4. In your notebook, start a list of ideas and other gifts handed down to us from the Greeks that would probably have been lost if Greece had been conquered. (As you go on with the story of Greece, you should add to that list.)

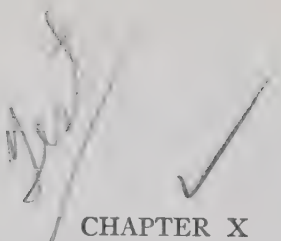
5. About what part of all the time of recorded history has been covered by our story up to the end of this chapter?

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings* (I, Nos. 62-73) gives the whole story of Xerxes' invasion as the Greeks themselves told it, in about 47 pages. The student who reads that account can afford to omit modern authorities.

*Additional*: Cox's *Greeks and Persians* is an admirable little book: chs. v-viii may be read for this story. Many anecdotes are given in Plutarch's *Lives* ("Themistocles" and "Aristides"), and some of these should be told in class by students as special reports. The run of Phidippides from the field of Marathon to Athens (page 118) is of course the basis for the famous modern "Marathon race." The student would enjoy reading or hearing Browning's poem *Phidippides* and comparing its story with the account by Herodotus — which is given in Davis' *Readings*.



EARLY GREEK AMPHORA (red drawings on black ground) found in an ancient grave in Etruria (Italy). It is well to emphasize the fact that these vases, lovely as they are, were made, not for ornaments, but for necessary house furnishings. Cf. page 92.



## CHAPTER X

### ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP, 478-431 B.C.

(FROM THE PERSIAN WAR TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR)

*The history of Athens is for us the history of Greece. — HOLM.*

#### I. HOW THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE WAS MADE

While the Greeks were still camped at Plataea, they agreed to hold there each year a Congress of all Greek cities. This League of Plataea was a wise attempt to turn the makeshift union of the patriotic Greek states into a complete and lasting union. Athens proposed the plan, with the generous understanding that Sparta should hold the headship. The noble project failed, and gave way to an Athenian league, because of Sparta's incompetence and pettiness — as we shall now see.

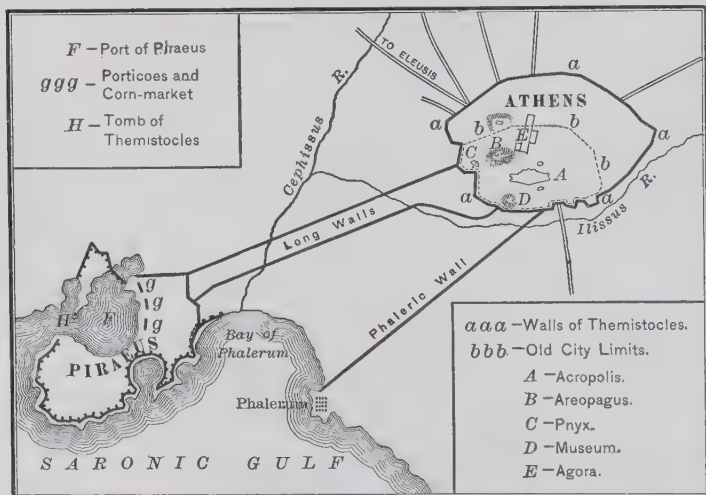
After Plataea, Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to leave even their homes and temples in ashes long enough so that they might first surround the city with walls. Corinth, hoping basely to gain Athens' old commercial prosperity for herself, urged Sparta to interfere; and, to her shame, Sparta did demand that the Athenians give up the plan: such walls, she said hypocritically, might prove an advantage to the Persians if they should again occupy Athens.

Attica was not yet in a condition to resist a Peloponnesian army. The wily Themistocles gained precious time by having himself sent to Sparta where he put off the discussion of the matter from day to day, with skillful excuses. Meanwhile the Athenians toiled at the walls with desperate haste — men, women, children, and slaves. No material was too precious. Inscribed tablets and fragments of sacred temples and even monuments from the burial grounds were seized for the work. At last when messengers informed Themistocles that the walls



were high enough to be defended,<sup>1</sup> he came before the Spartans and told them bluntly that henceforward "they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was best for their own and the common good."

Themistocles then went on to establish the naval and commercial supremacy of Athens by two great measures: he secured a vote from the Assembly ordering that twenty new



ATHENS AND ITS PORTS.

ships should be added *each year* to the war fleet; and he provided the city with a port secure against either storm or human attack.

Athens lay some miles from the shore. During his archonship in 493, Themistocles had given the city a magnificent harbor by improving the bay of the *Piraeus* (map just above) at great expense. Now he persuaded the people to *fortify* this port on the land side with a massive wall of solid masonry, clamped with iron, sixteen feet broad and thirty feet high, so

<sup>1</sup> Let some student report to the class the story of how Themistocles provided for his own safety at Sparta, as told by Thucydides (page 144).

that old men and boys might easily defend it against any enemy. *The Athenians now had two walled cities*, each four or five miles in circuit, and only four miles apart; and the alien merchants, who had dwelt at the Athenian ports, and who had fled at the Persian invasion, — many of them to Corinth, — came thronging back.

The war with Persia was still going on, but only along the Ionian coast. In the spring of 479, a Greek fleet had crossed the Aegean to assist Samos in revolt against Persia. A Spartan commanded the expedition, but three fifths of the ships were Athenian. On the very day of Plataea these forces defeated a great Persian army at *Mycale*, on the coast of Asia Minor, and burned three hundred Persian ships. *No Persian fleet showed itself again in the Aegean for nearly a hundred years.*

This victory of Mycale was a signal for the cities of Ionia to rise once more against Persia. The Spartans, however, shrank from the task of defending Hellenes so far away, and *proposed instead to remove the Ionians to European Greece.* The Ionians indignantly refused to leave their homes, and the Athenians in the fleet declared that Sparta should not so destroy "Athenian colonies." **The Spartans seized the excuse to sail home**, leaving the Athenians to protect the Ionians as best they could by themselves. The Athenians gallantly undertook the task, and began at once to expel the Persian garrisons from the islands of the Aegean. The short-lived League of Plataea had dissolved into two hostile leagues, — the old Peloponnesian League and a new league with Athens at its head.

**For Athens and her allies now organized the Confederacy of Delos**, so called because its seat of government and its treasury were to be at the island of Delos. Here an annual congress of deputies from the different cities of the League was to meet. Each city had one vote — like the American States under the old Articles of Confederation. Athens was the "president" of the League, and her generals commanded the fleet. In return, she furnished nearly half of all the ships and men, — far more than her due share.

The purpose of the League was to free the Aegean completely from the Persians, and to keep them from ever coming back. The allies meant to make the union *perpetual*. Lumps of iron were thrown into the sea when the oath of union was taken, as a symbol that the oath should be binding until the iron should float.

**The League of Delos did its work well.** Its chief military hero was *Cimon* (son of Miltiades), who had taken the place of Aristides as leader of the aristocratic party in Athens. Year after year, under his command, the allied fleet reduced one Persian garrison after another, until the whole region of the Aegean — all its coasts and islands — was free. Naturally, the League grew in size. It came to include nearly all the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The cities on the shores of the Black Sea, too, were added, and, even more than before, the rich trade of that region streamed through the Hellespont to the Piraeus.

**But some of the members of the League soon began to shirk their proper share of the cost.** As soon as the pressing danger was over, *many cities chose to pay more money, instead of furnishing ships and men*. Athens, on the other hand, furnished more ships, until the fleet was almost wholly her own, and of course she took the management of affairs more and more into her own hands — so that the congress at Delos became of little consequence. **Then, here and there, cities began to refuse even the payment of money.** This, of course, was secession. Such cities said that Persia was no longer dangerous, and that the need of the League was over. But the Athenian fleet, patrolling the Aegean, was all that kept the Persians from reappearing, and Athens had good reason for compelling delinquent allies to keep their promises of support to the League. However, she went further. Partly from anger at the offenders, partly probably from a selfish wish to extend her own power, she punished them by making them dependents. In 467, when the union was only ten years old, Naxos, one of the most powerful islands, refused to pay its contributions. Athens at once attacked Naxos, and,





A RESTORATION OF THE PARTHENON



after a stern struggle, brought it to submission. *But the conquered state was not allowed to return into the union.* It lost its vote in the congress, and became a mere subject of Athens.

From time to time, other members of the League attempted secession, and met a like fate. Athens took away their fleets, leveled their walls, and made them pay a tribute. Usually a subject city was left to manage its internal government in its own way; but it could no longer have alliances with other cities, and sometimes its citadel was held by an Athenian garrison.

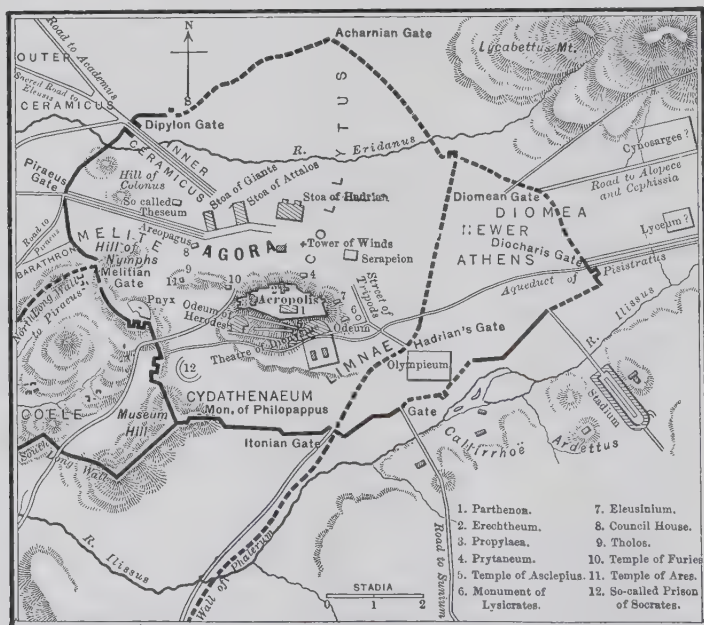
Under these conditions, Athens grew more and more arbitrary, *until she treated the loyal cities much like those that had rebelled.* **The confederacy of equal states became an Athenian Empire.** The meetings of the congress ceased altogether. Athens became a "tyrant city." She even removed the treasury from Delos, and began to use the funds and resources of the union for her own glory.

By 450 B.C. Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the only states of the League which had not become "subject states." Athens, however, had other independent allies that had never belonged to the Delian Confederacy — like Plataea and Corcyra in Greece, Rhegium in Italy, and Segesta in Sicily.

**Athens continued faithfully to do the work for which the union had been created.** Now and then a city tried to win back its independence by war, but most of the subject cities seem to have been fairly content. In nearly all of them the ruling power became an Assembly like that at Athens, and the bulk of the people looked gratefully to Athens for protection against the oligarchs. As an Athenian orator said, "*Athens was the champion of the masses, denying the right of the many to be at the mercy of the few.*"

For a time it seemed possible that the Athenian Empire might be extended to unite all Greece, — as was hoped by *Pericles*, a brilliant young statesman who had taken the place of *Themistocles* as leader of the democratic party. *Cimon* (page 132) had always urged friendship with Sparta. But in 461 B.C. it

was discovered that Sparta had been plotting secretly with a subject city of Athens against her supremacy. Then Cimon was ostracized, and, for thirty years, Pericles and his victorious democratic party ruled Athens. The first half of that period went to Athens' first war with Sparta.



MAP OF ATHENS (with some structures also of the Roman period). — The term "Stoa," which appears so often in this map, means "porch" or portico. These porticoes were inclosed by columns, and their fronts along the Agora formed a succession of colonnades. Only a few of the famous buildings can be shown in a map like this. The "Agora" was the great public square, or open market place, surrounded by shops and porticoes, — the busiest spot in Athens, where men met their friends for business or for pleasure.

The generalship and diplomacy of Pericles quickly made Athens supreme in all central Greece. True, the oligarchs of Thebes remained hostile, but they were made harmless by being shut up behind the walls of their city. All the other cities of Boeotia joined Athens, as did all Locris and Phocis and the little

state of Megara on the Isthmus of Corinth. At Megara, Pericles built walls across the Isthmus, to be guarded by an Athenian garrison. After that, *the Spartan hoplites could not move from their own Peloponnesus*: they were perfectly harmless to Athens and her friends. Meantime the invincible Athenian fleets swept the coasts of the Peloponnesus at will, burning the Spartan docks and striking staggering blows at the commerce of Corinth, Sparta's chief ally.

Athens, however, overstrained her resources by risking them in too many and too widely-scattered schemes. In the midst of this Spartan war, she sent a mighty armament of 250 war ships to help Egypt, which had again revolted against Persia. If this expedition had turned out well, it would have shut Persia off altogether from the Mediterranean. For a few months it was brilliantly successful; but sudden and overwhelming disaster annihilated the whole magnificent fleet, with its 5000 Athenian soldiers and 50,000 sailors.

Such a blow would have completely ruined any other Greek state. For a moment it looked like ruin for Athens. Everywhere revolt broke out. In particular, Megara betrayed and massacred the garrison at the wall across the Isthmus, and then a Peloponnesian army invaded Attica. The energy and genius of Pericles finally saved Attica and the Athenian Empire in the Aegean, but practically all the new inland possessions in Greece itself were lost. In 445 B.C. a "Thirty-Year Truce" was made with Sparta, restoring matters to about the same condition as when the war had begun.

The long struggle with Persia, too, had worn itself out, though no treaty had been made; and for the next fifteen years Athens had peace. Then the truce was broken by Sparta, and the Peloponnesian War ruined the promise of Hellas. Before taking up that story, we will survey Greek life at its highest glory in the Athens of Pericles.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 73-75; Bury, 228-242 and 352-363. Or, instead of Bury, the student may well read Cox's *Athenian Empire* (especially chapter i) and the opening chapters of Grant's *Greece in the Age of Pericles* and of Abbott's *Pericles*.

## II. POWER AND GOVERNMENT

The Athenians had proved more than a match for huge Persia. Their fame was enough to keep Carthage from renewing her attack on Sicily. Their colonies in Thrace easily held in check the rising Macedonian kingdom. Rome was still a frontier village on the Tiber bank. **In the middle of the fifth century B.C., the center of power in the world was the Athenian Empire.**

The three hundred<sup>1</sup> cities of the Empire counted some three millions of people. The number seems small to us; but the population of the world was much smaller then than now, and these were all wealthy, progressive communities.

Attica itself contained 300,000 people. Nearly half of these were slaves or aliens. This left some 175,000 citizens, of whom 35,000 were men fit for soldiers. Outside Attica, there were 75,000 more citizens, — *cleruchs* (page 111), who had been sent to garrison outlying parts of the Empire.

Athens was rich. She drew a yearly income of about four hundred talents (\$440,000 in our values) from her Thracian mines and the taxes on alien merchants. Her tribute from subject cities amounted to \$660,000. This was much less than it would have cost those cities merely to defend themselves against pirates, had Athenian protection been removed. *The Asiatic Greeks paid only one sixth as much as they had formerly paid Persia.*

Seventy years had passed between the reforms of Clisthenes and the truce with Sparta. During this time **the government** was not made over at any one moment as at the time of Solon and of Clisthenes, but it **had continued to grow more and more democratic by custom.** *Five steps* in this development are worth noting.

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<sup>1</sup> The Athenian dramatist Aristophanes speaks of "a thousand cities," but that was probably a poetic and "patriotic" use of the word "thousand." Only 280 cities of the Delian League are known *by name*, but probably there were some others.

1. *The poorest citizens had been made eligible for office.*

2. When Themistocles carried his great measures, like improving the Piraeus and building a fleet, he was an Archon. But when Pericles guided Athenian policy, he was a *General* (page 113). The Generals had become the "administration." It was they who usually proposed the levy of troops, the building of ships, the raising of money, the making of peace or war. Any other citizen *might* propose these things, but the Assembly was most likely to listen to those whom it had chosen to plan for them. And when the Assembly had decided to do any of these things, the Generals saw to the execution of them.

Pericles was fifteen times elected "**president of the Board of Generals.**" Almost always he was the spokesman of that Board before the Assembly. Practically he was an *elected* dictator. Thucydides calls Athens for this period "a democracy in name, ruled really by its ablest citizen."

Pericles belonged to the ancient nobility of Athens, but to families that had always taken the side of the people. His mother was a niece of Clisthenes. He never curried favor with the crowd by cheap tricks or by any of the low arts used even by many modern politicians, — shaking hands everywhere and kissing babies. His proud reserve verged on haughtiness, and he was rarely seen in public. His stately gravity and unruffled calm were styled "Olympian" by his admirers — who added that, like Zeus, he could on occasion overbear opposition by the majestic thunder of his oratory. The long and steady confidence given him honors the people of Athens no less than it honors Pericles himself. His noblest praise is that which he claimed for himself upon his deathbed, — that, with all his authority, and despite the bitterness of party strife, "no Athenian has had to put on mourning because of me."

3. The Assembly met on the Pnyx, a sloping hill whose side formed a kind of natural theater. There were forty regular meetings each year, and many special meetings. Thus a pa-



triotic citizen was called upon to give at least one day a week to the state in this matter of political meetings alone. *The Assembly had made great gains in power.* All public officials had become its obedient servants. Even the Generals were its creatures, and might be "recalled" by it any day. No act of government was too small or too great for it to deal with. (This was as if the citizens of Boston or of Chicago were to meet day by day both to manage all their local affairs and also to govern the whole United States.) This development of the Assembly's power (unlike the other changes) had not been a matter of specific change in written law, but rather a change in the spirit of the people — in their will and skill to use their power.

4. Six thousand citizens were chosen each year for "jury" duty — mostly from the older men past the age for active work. One thousand were held in reserve. The others were divided into ten jury courts of five hundred each. Such a jury was "both judge and jury": it decided each case that came before it by a majority vote, *and there was no appeal from its verdict.* On the whole the system worked well (though witty grumblers sometimes criticized it, much as similar writers among us criticize our courts of justice). In particular, any citizen of a subject city, wronged by an Athenian officer, was sure of redress before these courts, — which was one reason why Athenian officials in subject cities behaved well.

5. Since these courts might have to try political offenders, it was essential that they should not fall wholly into the hands of the rich. To prevent this, *Pericles wisely introduced a small payment for jury duty* (about enough to buy one man's food). Afterward *payment was extended to other political services* — which was as proper and necessary as payment of congressmen and judges with us.

Thus about 10,000 Athenians were engaged at all times in the civil service.<sup>1</sup> Scattered over the Empire were some 700

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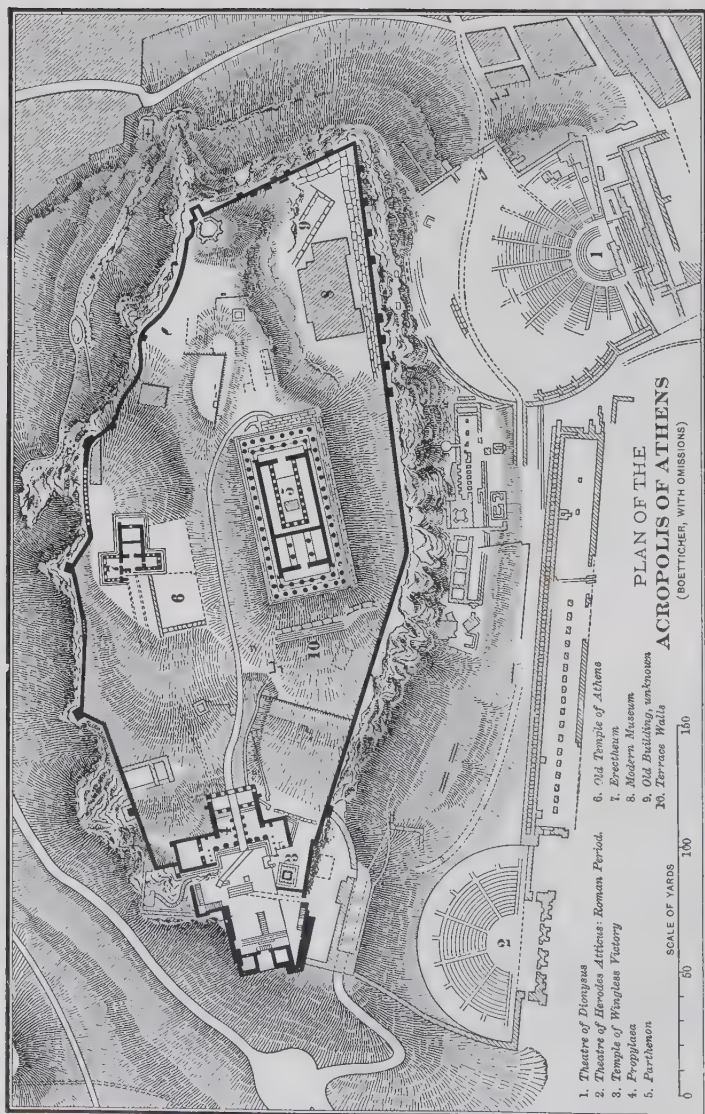
<sup>1</sup> *Civil service* is a term used in contrast to *military service*. Our postmasters are among the civil servants of the United States, as a city engineer or a fireman is in the city civil service.



THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS TO-DAY.— This view fronts differently from the one shown in the reconstruction below. The entrance (shown in front in that picture) may be seen in this photo at the rear corner of the left-hand side.



A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ACROPOLIS. — a modern scholar's idea of how it looked in its great days. See page 140.



leading officials to represent the imperial city, with many assistants. In the city itself, there were 700 city officials (overseers of weights and measures, harbor inspectors, and so on), 500 Councilmen, and the 6000 jurymen. Many offices, too, could be held only once by the same man, *so that each Athenian citizen could count upon serving his city at some time in almost every office.*

Such a system could not have worked without a high *average* of intelligence in the people. It *did* work well. Many faults it did have, but it was by far the wisest and best government that had been seen in any great state up to that time. Of the effect upon the Athenians themselves, a great English historian has said :

The Athenian democracy made a greater number of citizens *fit to use power* than could be made fit by any other system. . . . The Assembly was an assembly of citizens — of *average* citizens — but it was an assembly of citizens among whom the *political average stood higher than it ever did in any other state.* . . . The Athenian, by constantly hearing questions [of government] argued by the greatest orators the world ever saw, received a political training which nothing else in the history of mankind has been found to equal.

### III. INTELLECT AND ART

Great as was her service to the world in free government, still the chief glory of Hellas lies in her art and her literature; and it was in the Athens of Pericles that these forms of Greek life developed most fully. Pericles made Athens the most beautiful city in the world, so that, ever since, her mere ruins have enthralled the admiration of men. Greek art was just reaching its highest perfection; and everywhere in Athens, under the charge of the greatest artists of this greatest artistic age, arose temples, colonnades, porticoes, inimitable to this day.

The center of this architectural splendor was the ancient citadel, the Acropolis. That massive rock now became the "holy hill." No longer needed as a fortification, it was crowned with white marble, and devoted to religion and art. Its perpendicular sides made it inaccessible except on the west. Here



was built a stately stairway of sixty marble steps, leading to a series of noble colonnades and porticoes (*the Propylaea*) of surpassing beauty. From these the visitor emerged upon the flat top of the hill (equal in extent to five or six of our city blocks), to find himself surrounded by temples and statues any one of which alone might make the fame of the proudest modern city. Just in front of the entrance stood the colossal bronze statue of *Athene the Champion* (guardian goddess of the city named for her), whose broad spear point, glittering in the sun, was the first sign of Athens to the mariner far out at sea. On the right of the entrance, and a little to the rear, was the temple of the *Wingless Victory*; and near the center of the open space rose the larger structures of the *Erechtheum* (opposite) and the *Parthenon* (facing 133).

The Parthenon ("maiden's chamber") was the temple of the virgin goddess Athene. It remains peerless in loveliness among the buildings of the world. It was in the Doric style (page 94), and of no great size, — only some 100 feet by 250, while the marble pillars supporting its low pediment rose only 34 feet from their base of three receding steps. The effect was due, not to the sublimity and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfect proportions, to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicate and profuse ornament.

In the pediments (the low gables) were carved fifty life-size or colossal statues; and, within the colonnade, around the entire wall of the inner building, ran a broad band of relief sculptures, about four feet high, containing nearly 500 figures. This "frieze" represented an Athenian procession carrying offerings to the patron goddess Athene. All these sculptures, large or small, were finished with perfect skill, even in those parts so placed that no observer could see them "without going on the roof or opening a wall."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Longfellow's lines:

In the older days of art,  
Builders wrought, with utmost care,  
Each obscure and unseen part, —  
For the gods see everywhere.

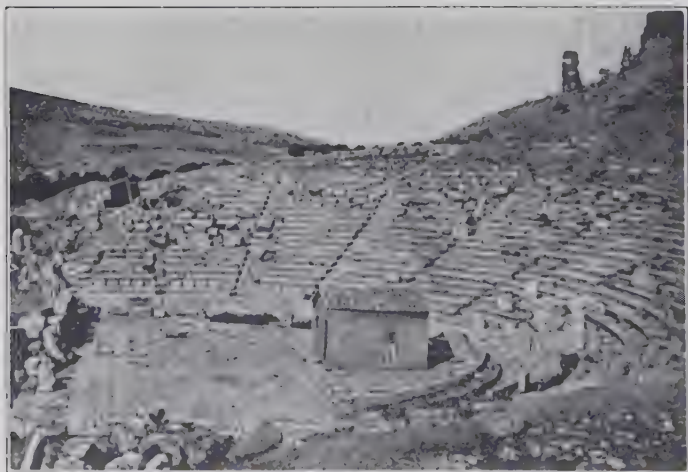




A PORTICO OF THE ERECHTHEUM TO-DAY ('Porch of the Maidens'). This use of the human figure for columns, to sustain weight, is very rare in Greek architecture, and is not wholly pleasing, even though the artist has secured an effect of serene repose. For position of this temple, see Plan of Acropolis, facing page 139. Some buildings of the modern city are just visible in the distance.



RELIEFS FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE. See page 140.



THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS TO-DAY. — From a photo. For its position, see also the plan of the Acropolis facing page 139.

The ornamentation of the Parthenon, within and without, was cared for by *Phidias* and his pupils. *Phidias* still ranks as the greatest of sculptors. The statues of *Athene* were his special work. The bronze statue, already mentioned, he shaped out of material secured by melting down Persian shields and swords from the field of *Marathon*. Within the temple was an even more glorious statue in gold and ivory, smaller than the other, but still five or six times larger than life, towering from its low base to the very roof.



THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES. Praxiteles rivaled his master, *Phidias*. This statue, though so mutilated, remains one of the world's masterpieces. See also page 188.

When the Turks held Greece, they used the Parthenon as a powder house. In 1687 A.D. an enemy's cannon ball exploded the powder, and left the temple in ruins, much as we see it to-day. About the year 1800, Lord Elgin secured most of the sculptures from the ruin for the British Museum, where they are known now as the *Elgin Marbles*. Plaster casts of these sculptures may be seen in the libraries or museums of many American cities; and, recently, Nashville (Tennessee) has reproduced the Parthenon itself for one of her public buildings.

In the age of *Pericles*, the chief form of poetry became the *tragic drama* — the highest development of Greek literature. The drama began in the songs and dances of a chorus in honor of *Dionysus*, god of wine, at the spring festival of flowers and at the autumn vintage festival. The *leader* of the chorus came at length to recite stories, between the songs. *Thespis* at Athens, in the age of *Pisistratus*, had developed this leader

into an actor, — *apart from the chorus and carrying on dialogue with it* (page 109). Now *Aeschylus* added another actor, and his younger rival, *Sophocles*, a third. All the action had to be such as could have taken place in one day, and without change



SOPHOCLES. — A portrait statue, now in the Lateran Palace in Rome. The papyrus rolls (in the pail) indicate his plays.

of scene. *Aeschylus*, *Sophocles*, and their successor, *Euripides*, are the three greatest Greek dramatists. Together they produced some two hundred tragedies, but only thirty-one survive.

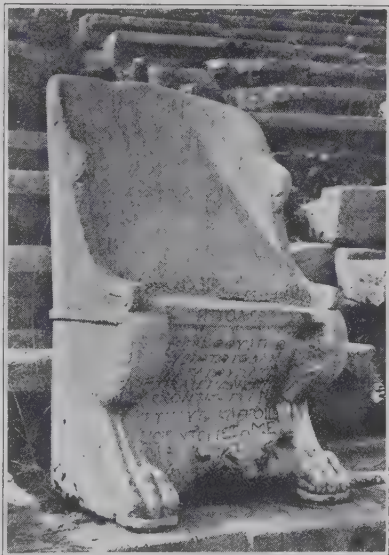
*Comedy* also grew out of the worship of the wine god, — not from the great religious festivals, however, but from the rude village merrymakings. Even upon the stage, comedy kept traces of this rude origin in occasional coarseness; and it was sometimes misused, to abuse men like *Pericles* and *Socrates*. Still, its great master, *Aristophanes*, for his wit and genius, must always remain one of the bright names in literature.

Every Greek city had its "theater." A theater was a semicircular arrangement of rising seats, often cut into a hillside, with a small stage at the open side of the circle for

the actors. There was no *inclosed* building, except sometimes a few rooms for the actors, and there was none of the gorgeous stage scenery which has become a chief feature of our theaters. Neither did the Greek theater run every night. Performances took place at only two periods in the year — at the spring and

autumn festivals to Dionysus — for about a week each season, and in the daytime. (Why in the daytime only?)

The great *Theater of Dionysus*, in Athens, was on the south-east slope of the Acropolis — the rising seats,<sup>1</sup> cut into the rocky bluff, looking forth, beyond the stage, to the hills of southern Attica and over the blue waters of the Aegean. It could seat almost the whole free male population. Pericles had a law passed that the public treasury should pay the admission fee for each citizen who chose to ask for it. The Greek stage was the modern pulpit and press in one. It was a kind of public education for grown-up people, and this free admission was for religious and intellectual training rather than for amusement.



CHAIR OF THE PRIEST OF DIONYSUS, — one of a row of stone chairs for special dignitaries, which stood in front of the ordinary "bench" seats in the great theater at Athens (facing page 141).

**The art of public speech** was studied zealously by all who hoped to take part in public affairs. Among no other people has oratory been so important and so effective. For almost two hundred years, from Themistocles to Demosthenes (page 172), great statesmen swayed the Athenian state by their sonorous and thrilling eloquence, and the citizens, day after day, packed the Pnyx to hang breathless for hours upon the persuasive lips of their leaders.

<sup>1</sup> The stone seats were not carved out of the hill until somewhat later. During the age of Pericles, the men of Athens sat all over the hillside, on the ground or on stools which they brought with them.



Unhappily, Pericles did not preserve his orations. But fortunately we *do* still have many of the orations of Demosthenes, of the next century (page 172), and from them we can understand how fiery passion and convincing reasoning and polished beauty of language made oratory rank with the drama and with art as a great means of public education.

**Prose literature now began**, with *history* as its leading form. The three great historians of the time were *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. For charm in story-telling they have never been excelled. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. He traveled widely, lived long at Athens as the friend of Pericles, and finally in Italy completed his great *History of the Persian Wars*, with an introduction covering the world's history up to that event. Thucydides, an Athenian general, wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War (page 162 f.), in which he took part. Xenophon also was an Athenian. He completed the story of the Peloponnesian War, and wrote also the *Anabasis*, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the Persian Empire in 401 B.C. (page 168).

**The age of Pericles saw also a rapid development in philosophy**,<sup>1</sup>—and this movement, too, had Athens for its most important home. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia, the friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle in the universe was Mind: "In the beginning all things were chaos; then came Intelligence, and set all in order." He also tried to explain comets, and he amazed men of his time most of all by asserting that the sun was a red-hot mass probably as large as the Peloponnesus.

The philosophers of the sixth century had tried to answer the question, — How did the universe come to be? The philosophers of the age of Pericles asked mainly, — How does man *know* about the universe? That is, *they tried to explain the working of the human mind*. These early attempts at explanation were not very satisfactory; so next came the *Sophists*, to declare all such explanations beyond the power of the human

<sup>1</sup> This section can best be read in class, and talked over, — after a re-reading of pages 95–96 upon the *earlier* Greek philosophy.

mind. Man, they held, cannot reach the truth itself, but must be content to know only *how things seem*.

**Then came Socrates.** Like the Sophists, he gave up the attempt to understand the *material* universe, and ridiculed gently the attempted explanation of his friend, Anaxagoras. But he really differed widely from the Sophists. He sought knowledge about himself and his duties. He took for his motto, "*Know thyself*," and considered philosophy to consist in *right thinking upon human conduct*. True wisdom, he taught, is to *know* what is good and to *do* what is right, and he tried to make his followers see the difference between justice and injustice, temperance and intemperance, virtue and vice.

Socrates was a poor man, an artisan who carved little images of the gods for a living, and he constantly vexed his wife, Xanthippe, by neglecting his trade, to talk in the market place. He wore no sandals and dressed meanly, and his large bald head and ugly face, with its thick lips and flat nose, made him good sport for the comic poets. But his beauty of soul, his devotion to knowledge, and his largeness of spirit make him the greatest name in Greek history.

His custom was to entrap unwary antagonists (especially men who pretended to wisdom) into public conversation by asking innocent-looking questions, and then, by the inconsistencies of their answers, to show how shallow their opinions were. This proceeding afforded huge merriment to the crowd of youths who followed the bare-footed philosopher, and it made him bitter enemies among his victims. **When he was seventy years old** (in the year 399 B.C.) **some of those foes brought him before a law court** to answer this charge: "Socrates offends against the laws of Athens: he does not respect our gods, but brings in new ones; and he is always leading young men into evil ways."

Socrates disdained to defend himself against such a charge before a body of five hundred fellow citizens, among whom he had lived so long; but a close vote declared him guilty. His accusers then proposed the death penalty for him. It was his privilege to propose any more moderate penalty, and then the

jury would have to choose between the two. But when asked by the officer of the court what punishment for his crime he would suggest, instead of naming a considerable fine (which certainly would have contented the jury, and which his friends begged him to let them pay for him), Socrates answered with gentle calm, — “O Athenians, I have tried only to do you good, and so deserve no punishment, but rather a reward. And if you ask my opinion about *that*, I suggest that I ought to be supported by the city as long as I live, as you support those who have served the state well.” Still, to satisfy his friends, he did finally consent to name a fine, though only an insignificant one. The angered jury decreed death; and Socrates then bade them farewell in noble and kindly words, closing, — “Wherefore, O Judges, be of good cheer about death, and be sure of this, that no evil can happen to a good man either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods. The hour for departure has come. We go our ways — I to die, you to live. Which is the better, God alone knows.”

During the thirty days that had to pass before the execution, Socrates conversed daily in his usual manner with groups of friends who visited his prison. Two of his disciples (Plato and Xenophon) have given us accounts of these talks.

Friends made arrangements for his escape from prison, but he steadfastly refused to go. To their pleadings he answered only by a playful discourse to the effect that “Death is no evil; but for Socrates to ‘play truant’ and injure the laws of his country, would be an evil.”

On the last day, the talk was about immortality. Some of the friends fear that death may be an endless sleep, or that the soul, on leaving the body, may “issue forth like smoke . . . and vanish into nothingness.” But Socrates comforts and consoles them, — convincing them that the soul is immortal, and picturing the lofty delight he anticipates in questioning the heroes and sages of olden times when he meets them soon in the abode of the blest — perhaps to learn from them at last that knowledge he had sought in vain on earth. Just as the fatal hour arrives, and as Socrates, still arguing, is holding out his hand carelessly

to take the poison from the weeping jailer, one of the company (Crito) asks, "In what way would you have us bury you?" Socrates rejoins:

In any way you like: only you must first get hold of me, and take care that I do not walk away from you. Then he turned to us, and added, with a smile: I cannot make Crito believe that *I* am the same Socrates who has been talking with you. He fancies that I am another Socrates whom he will soon see a dead body — and he asks, How shall he bury me? I have spoken many words to show that *I* shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed. . . . Be of good cheer, then, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my *body* only — and do with that what is usual, or as you think best.



DEATH OF SOCRATES, — as a modern painter represents it. His friends, and even the prison officer who holds the poison, are deeply moved; but the philosopher, reaching carelessly for the fatal cup, is absorbed in his unfinished conversation. At the stairway in the background are his weeping wife and children, to whom he has just said farewell.

And so he drained the fatal hemlock, as though it were a refreshing draft, with a gentle jest upon his lips,<sup>1</sup> and, arranging his robe in order, lay down upon his couch as if for pleasant dreams.

<sup>1</sup> Other anecdotes of Socrates are given in Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 89-92.

His condemnation is the greatest blot upon the intelligence of the Athenian democracy.

**In the fifth century B.C. Athens gave birth to more great men of the first rank, it has been said, than the whole world has ever produced in any other equal period of time, and to that same center there swarmed other famous men from less-favored parts of Hellas.** Despite the treatment of Socrates, no other city afforded such freedom of thought, and nowhere else was ability in art or in literature so appreciated. The names that have been mentioned give but a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators who jostled one another in the streets of the beautiful city that clustered round the temple-crowned Acropolis. During the second year of the Peloponnesian War (page 162 f.), Pericles delivered a great oration in honor of the Athenian dead, — a splendid glorification of the Athenian spirit.

*We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a mischievous character. . . . And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses. There are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. . . . Athens is the school of Hellas.* (From the account by Thucydides.)

It is sometimes urged that Greek life was far inferior to ours **on the moral side.** The Christian ideal of self-sacrifice had no great part with the Greeks. They accepted frankly the search for pleasure as proper and natural; but they did admire deeply the beauty of self-control, and a few Greek teachers give us some of the loftiest morality of the world. The prayer that Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates (at the close of a long walk and talk in the country) is perhaps the best expression in all literature



of the "high morality of moderation." — "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry."

#### IV. DAILY LIFE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

**Houses, even those of the rich, were very simple.** The poor could not afford more; and the rich man thought his house of little account. It was merely a place to keep his women folk and young children and some other valuable property, and to sleep in. His real life was passed outside. The poor man's house was a one-story mud hut; and even a "well-to-do" house was merely a wooden frame, covered with sun-dried clay. Houses were built flush with the street, and on a level with it, — without even a sidewalk between. The door, too, usually opened out — so that passers-by were liable to bumps, unless they kept well to the middle of the narrow street.

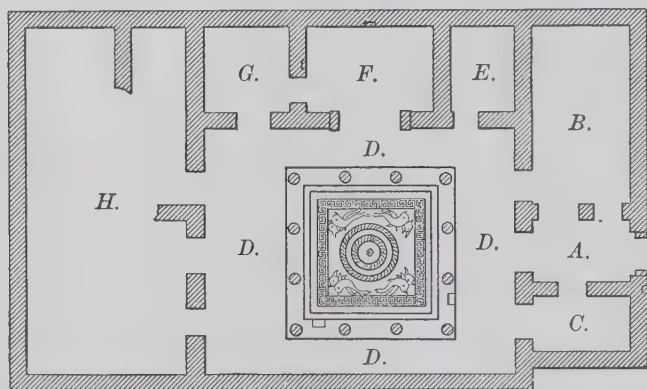
These buildings have not left many remains; and most of what we know about them comes from brief references in Greek literature. On the following page is given the ground plan of one of the few private houses of the fifth century which have been unearthed in a state to be traced out. This house was at Delos; and it was something of a mansion, for the times.

If a rich man's house had only one story, there was at the rear a second half for the women, connected with the men's half by a door in the partition wall. This rear half of the house, in such cases, had its own central hall and open court, with rooms around the hall as in the front half.

Inside doorways were usually hung with curtains, but store-rooms had doors with bronze locks. Bronze keys are sometimes found in the ruins. The door between the men's and women's apartments was kept locked: only the master of the house, his wife, and perhaps a trusted slave, had keys to it. Sometimes a rear door opened into a small, high-walled garden.

City houses were crowded close together, with small chance

for windows on the sides. Sometimes narrow slits in the wall opened on the street. Otherwise, except for the one street door, the front was a blank wall. The Greeks did not have glass panes for windows. The houses were dark; and most of the dim light that the inside rooms had (as well as the fresh air) came from the central court. The dining room at the rear is supposed to have had openings on the garden.



PLAN OF A FIFTH-CENTURY DELOS HOUSE. — After Gardiner and Jevons.

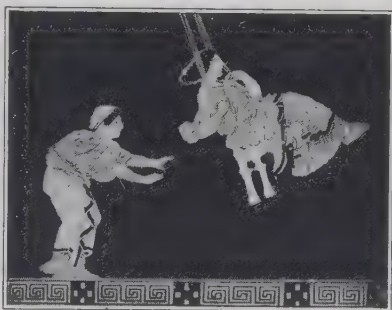
The street door opened into a small vestibule (*A*), about six feet by ten. This led to a square "hall" (*D*, *D*, *D*, *D*), which was the central feature of every fine Greek house. (Each of the four *D*'s was really a sort of inside porch.) In the center of the hall there was a "court," *open to the sky*, and surrounded by a row of columns ten feet high. The columns were to uphold their side of the hall ceiling, — since the hall had no wall next the court. This court was paved with a beautiful mosaic. Commonly, however, all floors in private houses were made of concrete, or merely of beaten earth.

From the hall there opened six rooms more. The largest (*H*) was the dining room and kitchen, with a small recess for the chimney in one corner. The other rooms were storerooms, or sleeping rooms. All this floor was for males. There was an upper story for the women, reached by a steep stairway in the lower hall, and projecting part way over the street.

In cold, damp weather (of which, happily, there was not much), the house was exceedingly uncomfortable. The kitchen had a real chimney, with cooking arrangements like those in ancient

Cretan houses (page 72). But for other rooms the only artificial heat came from small fires of wood or of charcoal in braziers, — such as are still carried from room to room, on occasion, in Greece or Italy or Spain. The choking fumes which filled the room were not much more desirable than the cold, which they did little to drive away. Sometimes a large *open* fire in the court gave warmth to the hall. At night, earthenware lamps, on shelves or brackets, furnished light. *There were no bathrooms.*

The residence streets were narrow and irregular, — hardly more than crooked, dark alleys. They had no pavement; they were littered with all the filth and refuse from the houses; and slops from upper windows sometimes doused unwary passers-by. Splendid as were the *public* portions of Athens, the residence quarters were much like a squalid Oriental city of to-day. Public fountains, supplied by aqueducts (page 109), furnished pure drinking water; but there were no sewers. Wealthy men were beginning to build more comfortably on the hills near the city, but war kept this practice from becoming common.



GIRLS AT PLAY. — From a Greek vase.

In the Oriental lands a man was at liberty to have as many wives in his household as he chose to support. Poor men usually were content with one, but, among the rich, polygamy was the rule. **A Greek had only one wife.** Imperfect as Greek family life was, the adoption of “monogamy” was a great step forward.

The Homeric poems give many pictures of lovely home life; and the Homeric women meet male guests and strangers freely. But before 500 B.C. this freedom for women had been lost — except, in some degree, at Sparta. Marriage was arranged by parents. The young people as a rule had never seen each other.

Girls were married very young — by fifteen or earlier. Not till the evening before her marriage did the girl put away her doll, — offering it then solemnly as a sacrifice to Artemis, goddess of maidens. Among the wealthy classes, the wives spent the rest of their lives indoors — except on some rare festival occasions. The *model* wife learned to oversee the household (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 99), but in most homes this duty was left to trained slaves, and the wife dawdled away the day listlessly, much as in an Eastern harem to-day, waiting for a visit from her master. The vase pictures show her commonly with a mirror. Unwholesome living led to excessive use of red and white paint, and other cosmetics, to imitate the complexion of youth.

The general rule as to the low place of women in Greek society is merely emphasized by its one great exception. No account of the Athens of Pericles should omit mention of *Aspasia*. She was a native of Miletus, and had come to Athens as an adventuress. There she won the love of Pericles. Since she was not an Athenian citizen he could not marry her; but, until his death, she lived with him in all respects as his wife — a union not offensive to Greek ideas. The dazzling wit and beauty of Aspasia made her home the focus of the intellectual life of Athens. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Phidias, Herodotus, delighted in her conversation; and Pericles consulted her on the most important public matters. But she is the only woman who need be named in Greek history after the time of Sappho.

Law and public opinion allowed the father to "expose" a new-born child to die. This practice was common among the poor, especially for girl babies. Boys were valued more. They would offer sacrifices, in time, at the father's tomb, and they could fight for the city. Till the age of seven, boys and girls lived together in the women's apartments. Then the boy began his school life (page 156). The girl continued her childhood until marriage. Much of her time was spent at music and in games. One very common game was like our "Jackstones," except that it was played with little bones.

**Greek dress** is well known, as to its general effect, from pictures and sculpture. Women of the better classes wore flowing garments, fastened at the shoulders with clasp-pins, and gathered in graceful loose folds at the waist. The robe was so draped as to leave the arms, and sometimes one shoulder, bare. Outside the house, the woman wore also a kind of long mantle, which was often drawn up over the head.

The chief article of men's dress was a sleeveless shirt of plain white linen or wool, which fell about to the knees. For active movements, this was often clasped with a girdle about the waist, and shortened by being drawn up so as to fall in folds over the girdle. Over this was draped a long mantle, merely an oblong piece of white cloth without fastenings, falling in folds to the feet. (See *Sophocles* on page 142.) The soles of the feet were commonly protected, when outdoors, by sandals, but within the house both men and women were always barefooted. (Socrates went barefooted everywhere, and this was the rule at Sparta for all men under middle age.)

**All work** for the purpose of earning money was looked down upon by "good society." A physician who took pay for his services was despised almost as much as was a carpenter or shoemaker. This attitude was natural to a slaveholding society, but it was less promising than even our modern worship of the dollar. The Greek wanted money enough to supply all the comforts that he knew about, but he wanted it to come without *his* earning it. He was very glad to have his slaves or his land earn it for him.

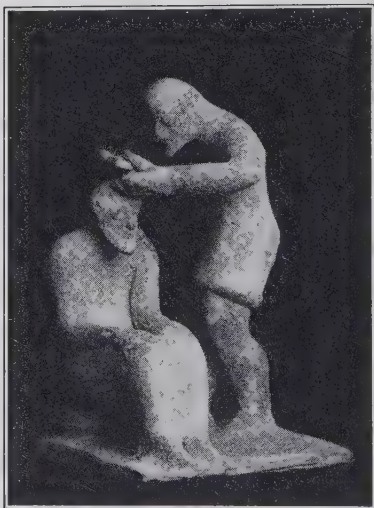
**Most hand labor** was busied in tilling the soil. The farmer manured his land skillfully, but otherwise he made no advance over the Egyptian farmer — who had not been compelled to enrich his land.

**There was also a good deal of manufacturing** in the more progressive cities. Attica could not furnish food enough for its population; so Athens imported grain from Thrace and Egypt, and paid for it, in the long run, by exports from her factories (page 92). Davis' *Readings* (I, No. 76) gives a list



of twenty-five handicrafts used in beautifying the Acropolis. In all factories, the place taken to-day by machinery was taken then, in large part, by slaves. Any master of a skilled slave might "rent" him out to a factory.

**Poor men worked** at their trades or in their shops **from sunrise to sunset** — **with a holiday about one day in three.** Their pay was small, because of the competition of slave labor, but



GREEK BARBER, — a clay statuette.

they needed little pay to give them most of the comforts of the rich (except that the rich could have more leisure). And we must understand that *the Greek artisan* — sometimes even the slave — *took delight and pride in his work.* The stone masons who chiseled out the fluted columns of the Parthenon felt themselves fellow workmen with Phidias who carved its pediments.

Like the poorer citizens, **the rich man rose also with the sun.** A slave poured

water over his face and hands, or perhaps over his naked body, from a basin. (Poor men like Socrates bathed at the public fountains.) He then broke his fast on a cup of wine and a dry crust of bread. Afterward, perhaps he rode into the country, to visit one of his farms there, or to spend the day hunting.

If, instead, he remained within the city, he left his house at once, stopping, probably, at a barber's, to have his beard and finger nails attended to, as well as to gather the latest news from the barber's talk — the only substitute he had for our daily newspaper. The latter half of the morning would find him strolling through the shaded arcades about the market

place, among throngs of his fellows, greeting acquaintances and stopping for conversation with friends — with whom, sometimes, he sat on the benches that were interspersed among the colonnades. At such times, he was always followed by one or two handsome slave boys, to run errands. At midday, he returned home for a light lunch. In the afternoon, if a student, he took to his rolls of papyrus. If a statesman, perhaps he prepared his speech for the next meeting of the Assembly. Sometimes, he visited the public gaming houses or the clubs. Then he bathed at a public bathing house (hot, cold, or vapor bath, as his taste decided), and here again he held conversation with friends, while resting, or while the slave attendants rubbed him with oil and ointment. The bath was usually preceded by an hour or more of exercise in a gymnasium.



Greek women or their slaves got water for their homes at street fountains, as shown in this vase painting.

Toward sunset, he once more visited his home, unless he was to dine out. If the evening meal was to be, for a rare occasion, at home and without guests, he ate with his family and soon afterward went to bed. More commonly, he entertained guests — whom he had invited to dinner as he met them at the market place in the morning — or was himself a guest elsewhere.

**The evening banquet** played a large part in Greek life. As guests arrived, they took their places in pairs, on couches, which were arranged around the room, each man reclining on his left arm. Slaves removed the sandals or shoes, washing the dust from the feet, and passed bowls of water for the hands. They then brought in low three-legged tables, one

before each couch, on which they afterward placed course after course of food.

The meals were simple. Food was cut into small pieces in the kitchen. No forks or knives were used at table. Men ate with a spoon, or, more commonly, with the fingers; and at the close, slaves once more passed bowls for washing the hands. Then the real business of the evening began — with the wine. This was mixed with water, and drunkenness was not common; but the drinking lasted late, with serious or playful talk, and singing and story-telling, and with forfeits for those who did not perform well any part assigned them by the “master of the feast” (one of their number chosen by the others when the wine appeared). Often the host had musicians come in, with jugglers and dancing girls. Respectable women never appeared on these occasions. Only on marriage festivals, or at some special family celebration, did the women of a family meet male guests at all.

For several years of his life, the citizen was certain to be busied most of the time in the service of the state (page 138). At other times, the meetings of the Assembly and the religious festivals and the theater took at least one day out of every three.

**Education** at Athens was in marked contrast with Spartan education (page 104). It **aimed to train harmoniously the intellect, the sense of beauty, the moral nature, and the body.** At the age of seven the boy entered school, but he was constantly under the eye not only of the teacher, but of a trusted servant of his own family, called a pedagogue. (This word meant “boy-leader”; its meaning of “teacher” came later.) The chief subjects for study were Homer and music and a little mathematics. Homer, it has well been said, was to a Greek as our Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe combined. Much of the *Iliad* was committed to memory. The boy learned also to write on papyrus and on wax tablets. Greek school masters indulged in cruel floggings on slight occasion (Davis’ *Readings*, I, No. 94). At eighteen or earlier the youth left school, but

only to continue his education in the Assembly and the theater and by listening to the teachings of this or that famous philosopher. *And, man or boy, each day he gave some hours to exercising and training his body.* Among no other people have strong and beautiful bodies been so common.



SCHOOL SCENES — PAINTED ON THE INSIDE OF A SHALLOW BOWL. — Instruments of instruction, mostly musical, hang on the walls. In the first half, one instructor is correcting the exercise of a boy who stands before him. Another is showing how to use the flute. The seated figures, with staffs, are "pedagogues." The irregular dotted line in the first half indicates a missing piece, broken from the bowl.

## V. WEAK POINTS IN GREEK CIVILIZATION

Certain faults this brilliant civilization had.

1. *It was for males only.* The women of the working classes, especially in the country, mixed somewhat with men in their

daily toil. But among the well-to-do, women had lost the freedom of the simple Homeric society without winning in return any part of the new intellectual life. It is doubtful whether the wife of Phidias or of Sophocles could even read.

2. *This civilization, too, rested on the slavery of at least half the population.* The main business of the free citizen was government and war and self-culture. Trades and commerce were left largely to a free but noncitizen class (those whom we have called *aliens* in Attica); but *unskilled hand-labor was performed almost wholly by slaves*. As a rule, slavery was not harsh. The slaves often were Greek themselves, of speech and culture very like their master's, but in some ways this made their lot the harder. There was always the possibility, too, of cruel treatment; and in some kinds of work, as in the mines, slaves were killed off brutally by merciless hardship.

3. With all the wonderful things that the Greeks did do in art and literature, *they did very little to advance man's power over nature.*

They lacked therefore countless conveniences. It is hard for us to think of a civilized society, like that of Pericles and Thucydides, without railways or telegraph or autos or telephones or electric lights or gas ranges or refrigerator cars to bring to the breakfast table fresh fruits from distant climes. But to make that Greek world at all real to us, we must peel away from our world much more than this. We must think of even the best houses without plumbing; beds without sheets or springs; rooms without fire; shoes without stockings; clothes without buttons or even a hook-and-eye; of telling time without a watch; of traveling without even a stagecoach or carriage; of crossing seas without a compass. The Greek was civilized without being what we should call "comfortable."

Possibly *we* are too much in danger of feeling that civilization consists in physical comforts. Perhaps the lack of such "wrappings" was one reason why the Greek felt so keenly the beauty of sky and hill and temple and statue and the human form. But certainly there was another result of that lack of control



of nature which was altogether bad. *It made almost inevitable that slavery of which we have spoken.* There can be no civilization without considerable leisure from constant drudgery for at least some part of the people. Such leisure can be won only by using the labor of slaves or of machines. The Greeks of that great age had not invented any new machinery of consequence. And so, without the hundred thousand slaves of Attica, the *free* Athenians could never have spent their days in swaying to the eloquence of Pericles, in gazing admiringly upon the latest statue turned out by Phidias, or in watching the newest tragedy of Sophocles. It was to be left for the science of our own times to invent machinery that should abolish the need of slavery — or of some very similar condition for masses of people.



A PAPYRUS "BOOK" could be held so that two columns ("pages") of writing could be in view at one time. When read, that part of the roll was rolled up, and two more "pages" unrolled. The tag fastened to each roll gave the number of the book in its library, corresponding to the number in a convenient catalogue roll. See also cuts on 142 and facing 224.

But let us guard against undervaluing Greek civilization because in this matter of machinery and physical comfort they had made little advance upon preceding civilizations. In other and more important matters they had made vast advance. There is a splendid passage of Sophocles that exults in man's mastery over nature *and also in his progress in the world of mind:*

Of all strong things none is more wonderfully strong than man. He can cross the wintry sea, and year by year he compels the unwearied strength of Earth — oldest of the gods. For his prey he seizes the birds of the air and the teeming fishes, and with his wit he has tamed mountain-ranging beasts, the long-maned horses and the tireless bull. He has learned to shelter himself from cold and from piercing rain, and has devices to meet every ill but Death. *Language is his, and wind-swift thought, and city-planning mind . . . and with boundless skill he moves on, sometimes to evil but then again to good.*

True, so might a Stone-Age chieftain have boasted — *except for that final sentence.* A century or two after Sophocles, as we

shall see (pages 191-194), the Greeks were to go farther even in mechanics than any people before them, but *what they really cared about was the world of thought*. Especially did they like to think about man and human society. They "planned" their "city"—that is, their civilization; and they felt an obligation to "move on" in civilization. Faith in the possibility of progress, and of "boundless" progress, began with them. In these things they excelled not merely all preceding peoples but also all to come after them for nearly two thousand years. Indeed if their "inquiring" minds (pages 95 f., 99 f.) had not set forth upon the search for "the causes of things," it is not likely the world would even yet have won its recent victories in the field of machinery.

FOR FURTHER READING. — For Division I, see page 135. On the later Divisions: *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 76-80 (11 pages, mostly from Plutarch and Thucydides), and Nos. 88-97 (on the moral ideas of the Greeks); Bury, 363-378.

*Additional*: Readable treatments will be found in Cox's *Athenian Empire*, Grant's *Age of Pericles* (chs. viii-x and xii), or Abbott's *Pericles*. Dr. Davis' *Victor of Salamis* is the best fiction. *A Day in Old Athens*, by the same author, is a vivid presentation of various matters touched upon in this and the next chapter. All students will enjoy Snedeker's *The Spartan*.

## EXERCISES

1. Explain the following names or terms (test yourself by doing this first without reference to the text):

*Ostracism, Anaxagoras, Thespis, Clisthenes, Aristophanes, Pindar, Ionian Revolt against Persia, Aeschylus, Phidias, Thales.*

2. Write, in not more than one hundred words, an account of the formation of the League of Delos.

3. Write a like account of the change of that League into an Athenian Empire.

4. What machinery do we have to-day that the Persians would have found very helpful in making their canal at Mt. Athos (page 121)?

5. Some one has said, truly enough, that one modern battleship could have sunk both Greek and Persian navies at Salamis, without the least danger to itself. Does it seem to you to follow that the men on such a modern ship are "wiser men in life or braver men in death" than the men of Salamis?

6. Imagine yourself a Persian noble captured at Plataea and for some reason held in only a kindly captivity by Themistocles; then write a letter to a friend at the Persian court.

This period affords excellent material for other exercises like the last one above, based upon the training of the historic imagination. Let the student absorb all the information he can find upon some historical topic, until he is filled with its spirit, and then reproduce it *from the inside*, with the dramatic spirit — as though he lived in that time. The following topics are suggested: a dialogue between Socrates and Xanthippe; an address by a Messenian to his fellows in a revolt against Sparta; extracts from a diary of Pericles; a day at the Olympic games (choose some particular date).



TEMPLE OF THE WINGLESS VICTORY TO-DAY (page 140). Ionic style. (Locate this in the restoration facing 138 and the plan facing 139.)

## CHAPTER XI

### "THE GLORY THAT WAS GREECE" FADES AWAY

#### I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Besides the three evils in Greek society discussed on pages 157-160 there has been mentioned earlier **one other weakness**, related to government — the inability of the Greeks to feel real patriotism for any larger unit than a single city (page 80). Fear or force did sometimes join groups of cities into leagues; but such unions were always loose — easily broken up from without and continually disturbed by revolt within. The evil lay especially in the fact that this organization by cities (instead of as one nation) caused neighboring towns frequently to go to war with one another. Many examples of this have been noticed. And now, **just when Greek civilization had reached a high development, it was blasted by the greatest of those wars.**

Athens stood for progress: Sparta hated change. The cities of the Athenian Empire were Ionian, democratic, and commercial: the cities of the Peloponnesian League were Dorian, and were mostly ruled by land-holding aristocracies. **These differences gave rise to mutual distrust and dislike.** Still, if *none* of the Peloponnesian cities had had interests on the sea, the two powers might not have crossed each other's paths. But Corinth and Megara (allies of Sparta) were trading cities, and, with the steady growth of Athenian commerce, they feared ruin for themselves. **So, in 431 B.C., when the Thirty Years' Truce had run about half its time, Corinth succeeded in persuading Sparta to declare war on Athens.** The struggle lasted twenty-seven years and **ruined the promise of Greece.**

*The Peloponnesian League could muster a hundred thousand hoplites, against whom in that day no army in the world could*

stand, but it could not keep many men in the field longer than a few weeks. Athens had only some twenty-six thousand hoplites at her command, and half of these were needed for distant garrison duty. But she had a navy as unmatched on the sea as the Peloponnesian army was on land. Her walls were impregnable, and grain ships from the Black Sea coasts could enter the Piraeus as usual, however the Spartans might hold the open country of Attica.

Pericles had completed the fortifications of Athens by building the famous "Long Walls" connect-

ing Athens itself with its walled commercial suburb, the Piraeus (map, page 130). These walls were 30 feet high and 12 feet thick — so that a chariot-road ran along the top. They made Athens absolutely safe from siege, so long as she could keep her supremacy on the sea, and they added to the city a large open space where the country people might take refuge if Attica were invaded.

A warship of this period was a "three-banker," or *trireme* (cut above), about 120 feet long and some 20 wide, rowed usually by 174 oarsmen, who were arranged on three benches, one above another. Thus the lower benches could be protected completely by the sides of the vessel. (The oars projected through portholes, and the upper benches had longer oars than the benches below.) Each ship carried also some twenty other seamen (helmsmen, lookouts, overseers of oarsmen, and so on) and usually twenty or twenty-five fully armed soldiers (bowmen, swordsmen, and spear-men).

If two hostile vessels became locked together, the struggle was fought out with sword and spear, much like a land



AN ATHENIAN WARSHIP (*Trireme*), — from a relief. Only the highest "bank" of rowers is visible, but the oars of the two other banks are shown.



battle except for the more uncertain footing. But a skillful war ship aimed instead to crush in the side of an enemy vessel by ramming her with a bronze prow, or (almost as well) to run close along her side (shipping one's own oars just in time), shivering her long oars and hurling the maimed rowers from their benches — leaving her as helpless as a bird with a broken wing. Then, of course, she could be rammed or captured, at the pleasure of the victor. (Masts had to be lowered before battle, to get them out of the way.) The Athenians, from the days of Themistocles, kept a large navy always in perfect training. Not only could their ships go through all these maneuvers more skillfully than other navies of the time: they were also trained in fleets of twenty or thirty ships to use team work. And so, until almost the close of the war, a small Athenian fleet was always ready to engage twice its number of hostile ships (if so many could be found anywhere).

*The Spartans marched each year into Attica with overwhelming force, and remained there for some weeks, laying waste the crops, burning the villages, and cutting down the olive groves, up to the very walls of Athens. At first, with frenzied rage, the Athenians clamored to march out against the invader; but Pericles strained his great authority to prevent such a disaster, and finally he convinced the people that they must bear this hurt with patience. Meantime, an Athenian fleet was always sent to ravage the coasts and harbors of the Peloponnesus and to conquer various exposed allies of Sparta. Each party could inflict considerable damage, but neither could strike a vital blow.*

*But a tragic disaster fell upon Athens, which no one in that day could have foreseen. A plague had been ravaging western Asia, and in the second year of the war it reached the Aegean. In Athens it was peculiarly deadly. The people of all Attica, crowded into the one city, were living under unusual and unwholesome conditions, and the pestilence returned there each summer for several years, slaying more than a fourth of the population.*

The causes of the pestilence are told by Thucydides: "When the country people of Attica arrived in Athens, a few had homes of their own, or found friends to take them in. But far the greater number had to find a place to live on some vacant spot or in the temples of the gods and chapels of the heroes. . . . Many also camped down in the towers of the walls, or wherever else they could; for the city proved too small to hold them." And, adds Thucydides with grim irony, "While these country folk were dividing the spaces between the Long Walls and settling there," the Generals and Council were "paying great attention to mustering a fleet for ravaging the Peloponnesian coasts."

The deadliest blow of the plague was the striking down of **Pericles** in the third year of the war. Never had the Athenians so needed his calm and fearless judgment. He was succeeded by a new class of leaders, — men of the people, like *Cleon* the tanner, — men of strong will and much force, but rude, untrained, and ready to surrender their own convictions in order to win the favor of the crowd. Such men led Athens into many blunders and crimes. Over against them stood only *Alcibiades*, a brilliant but unprincipled adventurer, and a group of incapable aristocrats led by *Nicias*, a good but stupid man.

In 413 B.C., after a whole generation had grown up in war, the superstition and mismanagement of *Nicias* caused the loss (in an expedition against Syracuse) of two hundred perfectly equipped Athenian ships and over forty thousand men — among them eleven thousand of the flower of the Athenian hoplites. But even after this crushing disaster Athens refused peace that should take away her empire, and the war lasted nine years more — most of the time with Athens still supreme in the Aegean.

After the destruction of the Athenian army in Sicily, however, Persian satraps appeared again upon the Aegean coast. Sparta at once bought their aid by allowing them to seize the Greek cities of Asia Minor — to whom the Athenian name had been a shield for seventy years. Persian gold then built fleet after fleet for Sparta; and slowly Athens was exhausted, despite some brilliant victories. In 405, her last fleet was surprised and captured at Goat Rivers (*Aegospotami*), and Lysander, the Spartan commander, in cold blood put to death the four thousand Athenian citizens among the captives.

Athens still held out, despairing but stubborn, until starved into submission by a terrible siege. Corinth and Thebes wished to raze the city from the earth, but **Sparta** had no mind to do away with so useful a check upon them. She **compelled Athens to renounce all claims to empire, to give up all alliances, to surrender all her ships but twelve.** The Long Walls and the defenses of the Piraeus were demolished, to the music of Peloponnesian flutes; and Hellas was declared free! *It remained only to see to what foreign master Greece should fall.*

## II. FROM THE FALL OF ATHENS TO THE FALL OF HELLAS (404-338 B.C.)

Between the Persian Wars and the fall of Athens there had been seventy-five years — more than half of them glorious. From the fall of Athens to the close of Greek independence there were about as many more years, mainly of shame and profitless wars. *For the first half of this period, Sparta remained the dominant power in Hellas.*

In Sparta luxury and corruption replaced the old simplicity. Property was gathered into the hands of a few, while many Spartans grew too poor to support themselves in their barrack life. These poorer men ceased to be looked upon as citizens. They were not permitted to vote in the Assembly, but were known as "Inferiors." The nine or ten thousand citizens of the Persian War period shrank to two thousand.

Throughout the old Athenian Empire Sparta set up and maintained oligarchies. Everywhere the Greek cities found that they had exchanged a mild wise rule for a coarse and stupid despotism. Their old tribute was doubled; their self-government was taken away; bloodshed and confusion ran riot in their streets. Usually the management of a city was given to a board of ten men, called a decarchy ("rule of ten"), with a Spartan garrison in the citadel to guard against democratic risings. The garrisons plundered at will, and grew rich from extortion and bribes; and the oligarchic decarchies were slavishly subservient to their Spartan masters, while wreaking upon their fellow citizens

a long pent-up vengeance, in confiscation of property, outrage, and massacre.

**For a time Sparta succeeded in making the government of Athens itself oligarchic.** During the disasters of the Peloponnesian War, leaders of the old oligarchic party in that city had dared, now and then, to meet secretly, to plot against the democratic government. It seems probable, indeed, that the fleet was finally destroyed at Goat Rivers because it had been betrayed to the Spartans by certain oligarchic officers. At all events, after the surrender, in 404, while Lysander still held Attica with his army, he set up there a new government of thirty Athenian aristocrats "to restore the constitution of the fathers." This meant that they were to undo the reforms of Pericles and Clisthenes and even of Solon.

To protect themselves against a rising by the people, these "**Thirty Tyrants**" took a Spartan garrison into the Acropolis of Athens. Then they disarmed the citizens and **began a bloody and greedy reign of terror**, putting to death especially the wealthier democratic leaders among the citizens and the rich merchants among the aliens, or driving them into exile and confiscating their property. (See Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 100.)

**The democratic fugitives** found shelter at Thebes — which city was now jealous of Sparta's unchecked power; and, after only a few months, a daring band of them marched secretly from Thebes and seized the Piraeus in a night attack. The aliens of that harbor joined them gladly; and then they quickly defeated the Spartan garrison and **restored the old democratic government.**

The victorious democracy at Athens used its power generously. A few of the most guilty of the Thirty were punished, but a general amnesty was decreed by the Assembly for all others. This policy contrasted so happily with the recent cut-throat rule of the experiment in oligarchy that Athens was not again disturbed by any attempt at revolution. It was a full generation, however, before her authority reached again beyond Attica. (The death of Socrates came in the fourth year (399) after this restoration of the democracy.)

**Meantime, important events were taking place in the East.** In 401, the weakness of the Persian Empire was shown strikingly. *Cyrus the Younger*, brother of the king Artaxerxes, endeavored to seize the Persian throne. While a satrap in Asia Minor, Cyrus had furnished Sparta the money to keep her fleet together before the battle of Goat Rivers, and now, through Sparta's favor, he was able to enlist ten thousand Greeks in his army.

Cyrus penetrated to the heart of the Persian Empire; but in a great battle near Babylon, he was killed, and his Asiatic troops routed. *The Ten Thousand Greeks*, however, proved unconquerable by the Persian half million. By treachery the Greek commanders were entrapped and murdered, but, under the leadership of *Xenophon* (pages 144, 146), **the Ten Thousand made a remarkable retreat to the Black Sea.**

Until this time the Greeks had waged their contests with Persia only along the *coasts* of Asia. After the Ten Thousand had marched, almost at will, through so many hostile nations, *the Greeks began to dream of conquering the Asiatic continent.* In 396, **Agasilaus, king of Sparta, invaded Asia Minor with a large army, but, in full career of conquest, he was called back to Greece by revolts against Sparta.**

Sparta had used her power, with brutal cunning, to keep down the *beginnings* of greatness everywhere else in Hellas, breaking up promising leagues and even dispersing the inhabitants of the neighboring city of Mantinea into villages. Naturally, alliance after alliance rose against her — only to be overthrown — until at last she herself was overthrown by her old ally, Thebes.

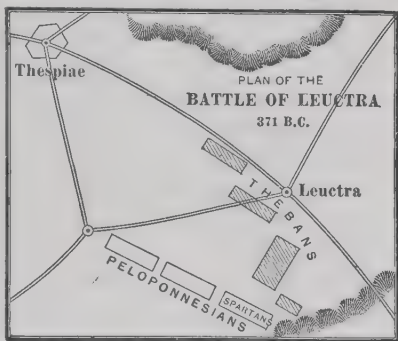
A Spartan army had seized Thebes treacherously, in time of peace, and had set up a government of Theban oligarchs favorable to Sparta. That government had driven crowds of patriotic citizens into exile. Athens sheltered these exiles, as Thebes had protected Athenian fugitives from the Thirty Tyrants. Soon a number of daring young men among the exiles returned secretly to Thebes, and, through the aid of friends there, were admitted (disguised as dancing girls) to a banquet where the



oligarchs were already deep in wine. They killed the drunken traitors with their daggers, and running through the streets, called the people to expel the Spartans from the citadel. **Thebes became a democracy** under the lead of **Epaminondas**, who now for a brief time played a part in Thebes much like that formerly held by Pericles in Athens.

**A powerful Spartan army at once invaded Boeotia (in 371 B.C.) and met with an overwhelming defeat by a smaller Theban force at Leuctra.** This

amazing result was due to the military genius of Epaminondas. Hitherto the Greeks had fought in long lines, from eight to twelve men deep. Epaminondas massed his best troops in a solid column, *fifty men deep*, on the left, opposite the Spartan wing in the Peloponnesian army.



His other troops were spread out as thin as possible. The solid phalanx was set in motion first; then the thinner center and right wing advanced more slowly *so as to engage the attention of the enemy opposite* but not to come into action. The weight of the massed Theban charge crushed through the Spartan line, and trampled it under. Four hundred of the seven hundred Spartans, with their king and with a thousand other Peloponnesian hoplites, went down in ten minutes.

The mere loss of men was fatal enough, now that Spartan citizenship was so reduced (the number of full citizens after this battle did not exceed fifteen hundred); but the effect upon the military prestige of Sparta was even more deadly. *At one stroke Sparta sank into a second-rate power*; but she met her fate with heroic composure. The news of the overthrow did not interfere with a festival that was going on in Sparta, and only the relatives of the *survivors* of the battle appeared in mourning.

For a brief time after Leuctra, Thebes was the head of Greece. Epaminondas was great as general, statesman, and philosopher. In his earlier days he had been looked upon as a dreamer, and when the oligarchs of Thebes drove out "active" patriots they only sneered while Epaminondas continued calmly to talk of liberty to the young. Later, it was recognized that, more than any other man, he had prepared the way for a free democracy.

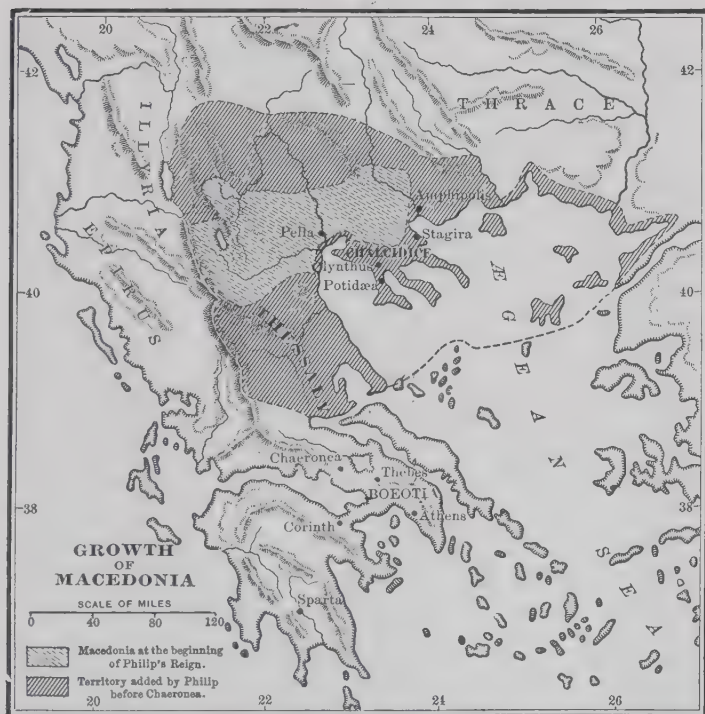
Unhappily, Epaminondas was compelled to give his few remaining years mainly to war. Laconia was repeatedly invaded. On one side of Sparta, Epaminondas freed Messenia, which for two centuries had been a mere district of Laconia, and on the other side, he restored Mantinea (page 168). In this district he also founded *Megalopolis*, "the Great City," by combining forty scattered villages.

The leadership of Thebes, however, rested solely on the supreme genius of her one statesman. In 362, for the fourth time, Epaminondas marched against Sparta, and at Mantinea won another complete victory. The Spartans had been unable to learn, and went down again before the same tactics that had crushed them nine years earlier at Leuctra. *Mantinea was the greatest land battle ever fought between Hellenes*; but the victory bore no fruit, for Epaminondas fell on the field, and his city lost its leadership of Greece. Twenty years of anarchy and disorder in Greece followed, and then that country fell to a foreign master.

### III. THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

Until some years after Leuctra, the Macedonians (part of the outer rim of the Greek race) had been only a loose union of barbarous tribes. Then Philip II (ambitious, crafty, sagacious, persistent, unscrupulous, an unfailing judge of character, and a marvelous organizer) made his people a nation, and set himself to make them true Greeks by making them the leaders of Greece. When he came to the throne, Macedonia was a poor inland country, without one good harbor. The first need was an outlet on the sea. Philip found one by conquering the Chalcidic peninsula — whose gold mines furnished him a huge revenue. Then

he turned his energies to Greece. In all Greek states, among the pretended patriots, there were secret servants in his pay, while some farsighted leaders (like Isocrates at Athens) seem to have believed honestly that the only hope of Greece lay in *union* under Macedonia.



Philip's wealth made it possible for him to keep a disciplined army ready for use, and his genius showed him how to make that army the best war-engine the world had ever seen. During a stay at Thebes while a boy, he had become familiar with the Theban phalanx. He now enlarged and improved it, so that the ranks of his new Macedonian phalanx presented five rows of bristling spears projecting beyond the front rank of soldiers. The flanks were protected by light-armed troops, and the Mace-

donian nobles furnished the finest of cavalry. At the same time a field "artillery" first appears, made up of curious engines able to throw darts and great stones three hundred yards. *Such a mixture of trained troops, on a permanent footing, was altogether novel.* Philip created the instrument with which his son was to conquer the world.

The only man who constantly opposed Philip (although in vain) was Demosthenes the Athenian. Demosthenes was the greatest orator of Greece. To check Macedonia became the one aim of his life, and the last glow of Greek independence flames up in his passionate appeals to Athens that she defend Hellas against Macedonia as she had once done against Persia. "Suppose," he cried in one of his noble "Philippics," "that you have one of the gods as surety that Philip will leave you untouched, in the name of all the gods, it is still a shame for you in ignorant stupidity to sacrifice the rest of Hellas!"

In 338 B.C., Philip threw off the mask, invaded Greece, and crushed the combined Athenians and Thebans at *Chaeronea*. Then a congress of Greek states at Corinth recognized Macedonia as the head of Greece. The separate states were to keep their local self-government, but foreign matters, including war and peace, were committed to Philip. Philip was also declared general in chief of the armies of Greece for a war against Persia. That is, the conqueror of Hellas wisely posed as its champion against its ancient foe.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 100 (the "Thirty Tyrants"), 101 (Epaminondas), and 102 (Leuctra). Plutarch's *Lives* tell part of the story admirably in the "Agésilas" and "Pelopidas."

### EXERCISES

1. Let a committee of three students put upon the board a "catch-word" review for the period from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War to the Macedonian conquest of Greece.
2. Let another committee list twelve important events in Greek history between 500 and 338 B.C. The class may be invited to discuss and criticize the selection. When a list has been agreed upon, each student should be able to tell briefly the important facts about each term in it.

3. For the period after the death of Pericles to the close of Greek independence, name at least two Athenian leaders and three leaders from other cities, giving important facts about each one.

4. Compare the burdens and privileges of Greek cities under Persian, Athenian, and Spartan rule.

5. Compare Athens and Sparta as leaders.



THE WRESTLERS. — A copy of a famous statue by Myron, a younger contemporary of Phidias. Myron excelled in depicting *action* in marble; his predecessors for the most part had represented their subjects in repose.



## CHAPTER XII

### THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

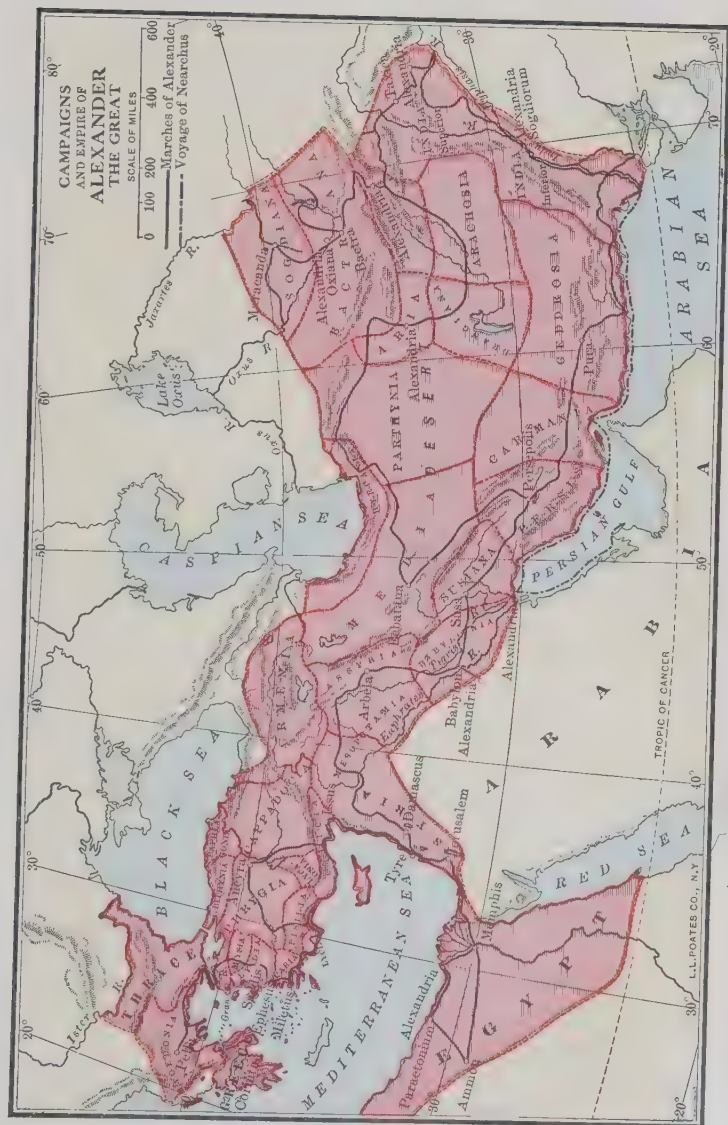
*The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two.* — BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

#### I. ALEXANDER JOINS EAST AND WEST

Two years after Chaeronea, **Philip of Macedonia was assassinated** just as he was ready to begin the invasion of Asia, **and his work was taken up by his son Alexander.** Alexander had been a fearless, self-willed, affectionate boy. He was fond of Homer, and knew the *Iliad* by heart. His education had been directed by *Aristotle*, one of the greatest of Greek philosophers (page 186 f.), and from this teacher he had learned to admire Greek civilization.

**At his father's death Alexander was a stripling of twenty years.** He was to prove a rare military genius. He never refused battle and never lost one. At the moment, however, he was thought to be only a rash boy. Revolt broke out everywhere, but the young king showed himself at once both statesman and general. With marvelous rapidity he struck crushing blows on this side and on that. For a *second* revolt Thebes was sacked and leveled with the ground, except the house of Pindar (page 95), and the miserable thirty thousand survivors were sold as slaves.

With his authority firmly reëstablished, **Alexander then turned to attack Persia.** In 334 B.C., he crossed the Hellespont with 35,000 troops, — an army quite enough to scatter any Oriental force and as large as any general could handle well in that day on long marches in a hostile country. The route of march can best be traced on the map opposite. **The conquest of the empire took five years,** and the story falls into three parts, each marked by a famous battle.





1. The Persian satraps of *Asia Minor* met the invaders at the *Granicus*, a small stream in ancient Troyland. Alexander himself led the Macedonian charge through the river and up the steep bank into the midst of the Persian cavalry, where he barely escaped death. The victory made him master of all *Asia Minor*.

2. To strike at the heart of the empire at once would have been to leave behind him a large Persian fleet, to encourage revolt in Greece. *Alexander wisely determined to secure the entire coast*, and so make safe his "line of communication." Accordingly he turned south, to reduce Phoenicia and Egypt. Meantime the Persians had gathered a great army; but in a narrow defile at *Issus* Alexander easily overthrew their host of six hundred



ALEXANDER THE GREAT. — A sculptured head now in the Copenhagen Museum.

thousand men led by King Darius in person. He now assumed the title, King of Persia. The siege of Tyre (page 57) detained him a year; but Egypt, which had always been restless under Persian rule (pages 119, 135), then welcomed him as a deliverer. While in that country he founded *Alexandria* at the mouth of the Nile — a city destined to be for many centuries a commercial and intellectual center for the world, where before there had been only a haunt of pirates.

3. Darius now proposed that he and Alexander should share the empire between them, with the Euphrates for the dividing line. Rejecting this offer contemptuously, *Alexander took up his march for the interior*. Following the ancient route from Egypt to Assyria, he met Darius near *Arbela*, not far from ancient Nineveh. The Persians are said to have numbered a million men. Alexander purposely allowed them choice of time

and place, and by a third decisive victory *proved* the hopelessness of their resistance. Darius never gathered another army. The capitals of the empire — Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis — surrendered, with enormous treasure in gold and silver, and the Persian Empire had fallen (331 B.C.).

The next six years went to more desperate warfare in the eastern mountain regions, and in India. Alexander carried his arms as far east from Babylon as Babylon was from Macedonia. He traversed great deserts; subdued the warlike and princely chiefs of Bactria and Sogdiana up to the steppes of the wild Tatar tribes beyond the Oxus; twice forced the passes of the Hindukush; conquered the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan; and led his army into the fertile and populous plains of northern India. He crossed the Indus, won realms *beyond* the ancient Persian province of the Punjab, and planned still more distant empires; but on the banks of the Hyphasis River his faithful Macedonians refused to be led farther, to waste away in inhuman perils, and the chagrined conqueror was compelled to return to Babylon. This city he made his capital, and here he died of a drunken fever two years later (323 B.C.) at the age of thirty-two.

Alexander began his conquest to avenge the West upon the East. But he came to see excellent and noble qualities in Oriental life, and rose to a broader view. He **aimed to fuse East and West into a new civilization.** Persian youths were trained by thousands in Macedonian fashion to replace the veterans of Alexander's army, and Persian nobles were welcomed at court and given high offices. On the other hand, Alexander himself adopted Persian manners and customs, and he bribed and coaxed and forced his officers and soldiers to do the like.

At the same time Alexander saw that to fulfill this mission he must open the East to Greek ideas. The races might mingle their blood; the Greek might learn much from the Orient, and in the end be absorbed by it; *but the thought and art of little Hellas, with its active energy, must leaven the vast passive mass of the East.*



One great measure, for this end, was the founding of chains of cities, to bind the conquests together and to become the homes of Greek influence. Alexander himself built seventy of these towns. Their walls sprang up under the pick and spade of the soldiery along the lines of march. One great city, we are told, walls and houses, was completed in twenty days. Sometimes these places were mere garrison towns on distant frontiers, but oftener they became mighty emporiums at the intersection of great lines of trade. There was an Alexandria on the Jaxartes, on the Indus, on the Euphrates, as well as on the Nile. Some of these remain great capitals to this day, like Herat and Kandahar. (Iskandar, or Kandahar, is an Oriental form of the Greek name Alexander.)

The building of Greek cities was continued by Alexander's successors. Once more, and on a vaster scale than ever before, colonization spread Greek civilization. *Each new city had a Greek nucleus.* At first this consisted mainly of worn-out veterans, left behind as a garrison; but adventurous youth, emigrating from old Hellas to win fortune, continued to reënforce the Greek element. The native village people roundabout were gathered in to make the bulk of the inhabitants, but these also soon became Greek in character. **For centuries these cities formed the most important centers of Greek culture.** Greek was the ordinary speech of their streets; Greek architecture built their temples, and Greek sculpture adorned them; they celebrated Greek games and festivals; and over the whole East, in Greek theaters, great audiences were educated by the plays of the old Greek dramatists — and especially by those of Euripides (page 142). The culture that had been developed by a small people now became the heritage of a vast Graeco-Oriental world. *It was from this Eastern world, rather than just from little Greece, that the Romans soon afterward borrowed that civilization* — to pass it on, in great part, to us.

Even in its old home, too, the victorious Greek civilization was modified by its victory. Sympathies were broadened, so that the barrier between Greek and "Barbarian" melted away.

Greece itself became merely a part of that new Graeco-Oriental world.

Alexander left no heir to succeed him. On his deathbed, asked to whom he would leave his throne, he replied grimly, "To the strongest." **For the next half-century**, as he foresaw, **the history of the Eastern world**, so far as government was concerned, **was a horrible welter of war and assassination** between rival generals and rulers. Happily, however, these struggles between great powers left vast areas practically untouched; and by 280 B.C. a fairly settled order emerged.

**For the next century and a half, the Hellenistic<sup>1</sup> world reached from the Adriatic to the Indus, and consisted of:** (1) three great kingdoms, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia*; (2) a broken chain of smaller monarchies scattered from *Media* to *Epirus* (some of them, like *Pontus* and *Armenia*, under dynasties descended from Persian princes); and (3) many single free cities like *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*.

**In many ways all the vast district bore a striking resemblance to modern Europe.** There was a like division into great and small states, ruled by royal families related by intermarriages; there was a common civilization, and a recognition of common interests as against outside barbarism; and there were shifting alliances, and many greedy wars, to preserve "the balance of power" or to secure trade advantages.

Many of these new states, even some of the small ones, would be well worth studying if we could spare the time. For instance, there was the *Kingdom of Pergamos* in Asia Minor, which became as famous as ever Athens had been as a center of art and learning. And there was the free city-republic of *Rhodes* (on the island of that same name), which became one of the chief centers of wealth and commerce in the world of that day. For a time, indeed, Rhodes was even a great military and naval power, joining many smaller free cities together into a league

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<sup>1</sup> *Hellenic* refers to the old Hellas; *Hellenistic*, to the wider world, of mixed Hellenic and Oriental character, after Alexander.

under its guidance. A still more interesting state for American students we will give a few pages to under the next division of this chapter.

## II. AN EXPERIMENT IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

This state that we are now to study was **the Achaean League**, the most important experiment in federal government down to the founding of our United States.

While the generals of Alexander, after his death, were waging long wars with one another for supremacy, few parts of the world suffered more than ancient Greece — which was a convenient battleground for the great rivals, Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia. At the close, Macedonia had won control of the whole Greek peninsula, and, to make her hold more firm, she set up petty tyrants in many Greek cities. From this humiliating condition much of Greece was lifted for a glorious period by the Achaean confederation.

**Achaea** was a small district on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus, and it had always been one of the most backward and unimportant parts of Greece. There had long been a loose alliance, however, between its ten small cities. Macedonia had taken pains to break up even that weak union; but, **in 280 B.C., four Achaean towns drove out the tyrants** that the Macedonian monarch had placed over them **and revived the ancient league in a new form.** Just at that time mighty hordes of savage Gauls from central Europe broke into Macedonia, so that the Achaean League had the chance to spread without interference until it absorbed all Achaea and many neighboring states.

That Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. was the first formidable barbarian attack upon the Oriental world since the Scythians had been chastised by the early Persian kings two centuries and a half earlier. After ravaging Macedonia the savages penetrated into Greece as far south as Delphi, and then swept eastward, carrying havoc into Asia. But now the great kingdoms of the East united in putting down this danger to civilization, and, after long warfare, the

invaders were settled as peaceful colonists in a district of Asia Minor which took from them the name *Galatia*.

The Achaean League was not a mere *alliance* between several states: it was itself a true "state," — a *federation*, with a stronger government than the United States of America had under our old Articles of Confederation. The government consisted of (1) a *Federal Assembly* meeting twice each year for three days each time; (2) a "General," or President, chosen by the Assembly for one year; and (3) a *Council of Ten*, also chosen for a year's term by the Assembly, to help the General.

This central government could raise taxes for the purposes of the union: it did not merely *ask* the cities to make contributions, which was all the power that our Congress of the Confederation had over our states before we adopted our present Constitution. Each city did remain a distinct state, with full control over all its *internal* matters; but no city of itself could make war or peace, or enter into alliances, or even send ambassadors to other states.

The League, however, had one great weakness: it **was not in any way a representative government**. The Assembly was not made up of *delegates* chosen by the different cities: it was a *mass-meeting* of all men who cared to attend. We must not blame the League, for the world had not then invented representative government anywhere. (That kind of government indeed was not invented for nearly two thousand years more.) But this lack of representative government caused two bad results in this early attempt at a confederation.

1. *Each city, large or small, had only one vote in the Assembly.* This seemed needful to keep the city where the meeting was held from outvoting all the other cities put together. But in trying to avoid one pit this plan led toward another: ten or twelve men from a distant city (or even one man if none of his fellow citizens were present) cast the vote of that city — and so counted just as much as several hundred men from a city near the place of meeting. It was quite possible too that the few men who attended from a distant city might not really have the ideas that the majority of the people there had.

2. Since a city did not appoint any regular delegates to represent it, *those citizens who chose to attend the meetings had to pay their own expenses.* Unless the meeting was near by, only the rich could afford the time or money. *And so, gradually, the government of the League came to be highly aristocratic.*

With one exception, all the confederations in the world down to the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States gave just one vote to each state in the assembly, or congress, of the league. The United States did so under the old Articles of Confederation. The one exception was the *Lycian Confederacy* in Asia Minor — which was founded late and was conquered by Rome in 54 B.C. after a short life. The cities making up that confederacy were divided into three classes according to size. Cities of the first class (the largest cities) had three votes each in the federal assembly; cities of the second class had two votes each; and the rest had one vote each.

Such an arrangement would have helped to do away with one evil of the Achaean League. In the Philadelphia Convention which made *our* present Constitution in 1787 A.D., several of the statesmen there present wished to adopt that plan, giving our largest states three votes in Congress; the next largest, two votes each; and a third class of small states, one vote each. Do you think that plan would have been as good as the plan actually adopted?

**The most famous leader of the Achaean League was Aratus of Sicyon.** Sicyon was not Achaean at all. It was a city just east of Achaea. The tyrant of Sicyon had driven many leading citizens into exile, the family of Aratus among them. When twenty years old (in 251 B.C.) the young Aratus planned and led a gallant night attack that freed the city from the tyrant's rule. Then, to save his city from Macedonian vengeance, *Aratus persuaded it to join the Achaean League.*

Five years later, Aratus was elected General of the League, and thereafter he held that office each alternate year<sup>1</sup> until

<sup>1</sup> The constitution of the League forbade any man's being chosen General for two *successive* years. Can you guess why?



his death, thirty-two years later. In his second generalship, he freed Corinth from her Macedonian tyrant by a desperate night attack upon the garrison of the citadel. That powerful city then entered the union. So did Megara, which itself drove out its Macedonian garrison. These two additions gave the League command of the Isthmus, and made it hard for Macedonia to invade the Peloponnesus.

Aratus hated tyrants, and longed for a free and united Greece. He extended the League far beyond Achaea, and made it the champion of Hellenic freedom, but he could sink to using base means to keep himself the chief man of the League. He lavished his vast wealth on the union; but he was bitterly jealous of other leaders, and, to his shame, he treacherously betrayed to death his greatest rival, *Lydiadas*.

*Lydiadas* was a gallant and enthusiastic citizen of Megalopolis (page 170), one of the most important cities at that time in all Greece. While still a very young man, he had made himself tyrant in his city, intending to use his power for good purposes and to check the rule of Macedonia. But soon he saw a better chance to reach his ends — by union with the swiftly growing Achaean League. So in 234 he *resigned* his tyranny and then persuaded Megalopolis to join the League.

This unselfish act made *Lydiadas* a popular hero — and so Aratus became his bitter foe. *Lydiadas* was the more lovable figure — younger, generous, warm-hearted, less wily in statecraft but a greater and more dashing soldier. Several times he was chosen General of the League, but even in that office he was thwarted by the disgraceful trickery of Aratus. Finally, in battle under command of Aratus, he was overpowered by vastly superior numbers, and slain, while leading a gallant charge — Aratus looking on calmly and refusing to let the Achaean phalanx advance to save him.

Before 240 B.C. the League had become the chief power in all Greece. It included all the Peloponnesus except Sparta; and, largely through its help, all central Greece (from the Isthmus of Corinth to Thermopylae) had thrown off the yoke of Mace-

donia and was in friendly alliance with the great League. Some parts even of *central* Greece had become members of the League. **But now came a fatal conflict with Sparta.**

During the hundred and thirty years since the battle of Leuctra, Sparta had more and more needed reform in government and in arrangements as to property. She now had only seven hundred full citizens (cf. pages 166, 169), though there were six or seven times that many Spartan men known as "Inferiors," because they or their fathers had lost their citizenship from lack of land. These "Inferiors" were agitating for a change, and about 243 B.C. *Agis*, one of the two Spartan kings, put himself at the head of that agitation.

**Agis was a young hero**, full of noble daring and generous hopes. He gave all his own great wealth to the Spartan state, and persuaded many relatives and friends to do the like. He hoped that other rich men would do so; and then he wanted to have Sparta create once more a large and democratic body of citizens (twice as large a body, indeed, as before) by dividing the state land among the "Inferiors" along with fifteen thousand other inhabitants of Laconian towns. If he had been willing to use violence, he might have been successful; but he refused such methods and clung to legal means. Soon the oligarchs conspired against the young king, threw him into prison with his noble-hearted mother and grandmother, and murdered him there, — "the purest and noblest spirit that ever perished through deeming others as pure and noble as himself."

**But the ideals of the martyr could not be slain so easily.** His wife was forced to marry *Cleomenes*, son of the other king, and from this woman the young prince learned to adopt the hopes of Agis. In 236 Cleomenes became king. He was less high-minded, perhaps, than Agis, but he is a grand and mighty figure. He waited his chance and then, just as the oligarchs were planning to treat him as they had Agis, he struck first.

**The Achaean League had been led into war against Sparta by Aratus**, in hope of uniting all the Peloponnesus in one government. Sparta, unreformed and torn by factions, was a weak

state; but the young Cleomenes proved a great general and made his city more than a match for the powerful League. He won two crushing victories. Then, leaving the League helpless for the moment, he hurried back to Sparta. The oligarchs there were plotting to overthrow him, but he was supported enthusiastically by the disfranchised multitude. Leaving his Spartan troops at a distance, he reached the city by forced marches unexpectedly, with a few chosen followers, seized and slew the leaders of the oligarchs, and put in force a new "constitution" that contained the reforms of Agis.

Cleomenes wished to go on to make this new Sparta the head of a free and united Greece. He no longer objected to Sparta's entering the League. Indeed, he wanted her to join — *as leader*. But now Aratus and the other aristocratic leaders of the League (page 181) no longer wanted democratic and victorious Sparta for a League member. Such a union would have made a stronger power than had ever been seen among the Greek states, and the great majority of Achaeans were in favor of accepting the new Spartan leadership until Aratus (jealous of Cleomenes and fearful of democratic changes) broke off the negotiations by underhand tricks.

Then Aratus bought the aid of his old enemy Macedonia against Sparta by betraying Corinth, a free member of the League (page 182). This base deed opened the Peloponnesus once more to Macedonian armies. The war now became a struggle for Greek freedom, waged by Sparta almost alone under her hero king against the overwhelming might of Macedonia *aided by the Achaean League!* Aratus had undone all his life-work.

The glory of the Achaean League was gone, and even its independence. It sank at once into a subject state of Macedonia. For a while Sparta stood out splendidly, but in the end the overpowering might of her foes prevailed. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, to die there in exile; and Sparta for the first time in her long history was occupied by a conquering hostile army.

It was in 222 B.C. that the Achaean League submitted to Macedonia. That date marks also, closely enough, a general

and rapid decline of power through all the Greek world *outside Greece*. In the one year 220 the thrones of Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia passed to youthful heirs, and these three new monarchs all showed a degeneracy that is common in Oriental ruling families after a few generations of greatness. Soon after this decay appeared, too, Rome began to absorb the Eastern world. Before turning to the study of that new Western power, however, we will note a few more things about the wide-spread Hellenistic civilization.

### III. HELLENISTIC CIVILIZATION

The *power* of the Graeco-Oriental governments, as we have just said, began to decline about 220 B.C., but the **splendor of Hellenistic civilization grew brighter and brighter for more than a half-century longer**. From 280 to 150 B.C. that civilization had its chief glory. This period is often known as **the Alexandrian Age**, from the Egyptian capital which now led the many other homes of culture.

**The well-to-do part of society grew gentler and more refined.** The position of woman improved. Private fortunes abounded, and private houses possessed works of art which, in earlier times, would have been found only in palaces or temples. Even in the West wealth had been enormously augmented. The vast treasure of gold and silver which Oriental monarchs had hoarded in secret vaults was thrown again into circulation, and large sums were brought back to Europe by returning adventurers. These adventurers brought back also a new taste for Oriental luxuries. This stimulated trade and encouraged a higher standard of living in both East and West. manifold new comforts and enjoyments adorned and enriched life. On the other hand, there was also much ostentatious and wasteful expenditure by the "new rich," deeply offensive to the hungry and sullen mobs that began now to be a mark of every great city in the Greek world.

**The many-sided age produced new forms in literature:** especially (1) *the prose romance*, a story of love and adventure, the forerunner of the modern novel; (2) *the pastoral poetry of Theocritus*, which was to influence Vergil and Tennyson; and

(3) *personal memoirs*.<sup>1</sup> Treatises on literary criticism abounded; the science of grammar was developed; and poets prided themselves upon writing all kinds of verse equally well. Intellec-



VENUS (*Aphrodite*) OF MELOS, — now in the Louvre.

tually, in its faults as in its virtues, the time strikingly resembles our own.

**Painting** was carried to great perfection. According to popular stories, *Zeuxis* painted a cluster of grapes so that birds pecked at them, while *Apelles* painted a horse so that real horses neighed at the sight.

**Greek sculpture**, too, produced some of its greatest work in this period. Multitudes of splendid statues were created — so abundantly, indeed, that even the names of the artists are not preserved. Among the famous pieces that survive, and that may be known to you in pictures, are the *Apollo Belvedere* (facing 560), the *Venus of Melos*, and the *Laocoön*.

**After Socrates, came a great age in philosophy.** The most famous disciple of Socrates is known by his nickname *Plato*, the “broad-browed.” Plato and his pupil and rival, *Aristotle*, are two of the greatest thinkers of all the world. Plato belonged to the period of Spartan and Theban supremacy

<sup>1</sup> Aratus is the first statesman whom we know, in part at least, from an autobiography. His *Memoirs* is one of the “lost books” of that age, but it lasted long enough so that Plutarch (page 194) made much use of it in writing his *Life of Aratus* — which every student would do well to read.



(page 166 f.). Aristotle's work belonged mainly to the later period of Alexander's rule. Plato wrote a great book, *The Republic*, to describe a better kind of state than was found anywhere on earth, — such a state as he thought men would build if they were wise enough. This was the first time that any one had suggested forcefully and clearly that men need not just *drift* along year after year in the society they had been born into, but might instead deliberately set out to build for themselves the kind of society and government they wanted. If Plato (or some one else) had not sent that idea forth into the world (for many another thinker to play with afterward), it is not sure that the Puritans of two thousand years later would have ventured forth when they did from their comfortable English homes to try to build *their* ideal state in the New England wilderness.

Plato had also a mystical philosophy, which cannot well be explained here, about *ideas*. Things, he said, are merely the shadows of ideas. Ideas alone are real. (His *ideal* Republic, you see, he thought the *real* state, while all *existing* states, imperfect as they were, were "shadows" of it.) **Aristotle, on the other hand, cared for things as they were.** Besides books about his theory of philosophy, he wrote upon rhetoric, logic, poetry, politics, physics and chemistry, and natural history, and he built up all the knowledge gathered by the ancient world into one complete system. More than any other of the ancients, he was many-sided and modern in his way of thinking.

**Just after Aristotle, during the wars between Alexander's successors, two new philosophical systems were born, — Epicureanism and Stoicism.** Each called itself highly "practical." Neither asked, as older philosophies had done, "What is true?" Stoicism asked (following Socrates), "What is right?" and Epicureanism asked merely, "What is expedient?" One sought virtue; the other, happiness.

1. *Epicurus*, a citizen of Athens, said that all men try to be happy and that it was right to do so. He taught, however, that the truest happiness could be won only by those who lived temperate and good lives and who sought delight in the refined

pleasures of the mind — not by gratifying the lower appetites of the body. One of his sayings was that with a crust of bread and a cup of cold water he could rival Zeus in happiness.



A COPY of a famous statue by Praxiteles (page 141), made in Alexandrian times. This statue (now in Rome) is Hawthorne's "Marble Faun."

He always lived plainly and simply. Under cover of his theories, however, many of his disciples indulged in gross and evil pleasures.

The Epicureans held that death is the end of all things. They did not believe in any gods or in a future life for men. Epicureanism produced some lovable characters, but no exalted ones.

2. The founder of the Stoic philosophy was an Athenian by the name of *Zeno*, whose favorite place for talking with his disciples was the *stoa*, or painted porch, on the north side of the market place. (Map of Athens, page 134.) *Zeno* taught that men ought to seek not happiness but goodness. If real happiness came at all, he said, it would come *unsought* as a result of living a good life. The Stoics believed that human nature might be made a fine and noble thing,

and that a wise and good man was superior to all the accidents of fortune. No real harm could come to such a man except from within his own soul. Most of them believed, too, that the many gods of the Greek religion (and perhaps of other religions also) were merely different manifestations of one Divine Providence that ordered all things well. From this time

until the rise of Christianity the noblest characters of the Greek and Roman world belonged to this sect. Both Stoics and Epicureans taught that all men were brothers — a new doctrine, which perhaps was one result of the wide-spread Graeco-Oriental civilization.

Stoics, however, were likely to become stern men, with too little attention to the gentler and kindlier side of life. Some of them, if naturally somewhat hard and bitter, came to be much like a small (and earlier) sect of *Cynics*, who had little faith that people could be either happy or good. The most famous Cynic philosopher was *Diogenes* (another Athenian), who slept curled up in a "tub," or wine jar, and went about the market place in the daytime thrusting a lantern into people's faces, hunting in vain, he said, for an honest man!

This Hellenistic age saw also the forerunner of the modern university. The beginning was made at Athens. Plato, by his will, left his gardens and other property there to his followers, *organized in a club*. Athenian law did not recognize the right of any group of people to hold property, unless it was a religious body. Therefore this club claimed to be organized for the worship of the *Muses*, who were the patrons of literature and learning (facing 86); and so the name *Museum* was given to the institution. *This was the first endowed academy, and the first union of teachers and students into a corporation.*<sup>1</sup>

The idea has never since died out of the world. The model and the name were used a little later by Ptolemy II <sup>2</sup> (*Philadel-*

<sup>1</sup> A corporation is a body of men recognized by the law as a "person" so far as property rights go.

<sup>2</sup> On the death of Alexander one of his Greek generals, *Ptolemy*, at once seized Egypt, and he and his successors (all known as Ptolemies) ruled there until the Roman conquest. The early Ptolemies were enlightened monarchs. Ptolemy I, the founder, built the first lighthouse (page 193) to protect commerce from shipwreck. Ptolemy II, besides founding the Alexandrian Museum, restored once more the old canal from the Nile to the Red Sea and carried out many other useful works.

*phus*) at Alexandria in *his* "Museum." This was a richly endowed institution, with many students. It had a great library of over half a million volumes (manuscripts), with scribes to make careful copies and explain the meaning of doubtful passages by notes. Every important city in the Hellenic world wished its library to have an "Alexandrian edition" of each famous book, as the standard work upon which to base copies. (It is upon such copies that our modern printed editions of Greek books are mainly based.) One enterprise, of incalculable benefit to the later world, shows the zeal of the Ptolemies in collecting and translating texts. Alexandria had many Jews in its population, but they were coming to use the Greek language. Ptolemy Philadelphus had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek for their benefit. This is the famous *Septuagint* translation, so called from the tradition that it was the work of *seventy* scholars.

The Alexandrian Museum had also observatories and botanical and zoölogical gardens, with collections of rare plants and animals from distant parts of the world. The librarians and other scholars who were gathered about the institution devoted their lives to a search for knowledge and to teaching, like the faculty of a modern university. "The external appearance" of the Museum, says a German historian (Holm), "was that of a group of buildings which served a common purpose — temple of the Muses, library, porticoes, dwellings, and a hall for meals. . . . The inmates were a *community* of scholars and poets, on whom the king bestowed the honor and privilege of being allowed to work at his expense with all imaginable assistance ready to hand."

**New advances in science**, more rapid than ever before in the life of mankind, marked this glorious Hellenistic Age. Alexander himself gave an impulse to this movement. He had been an eager *explorer*, as well as soldier and colonizer. When he reached the banks of the Indus River, he thought it might be the upper course of the Nile (the only very great river that the Greeks had ever heard of). But, to find out more about it, he built a fleet of two thousand vessels and sailed down the



PYLON OF PTOLEMY III AT KARNAK TO-DAY. — The reliefs represent that monarch (a famous conqueror) in religious thanksgiving, sacrificing, praying, offering trophies to the gods. At the top is a "conventionalized" winged sundisk, a common feature in Egyptian art. Note the general likeness to the older Egyptian architecture, and see cuts facing pages 19, 27.

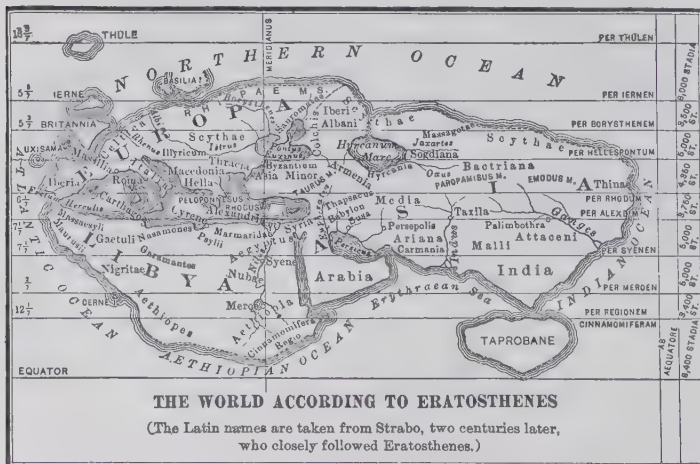




GREEK WOMEN AT THEIR MUSIC, — a vase painting.



A READING FROM HOMER, as imagined by a famous modern painter (*Alma-Tadema*). For hundreds of years after Alexander, such sights could be seen over all western Asia as well as in Greece.

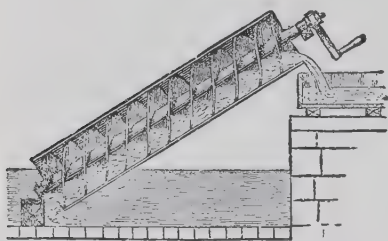


river until he found it flowing, not through Egypt or into the Mediterranean, but into a strange and unknown sea. Then he sent his friend and admiral, *Nearchus*, to explore that sea and to try to find a way from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates (map facing page 174). After a voyage of many months, with frequent landings, Nearchus did bring his fleet safely to the Euphrates and up that river to Alexander's capital at Babylon. The maps that he had made of the coast line, and the huge collections of new plants and animals that he brought back with him, added much to the knowledge of the Greeks about the world. This expedition was even more important for its time than the famous American exploration of Lewis and Clark in 1804-1806 from the Mississippi to the Pacific for its day. Many of Nearchus' collections (and similar ones made at other times) Alexander sent to his old teacher, Aristotle, who made use of them in writing a great *Natural History* in fifty volumes.

Scientific study among the Greeks was given a further impulse by Alexander's discovery at Babylon of astronomical observations reaching back without break for nineteen hundred years (page 50) and by the opening up of Egyptian records of an older civilization than Europeans had ever dreamed of. Active and acute Greek thinkers now turned away from mere *speculation* about the origin of things to take up instead painstaking observation and scientific arrangement of all known facts into a great system of knowledge about man and the world around him. *Medicine*, *surgery*, *botany*, and *mechanics* began to be real sciences. *Euclid*, a Greek at Alexandria, building upon the old Egyptian knowledge, produced the *geometry* which is still taught in our schools with little addition. *Eratosthenes* (born 276 B.C.), the librarian at Alexandria, wrote the first important work on geography, invented delicate astronomical instruments, and devised the present way of measuring the circumference of the earth — with results nearly correct — making the distance a trifle *more* than 25,000 miles. His maps and globes were the first to use meridians and parallels to show latitude and longitude. A little later, *Aristarchus*

taught that the earth and other planets moved around the sun; and *Hipparchus* catalogued the stars, invented a new science of *trigonometry* (to measure spaces where men could not actually travel with a measuring rod), and calculated *future* eclipses. At the beginning of this age Aristotle had taught that the earth was round and had given all the proofs of that fact that we have now (except that no one then had actually sailed around it), and indeed *he asserted that men could probably reach Asia by sailing west from Europe into the Atlantic*. The new scientific spirit did give rise to actual voyages of discovery; and daring mariners brought back from northern regions wild tales of ice-bergs gleaming in the cold aurora of polar skies, and, from

southern voyages, stories of hairy men (gorillas) in vine-tangled tropical forests.



ARCHIMEDES' SCREW — the first "pump."

In many new ways this Hellenistic Age made practical use of its science to improve everyday life. The "Edison" of that day

was *Archimedes* of Syracuse. When the Romans attacked his city, Archimedes is said to have burned their fleet by means of huge metal mirrors that reflected and concentrated the sun's rays upon the ships. Certainly he invented larger and better engines than had ever before been known to hurl great stones from the walls upon the besiegers. Perhaps his most remarkable invention was the more peaceful instrument still known as *Archimedes' Screw*, — a kind of spiral pump that he devised to get rid of the water which accumulated in many low parts of Egypt after a Nile flood.<sup>1</sup> Archimedes found a way, too, to tell whether a gold crown or other such

<sup>1</sup> This "screw pump," which thus made much waste land fruitful, was still used for a like purpose in Holland nearly two thousand years later; but the invention of steam power has made it possible recently to use a better kind of pump.

ornament was *pure* gold or not without melting it down — merely by weighing it in water and knowing just what weight of water that bulk of pure gold should displace. (It was in solving this practical problem that he discovered the principle of what your textbook in physics calls “specific gravity.”) His discovery of just what are the “laws” of the lever (as you will learn them in high-school physics) made it possible for him to invent many new tools for war and for industry. (See Davis’ *Readings*, II, No. 27.)

All such new conveniences spread rapidly. The new Graeco-Oriental cities (page 177) far outran even the Athens of



THE PHAROS LIGHTHOUSE,—a reconstruction.

Pericles in material comforts and in magnificence. For that matter, they outran anything seen *after* their time in Western Europe or in America until later than George Washington. They had good water systems, with public fountains and baths; they had good police protection and arrangements for keeping the streets clean as well as orderly; the streets themselves were wide and well paved, and, in many districts, well lighted at night.

The first lighthouses in America were not built until about the time that George Washington became President — less than a hundred and fifty years ago — and then not one of them was built under such difficult conditions, or built as well, as the *Tower of Pharos*, that first lighthouse, on the sandy island of Pharos in the harbor of Alexandria (page 189). That tower of white marble rose thirty stories into the air (325 feet), and from the summit a group of polished reflecting mirrors threw the light from its “lamps” far out to sea. “All night,” said a poet, in honor of that tower, “will the sailor, driving before the storm, see the guiding fire gleam from its top.” To build such a stone

tower on a strip of shifting sand, and protect it against the never ceasing assault of sea waves, was a great engineering feat for any time. Pharos Tower stood through all the remaining Greek and Roman period, and through long centuries of neglect afterward, until 1326 A.D., and it was long known as one of the "seven wonders of the world."<sup>1</sup>

The Greek contributions to our civilization we cannot name and count, as we did those from Oriental peoples. Egypt and Babylon gave us outer features, — *garments*, if we choose so to speak, for the body of our civilization. *But the Greeks gave us its soul.* Said a great historian not very many years ago, — "There is nothing that *moves* in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin." Because the Greek contributions are of the spirit rather than of the body, they are hard to describe in a brief summary. One supreme thing, however, must be mentioned. The Greeks gave us the *ideal of freedom, regulated by self-control*, — freedom in thought, in religion, and in politics.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY. — *Specially suggested*: Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 108-125 (mostly from Polybius, Arrian, and Plutarch, Greek historians of the Alexandrian age).

*Additional*: Plutarch's *Lives* ("Aratus," "Agis," "Cleomenes," "Philopoemen"); Wheeler's *Alexander the Great*; Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire*.

### REVIEW EXERCISES

1. The class should form a *Table of Dates* gradually as the critical points are reached, and should then *drill* upon it until it says itself as the alphabet does. The following dates are enough for this drill in Greek history (and it is hardly desirable in the high school to apply this

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the other six have already been named. They were, in order of time, the Egyptian pyramids; the hanging gardens of Babylon; a statue of Zeus at Olympia by Phidias; the temple of Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus; the tomb (Mausoleum) of King Mausolus of Halicarnassus; and the Colossus of Rhodes. This last was a bronze statue of Apollo more than 100 feet high, astride the entrance to the harbor of that great commercial city, erected a little before the year 300 B.C.



device to Oriental history). The table should be filled out as is done for the first two dates.

|          |                         |          |
|----------|-------------------------|----------|
| 776 B.C. | First recorded Olympiad | 371 B.C. |
| 490 "    | Marathon                | 338 "    |
| 405 "    |                         | 220 "    |

2. Make a "catchword" review (see page 127) for the period from the Battle of Chaeronea to the death of Alexander, and then drill upon it.

3. Let three different students each place upon the board a list of names of men (lists prepared in advance but without consultation with classmates or books) who he thinks should be remembered for the period after the death of Alexander. Let the class then compare the lists and select a final list of ten for review drills.

4. Explain briefly the following terms: Alexandrian Age, the Ptolemies, Stoics, Spartan "Inferiors," Tower of Pharos, Plato's *Republic*, the *Septuagint*, phalanx, Epicureanism.

5. Let several small committees of the class each present a time-order test of ten terms selected anywhere from the field of history so far covered in this book.

6. If the following review outline is not clear at sight in every detail, the student should turn back and review Part II until the outline *is* clear. He should be able also to reproduce it in this or in some very similar form — not as a mere memory exercise but as a recognition of the "high lights" in the history of Ancient Greece and of their interrelations.

#### AN OUTLINE-SUMMARY FOR HELLAS

##### I. AN AEGEAN BRONZE CIVILIZATION (3000-1500 B.C.)

- (1) with chief centers in Crete and the Peloponnesus and perhaps at Troy
- (2) imitative of older Oriental cultures

##### II. A DIM THOUSAND YEARS OF CONFUSION

- (1) several centuries in which the Aegean civilization is being destroyed by invasion after invasion of conquering barbarians calling themselves Achaeans, or Hellenes
- (2) several centuries more while the Achaeans and Aegeans were mingling into a new *Greek* people and (aided by Phoenician influence) were building up a new —

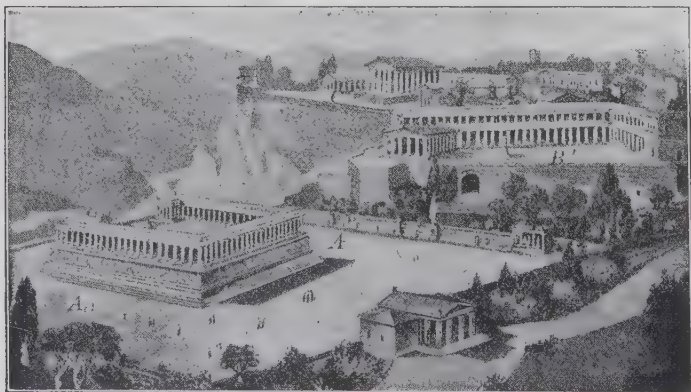
##### III. HELLENIC CIVILIZATION, which —

- (1) appears at first distinctly in the seventh century in Ionia and Ionian-Attica (as indicated by such names as Sappho, Thales, Solon)
- (2) blooms swiftly in art, literature, philosophy, and free government (democracy)

- (3) is distinguished from all preceding civilizations by
  - (a) a much more inquiring attitude of mind
  - (b) a more controlling sense of moderation
  - (c) a truer love of beauty
  - (d) a closer likeness, in all intellectual features, to our modern civilization
- (4) is threatened about 500 B.C. with Persian conquest, the repulse of which danger is marked by the victories of Marathon and Salamis
- (5) reaches its highest development under Athenian leadership in the fifth century (479-405 B.C.) — but
- (6) fails to unite Greece politically, in spite of new and promising experiments by Athens (cleruch colonies, Delian League, and Athenian Empire)
- (7) escapes destruction barely, during seventy years of Spartan and Theban leadership
- (8) is adopted by Macedonian leaders who conquer Greece and pave the way for a wider —

#### IV. HELLENISTIC, OR GRAECO-ORIENTAL, CIVILIZATION

- (1) Alexander begins the fusion of East and West (334-323 B.C.) and so makes possible (after another period of confusion) —
- (2) the Alexandrian Age (about 280-150 B.C.) with its new kinds of progress — which are soon to be taken over by a still wider Roman world.



THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF PERGAMOS (the capital of the kingdom of that name; page 178). — A reconstruction by Tiersch. The city itself lay lower, on a level plain.



## PART III

### ROME

*The center of our studies, the goal of our thoughts, the point to which all paths lead and the point from which all paths start again, is to be found in Rome and her abiding power. — FREEMAN.*

## CHAPTER XIII

### ITALY AND ITS PEOPLES

This chapter ought to be *read* carefully — perhaps in class — but without trying especially at present to *fix* in memory the many details. That reading will call for constant attention to the map facing page 198; and, as the work advances during the next few days, the student should refer back frequently also to the statements and names in the text.

If you think of world history as a drama, or play, you may say that our attention now is called to *a new set of actors* — who appear, too, on *a new stage*. **Once more the scene shifts westward — this time to Italy, the middle one of the three European peninsulas into the Mediterranean.**

Very soon, it is true, that new and narrow stage is to broaden out so as to take in again most of the Graeco-Oriental world. A little after 200 B.C. (the point to which we have carried the story of the East) Rome, the queen-city of Italy and mistress of a new Western Mediterranean world, is to begin to conquer and absorb that older Eastern world. But before we can take up the story of that conquest, we ought to know how a small village of Italian barbarians became *able* to do that mighty work. So we now turn back several centuries from the point on our time line reached in the preceding chapter.

**Italy** is a long boot-shaped peninsula, with the toe almost touching Sicily. On the north it is shut off from the rest of Europe by the curving ranges of the Alps — the highest mountains of Europe, very rugged and hard to cross in early times, when there was no engineering skill to build roads. The Alps protected Italy, therefore, against invading armies, and they make an even better barrier against the icy blasts of northern winters, so that the valleys and slopes of the peninsula are mild and sunny. Oranges grow there in the latitude of New York — more than eight hundred miles farther north than they can be raised in eastern North America.

**Bronze civilization was much later in reaching Italy** than in reaching Greece. Any map of the Old World (see after page 88) will show reasons for that delay. (1) Italy was farther away from the early homes of that civilization. (2) There were no tempting chains of islands leading to Italy from Asia, as there were to Greece — a highly important matter in days when mariners, having no compass, liked to creep cautiously from coast to coast. (3) Though Italy was not far from Greece, still those early Egyptian and Phoenician mariners who so often visited Greece felt little temptation to voyage on to Italy, because the two peninsulas turned their backs, forbiddingly, upon each other. Greece, it has already been noted (page 84), had few harbors on the side toward Italy. Italy had even fewer on the side toward Greece. The Apennines, the backbone of the peninsula, run from north to south for almost all its length, *very near that eastern side*. Between those mountains and the Adriatic Sea there are no streams except short rushing torrents, and no rich plains — only rocky spurs jutting into the sea. The *western* slope of the Apennines is much broader, merging into wide and fertile plains. Here, therefore, are all the Italian rivers of any consequence (except the Po in the far north) and all the good harbors. **Italy faced not toward the civilized East but toward the new and barbarous West.**

In spite of all barriers, however, Italy's rich plains and fruit-laden mountain slopes did tempt swarms of invaders over and

### REFERENCE MAP

SCALE OF MILES



0 25 50 100







over again in very ancient times — as well as in more recent centuries.<sup>1</sup> When the peninsula first began to have a history, it contained a curious mixture of races (see map, page 200).

1. In the middle third of the peninsula were the *Italians*. In language, religion, and customs, these people were much like the early Achaeans (page 75), and it is supposed by many scholars that they were a branch of that race. If so, they came into Italy earlier than the Achaeans did into Greece, for they did not bring with them the use of either bronze or iron. Probably they occupied all the peninsula for some centuries — until driven from the north and south later by more civilized comers.

There were several distinct Italian peoples. The most important were the *Latins*, who lived as lowland farmers in the level plain that spread south from the Tiber River to the Liris. To the east of them, in the Apennines, were several Italian *highland* peoples — *Sabines*, *Samnites*, *Aequians*, — who lived mainly as hunters and shepherds.

2. Most of the Po valley (far to the north) belonged to warlike *Gauls*. The main part of that barbarous race lived still on the farther side of the Alps (in what we now call France); but in some manner this southern branch had found its way through the mountain passes and seized that large fertile district in North Italy, though two of the older peoples there, *Ligurians* and *Veneti*, still clung to the western and eastern ends of the valley.

That Po valley makes almost half of what we now call "Italy." But the ancient peoples did not call it Italy at all. They gave that name only to the true "boot" part, the part that we sometimes call "Apennine Italy." The Apennines, you may notice, begin (toward the north) almost at the west coast and curve eastward across the peninsula before really starting southward. The ancient Italians

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<sup>1</sup> This is what the poet Byron had in mind when he wrote, —

"Italia! O Italia! Thou, who hast  
The fatal gift of beauty!"

considered that first part of the Apennines (on the north) as the boundary between "Italy" and "Cisalpine Gaul" — which was their name for the Po valley. (The larger Gaul across the Alps they called "Transalpine Gaul.")



3. South of the Italians lay *Magna Graecia*. As we have already read (page 89 f.), the civilized Greeks colonized that region about 800 B.C.

4. North of the Italians, from the Tiber to the Gauls, lay the *Etruscans*. Remains in the soil show that this mysterious people had settlements also in various other parts of Italy, but their main home was this district of Etruria — which we now call Tuscany. They came into Italy before 1200 B.C. — four or five hundred years earlier than the Greeks, but long after the Italians. It is thought that they came by sea from Asia Minor, and that

possibly they were connected with the Hittites (page 61 f.) — who, like them, are one of the “riddles of history.” They brought with them wheeled carts and chariots and the use of iron — known then to only a few peoples. They had a system of alphabetical writing. Modern scholars, however, are making very little progress in learning how to read it. But at any rate, we can tell from other remains that they were mighty builders, and they were the first people in Italy to carry on much trade. In their oldest tombs are found many interesting bronze articles.

About 500 B.C. there were twelve large walled cities in Etruria, joined together in a powerful confederacy for war. The Etruscans were Rome's *first* teachers (before she had begun to learn from Magna Graecia). But at a later time, when Rome had conquered them, she imposed upon them her language and the new way of writing that she had learned from the Greeks so that the old Etruscan language and writing came to be forgotten.



AN ETRUSCAN VASE. — Elongated little figures like those on the vase, found in many different phases of Etruscan art, often ornamented the walls of tombs where vases and other articles buried with the dead were so well preserved.

In early times, then, the several divisions of “Apennine Italy” (which in all is only about as large as our State of Illinois) were each the home of a distinct people, as were the divisions of Greece. But the districts were larger than those in Greece, and fewer, and it was not so hard to get from one to another as in Greece. So, though the early peoples of Italy had no common language, and though they differed from one another in other ways far more than the different Greek peoples did, still **one Italian city was finally able to unite the whole peninsula** under one government — which no Greek city had been able to do for

Greece. That city was *Rome*, an early Latin village on the Tiber almost in the center of the peninsula.

No Italian people had a "Homer," and so, when Rome first began to have historians (about 200 B.C.), the early parts of its "histories" were little more than a mass of curious legends. These are of interest to us because they have become so interwoven in our literature, but they have not much value as history.



WARRIOR—from an Etruscan vase. Notice the short sword—which the Romans adopted. See pages 210, 211.

One group tried to explain the beginnings of Rome and its early government. Mars, god of war, said the story, had twin sons, Romulus and Remus, whose mother was a daughter of one of the Latin kings. That cruel grandfather ordered that the two babes should be thrown into the Tiber to drown; but their cradle drifted safely ashore, and a wolf that had lost her cubs carried the boys to her den on a hill near by (afterward known as the Palatine Hill) and fed and cared for them there. Finally they were found by a kindly shepherd who brought them up as his own sons. When they had grown to manhood, they decided to build a city of their own where the old wolf den had been. They quarreled, however, about just

how to build its walls. Then Romulus killed his brother, and so became the first king of Rome. To strengthen his new city for war he gathered about him outlaws and fugitives from all quarters, and these men seized for wives the daughters of a neighboring Sabine tribe. This led to war and finally to the union of Romans and Sabines (who then settled on a hill close to the Palatine). Numa, the next king, was a Sabine. He established many laws and religious rites, which were taught him by the nymph *Egeria* at night in a sacred grove.

In all, the story tells of seven kings—the last three being Etruscan adventurers. The last of these three, *Tarquin the*



*Proud*, so oppressed the Romans that finally they drove him and his family away and took a solemn oath that never again should there be a king in Rome.

These old legends made Romulus found Rome in the year that we call **753 B.C.** Later Romans counted time from that date. Thus any thing that happened in the year 200 B.C. they dated "In the Year 553 of the City.") But Rome was founded much earlier. Recent excavations have taught us much that the Romans themselves never knew about the beginnings of their city. The next chapter will present the important parts of that early Roman history as our scholars now understand it.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Probably all the class know Macaulay's "Horatius" in his *Lays of Ancient Rome*, — a story belonging to the close of this period of the kings. It would be worth while to read it again at this point and then (in Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 8) read the old Roman story on which Macaulay based his poem.

## CHAPTER XIV

### ROME UNDER THE KINGS

The plain of Latium, stretching south from the Tiber, was about as large as an ordinary American county. Here and there it was broken by scattered hills, and on some one of these,



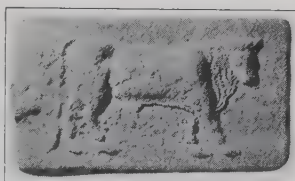
in early times, each Latin tribe had its citadel. (Compare with early Greek tribes.) Once a year all Latins gathered at Mount Alba (one of these hill forts) for a festival in honor of the chief Latin god, *Jupiter*; and the straggling village at the foot of that hill — *Alba Longa*, or “the long White Town,” — was the head of the Latin con-

federacy in war against robber Italian bands from the highlands on the west and against the civilized and powerful Etruscans on the north.

Dangerous though they were in war, those Etruscans had become necessary to Latin comfort. Among the Latins there were no smiths or other artisans. If a Latin needed a plow-share or a knife, he drove an ox across the plain to the Tiber bank, or carried grain there, to trade with some Etruscan for the tool. (Later, when the Romans began to use money, their earliest coin was a piece of copper stamped with the figure of an ox.)

In such trade the Etruscans made huge profits. About twelve miles up the Tiber from its mouth (a third of the way perhaps from the sea to the mountains) the river could be crossed by a ford at the foot of an island (map after 206). So, very early,

Etruscan traders began to bring wares of metal and wood and wool and linen across this ford, on regular "market" days, to a level space on the Latin bank of the river just at the foot of the Palatine Hill, to tempt that profitable Latin trade. Now and then, too, a Cretan or Phoenician ship thought it worth while to row up the river to share in this business; and to the same point the Sabines from the foothills floated down their grain and wine and packs of hides on flat barges.



EARLY OX-COIN.

In later years, even when the city of Rome had become mistress of all the civilized world, one of the most famous spots within it was that level space known as the *Forum*. (The Latin word *forum* meant market place.)

The Latins were glad enough to have Etruscan traders cross the Tiber but they dreaded lest Etruscan armies use the ford to harry or conquer Latium; and so, at least as early as 1200 B.C., one of the Latin tribes guarded their end of the ford by building a square fort around the top of the steep Palatine Hill. Parts of the solidly built wall of that "square town" can still be traced — dating back five hundred years earlier than the date given in the Romulus story. **This was the beginning of Rome** — which was at once *a frontier garrison post and a trading place*. Very soon, therefore, the Romans excelled the other Latins both in wealth and in warfare.

A freak of geography played its part in making the city greater still. **The Palatine was one of a group of hills** (seven of them), such as were not found so near together anywhere else in lowland Italy. Early settlements were made on at least two other of these hills — one by an invading tribe of Sabines and the other possibly by hostile Etruscans, as tradition told. No doubt there were long wars between the three hill-forts. But they could not fight all the time: they *had* to have truces in which to sow and reap; and finally in some way **the three settle-**

ments were united in one new state, with the three tribes on an equal footing.

The gain from this was not merely in greater physical strength. That, indeed, was the least of the gain. A barbarous tribe is always controlled in all its acts by old



SO-CALLED WALL OF SERVIUS — thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high. It consisted of a huge pile of earth in the middle, faced on each side with immense stones fitted together without mortar. Part of this colossal structure was uncovered on the Aventine Hill not many years ago.

custom much more rigidly than civilized societies are — so that it is exceedingly hard for it to take the first steps toward a better way of living. In Rome the union of these different societies weakened that bondage to ancient custom and made change easier. (Compare page 89 for Athens.) The new Roman people was accustomed to a variety of ways of living. The different tribes learned how to live together even when their ways differed.

Compromise took the place of inflexible custom. Rome was "the city of the seven hills," not of just one hill. So began the "growth by association" that later was to unite all Italy.

By 750 B.C. the old kings had given way to "tyrants," like those who seized power in Greek cities at about that same time.



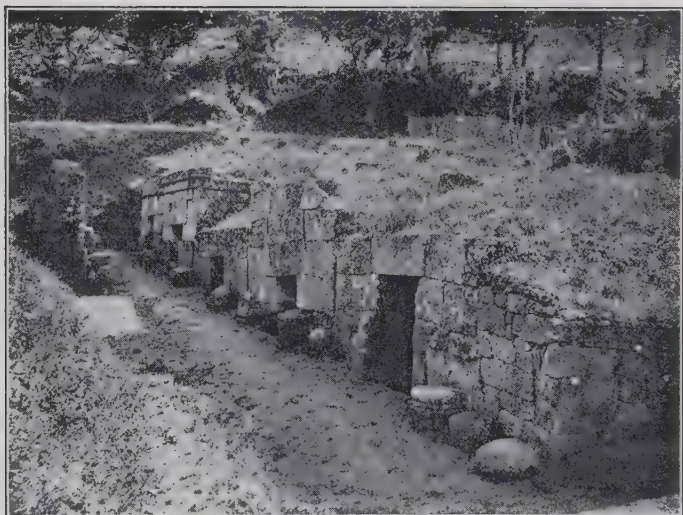
1. Citadel
2. Temple of Jupiter
3. "Quays of the Tarquins"

4. Citadel at Janiculum
5. "Wall of Romulus"
6. Temple of Vesta

7. Senate House
8. Assembly

To guard the bridge against Etruscan attack, one of the last kings is said to have seized "Mount Janiculum" on the Etruscan side of the river and built a citadel there, to be held by a small garrison.





ETRUSCAN TOMBS AT ORVIETO, not far across the Tiber from Rome. The inscription on one of them has been deciphered recently and found to be in honor of *Tarkhnas*—who possibly is the Roman *Tarquinus*.



MOUTH OF THE "GREAT DRAIN" at Rome as it was until recently.

Some of these rulers in Rome seem to have been Etruscan adventurers or, possibly, conquerors. These "tyrants" drained the marshes and inclosed all seven hills within one wall — the so-called "wall of Servius" — taking in large open spaces for future city growth. The huge drain (*Cloaca Maxima*) and the remains of a massive wall, pictured in these pages, belong to this period and are undoubtedly due to Etruscan influence.



"HEAD" OF AN EARLY ROMAN COIN,  
representing the god Janus.

**These new kings also made Rome mistress of a third of all Latium.** Before the year 500, several conquered towns had been razed *and their inhabitants brought to Rome.* Even Alba Longa had been destroyed, and Rome had become the head of the Latin confederacy.

**The life of the early Romans was plain and simple.** *Their houses* were like those of the primitive people all about the Mediterranean (page 69), — small round huts, often only one room, with no chimney or window. The open door and an opening in the peaked roof let out the smoke from the hearth fire, and let in light; and a slight cavity directly below the roof-opening received the rain.

**Religion** had to do with the home and the daily tasks. For each house the door had its protecting god *Janus*, two-faced, looking in and out; and each hearth was an altar to the goddess *Vesta*. When the city grew powerful, it had a *city Janus* and a *city Vesta*. In the ancient round temple of Vesta at Rome the holy fire was kept always bright by the priestesses (*Vestal Virgins*), who had also to keep themselves pure in thought and act, that they might not pollute its purity. For the fire to go out, or to be in any way defiled, would mean terrible disaster to the city.

Next to the *house gods* came the *gods of the farm*: Saturn, the god of sowing; Ceres, the goddess who made the grain grow; Venus, another goddess of fruitfulness; and Terminus, a god who dwelt in each boundary pillar, to guard the bounds of the farm (and, later, the boundaries of the state).

The early Romans had also an *ancestor worship* at each family tomb, and each Latin tribe had its ancestral deity. The war god, Mars, father of the fabled Romulus, was at first the special god of Rome. But at the head of all the tribal gods of Latium stood Jupiter (Father Jove); and when Rome became the central Latin power, Jupiter became the center of the Roman religion. The later Romans borrowed some Greek stories about the gods (page 86), but they lacked poetic imagination to create a beautiful mythology of their own, as the Greeks had done.

**The gods at Rome manifested their will not by oracles but by omens, or *auspices*.** These auspices were sought especially in the conduct of birds, and in the color and size of the entrails of animals. The interpretation of such signs became a kind of science, in the possession of a "college" (*collection*) of augurs. Their "science" came from the Etruscans, and seems to have been related to old Babylonian customs.

The thrifty Roman drove hard bargains with his gods. The augurs, or soothsayers, called for fresh animals until the entrails gave the signs desired by the ruling magistrate, and then the gods were just as much bound as if they had shown favor at the first trial. The sky was watched until the desired birds did appear, and, in the later periods, tame birds were kept to give the required indications.

**The Roman family** was a despotic monarchy. The father was its absolute king. He had complete authority over his sons and grandsons as long as he lived, even though they were grown men and important officers of the city. When his son took a wife, she, too, leaving her own family, came under his control; but his own daughters, when they married, passed from his hand under that of some other house-father. The father ruled his household, *and the households of his male descend-*

*ants*, as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay his wife, unmarried daughter, grown-up son, or son's wife; and all that was theirs was his. There was no appeal from him to any higher judge. In practice, however, the father was influenced somewhat by near relatives and by public opinion. It is a curious fact, too, that, despite the legal slavery of women, the Roman matrons had a dignity and public influence unknown to women in Greece.

Large Italian cities usually contained many noncitizens — just as Greek cities did (page 111 f.). During the rule of her last kings many people of this sort had come to Rome. Some were ordinary fugitives from their old homes. Some were eager traders, drawn by the growing commerce of the city. Many were captives whom the kings moved to Rome from other cities that they had conquered. Some of these aliens became rich, but none of them could get equal rights with the tribesmen of the three old tribes.

The tribesmen, or citizens, were a sort of nobles, with many privileges. They called themselves *patricians* ("men with fathers"), while all the newcomers — and their descendants for generation after generation — were called *plebeians*, or "common people." No plebeian had any part in the law or the government or the religion of the city, nor could he intermarry with any patrician family — since marriage was a religious rite. Nor had he any real security against serious injustice, — though, as a general rule, the city found it good policy to protect him and his property.

The patrician government had three parts — King, Senate, and Assembly — much like the governments in Homeric Greece. The King, however, was more important than early Greek kings were: indeed, he was to the Roman city about what the father was to the Roman family. The Senate seems to have been at first a council of the chiefs of the three hundred clans ("gentes") that made up the three tribes. It had power only to advise the King and to discuss matters with him. The Assembly was made up of patricians only. It did not discuss: it listened to



the King's proposals and voted yes or no — usually yes, no doubt.

The first change in this kind of government came about under the "tyrants" and consisted in setting up a new kind of



HEAVY-ARMED SOLDIERS. (The standard-bearer's helmet is hanging in front of him.) You can see some part of the "short Roman sword" on each. (See page 202.)

Assembly in which the plebeians had a share—though a very small share. And this change in government grew out of a change in the Roman army.

For a long time the army was made up only of patricians and their servants; but, as the plebeians grew in number, one of the "tyrants" ordered that all men, plebeians as well as patricians, must serve the city in war, armed

more or less expensively according to the amount of land they owned. One class, made up of the largest landholders, had to furnish horses and serve as cavalry; the next wealthiest were to come as heavy-armed troops; those with a little less property had to furnish themselves only with a somewhat lighter and cheaper equipment; and so on through six classes in all. Each of the six classes was divided into companies called *centuries*, or "hundreds."

In a barbarous society it is natural that *the obligation to fight and the right to share in the government* should go together,<sup>1</sup> and soon this army (or Assembly of Centuries) took the place

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<sup>1</sup> Even in the United States, until women won the right to vote, just a few years ago, one of the objections most commonly urged against woman suffrage was that a woman "couldn't fight for the country."



of the old purely patrician Assembly in government, even in times of peace.

The Assembly voted by centuries, each century having one vote. It is curious to see how the patricians made use of this method of voting to keep the plebeians from ever getting much real power in this Assembly, even after Rome had expelled the tyrants and had become a republic.

When the Assembly of Centuries was first formed there were no doubt many more patricians in it than plebeians, especially in the centuries of the richer classes; but, during the years that followed, the plebeians grew in number until they counted much the larger part of the population. Most of them, however, were poor men and so had to be enrolled in the two lower "classes" out of the six. Now the patricians did not allow *new* companies to be formed for these new soldiers and voters: instead they managed to keep the number of centuries in each "class" fixed — just as at the beginning. In the richer "classes," where the patricians had easy control, some centuries shrank up into skeleton companies, much less than a hundred each; while in the two poorer "classes" each century came finally to contain several "hundreds." *But each century, skeleton or over-full, counted still just the same as any other.* The many small patrician centuries could outvote the larger plebeian centuries.



SLINGERS were an important branch of the Roman light-armed troops. Notice the Roman sword.

EXERCISE. — Does anything in the story of the "tyrants" at Rome remind you of Pisistratus at Athens? Make a list of other resemblances between early Italian and early Greek history and society.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE EARLY REPUBLIC, TO 266 B.C.

#### I. CLASS STRIFE

About 500 B.C. the patricians replaced their king by two elected consuls, ruling for one year only. For that year, the consuls kept most of the old royal power — except that either



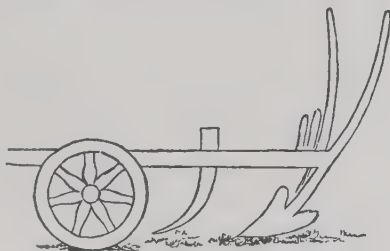
THIS EARLY ROMAN PLOW had no metal parts except the bands used to strengthen the share. In some parts of Italy the peasants use still a plow almost as primitive. Notice the likeness of the yoke to that of the Etruscan chariot facing page 74.

might stop any act of the other by calling out *Veto* ("I forbid"). This division of the old kingly authority (as well as the short terms of office) gave more power to the Senate, which, at need, could play off one consul against the other. (Compare this with the Spartan plan.) To be sure, a deadlock between the two consuls might be fatal in a time of foreign peril, but that danger was avoided by a curious arrangement: the Senate might call upon either consul to appoint a *dictator*. This officer was the old king revived, save that his term of office could not exceed *six months*.

The first century and a half of the Republic was a time of stern conflict between patricians and plebeians. The last kings had leaned upon the plebeians and had protected them. Now Rome had become a patrician oligarchy. The plebeians could hold no office. They had no way even to get a measure considered, for all laws had to be proposed by patrician magistrates. They could help elect only patrician officers, who had been nominated by other patricians; and (see page 211) their

vote in the Assembly of Centuries counted for less than that of the patricians. The patrician Senate, too, had a final veto upon any vote of the Assembly and (in peace time) upon any act of a consul. Besides, the patrician consuls could always fall back upon the patrician augurs to prevent a possible plebeian victory — since the augurs could forbid a vote by declaring the auspices unfavorable.

Law was unwritten, and, to the plebs, unknown, — so that it was easy for a patrician to take shameful advantage in lawsuits.



LATER ROMAN PLOW, after the use of the wheel and of iron had been learned from the Etruscans. If the class contains any farm-reared student, perhaps he will explain to the others the use of the wheel and of the colter — the curved metal cutter just back of the wheel.

The patrician class used their political advantages to secure unjust advantages in matters of property. When Rome conquered a hostile city, she usually took away a half or a third of its territory. This new territory *belonged to the Roman state*, and a small tax was paid for the right to graze cattle upon it. But only the patricians could get the right to use this grazing land, and the patrician officers ceased even to collect the grazing tax. Thus the *public* land, won largely by plebeian blood, was enjoyed by the patricians as *private* property.

The many wars, too, were harder on the plebeians than on the patricians. The plebeian farmer was called away frequently to battle. He had no servants to till his fields in his absence, and his possessions were more exposed to hostile forays than were the better fortified holdings of his greater neighbor. He might return to find his crops ruined by delay, or his homestead in ashes.

Thus, more and more, the plebeians were forced to borrow tax money, or to get advances of seed corn and cattle from patrician money lenders. On failure to pay, the debtor became

the property of the creditor. He was compelled thereafter to till his land (no longer his) for the creditor's benefit; or, if he refused to accept this result, he was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains, and torn with stripes.

There were a few rich plebeians (from gain by trade), but they too were bitterly dissatisfied because they could not hold office or intermarry with the old Roman families. This was especially true, too, of the descendants of families that had held high place in the conquered Latin towns whose populations had been removed to Rome. Such men became the natural leaders of the mass of poorer and more ignorant plebeians.

According to the Roman historian Livy the plebeians made their first real gains by a sort of "general strike" in 497 B.C. War with the Volscians had broken out, but the plebeians refused to march against the foe — until one of the consuls won them over by promising to free all debtors from prison. Then the Roman army won the war; but the other consul refused after all to let the debtors go free. Soon after, however, the war began again, and again the plebeians "struck" against the oppressive and dishonest patrician government. Rome was in extreme peril — so that the Senate appointed a dictator, *Manius Valerius*, a noble who had always taken the side of the people. Under this leader the plebs again marched out and saved the city in war; but again, when the danger was past, the patrician Senate refused to let Valerius keep his promises. So the plebeian army — which this time had wisely waited *in arms* outside the gates — declared that they would found a city for themselves and marched off to a hill three miles away, afterward called the "Sacred Mount."

To bring back the plebeians the patricians now (along with some other concessions) allowed them to choose officers of their own, called *tribunes*, who had power to stop a consul (within the city<sup>1</sup>) or any other magistrate in any act by merely calling out *Veto*. From a seat just outside the Senate door, the tribune's shout could even stop proceedings in that body, and he could

<sup>1</sup> Not in the field, in war.

forbid a vote by the assembled centuries. Thus these representatives of the plebs *could* bring the whole patrician government to a standstill. A tribune's door was left always unlocked, so that a plebeian in trouble might have instant admission, and the tribune's person was declared sacred.

The next great step dates from 460 B.C., when the plebs began to demand written laws. The patricians opposed the demand furiously, but after a ten-year contest a board of ten men (*Decemvirs*) was elected to put the laws into writing. The code they drew up was engraved on twelve stone tables, in short, crisp sentences, and set up where all might read them. These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were the basis of all later Roman law. Like the first written laws at Athens, they were very severe, and were for the most part simply old customs reduced to writing. The new thing about them was that they were now known to all, and that *they applied to plebeian and patrician alike*.

Next came a *political gain*. At some early date, for convenience in gathering the army, the city and its territory outside the walls had been divided into twenty-one districts, which we would have called "wards" but which were then called "tribes." In some way the plebeians had come to use an Assembly of these *place* "tribes" to choose their tribunes and to adopt rules (*plebiscita*)—binding only upon themselves. The tribunes called this Assembly together and presided over it, as the consuls did with the Assembly of Centuries. Now, by threat of another "strike," the plebs forced the patricians to agree that their *plebiscites should be law, binding upon the whole state*, just as the decrees of the Assembly of Centuries were. (The Senate kept a veto upon both assemblies.)

Thus the first half century of conflict set up a plebeian government over against the patrician government, — Assembly of Tribes and its tribunes over against Assembly of Centuries and its consuls. This arrangement left much danger of a fatal deadlock, or of civil war. *The work of the next century was to fuse these rival governments into one.*



Soon the Assembly of Tribes decreed that plebeians should have the right to marry with patricians, and the Senate was forced to approve this plebiscite by the threat of another secession. The two orders began now to mix in social matters, and this prepared the way for complete political fusion. Those patricians who came to have plebeian relatives were likely to sympathize with their demands for political honors. Still the contest lasted 78 years more.

The final campaign began in 377. Under the wise leadership of the tribune *Licinius Stolo*, the whole body of plebeians united firmly on a group of measures known as the *Licinian Laws*. The three most important demands were: (1) that *at least one consul each year must be a plebeian*; (2) that *no citizen should hold more than 300 acres of the public lands*; (3) that *payment of debts might be postponed for three years and interest canceled*.

The first measure was what the leaders, like Licinius, cared most for; the second and third secured the support of the masses. The land acts were not acts of confiscation, from any point of view: they were a righteous effort to *recover* the people's property from wealthy squatters.

Year by year the plebeians reelected Licinius and passed the decrees anew in the Assembly of the Tribes. Each time the Senate vetoed the measures. Then the tribunes forbade the election of magistrates for the year, and so left the state without regular government (though one year, during danger of foreign war, they patriotically permitted patrician consuls to be chosen). At last the patricians tried to buy off the masses, by offering to yield on the matters of debts and lands if they might keep the consulship for their class. But Licinius succeeded in holding his party together for the full program; and after a ten-year struggle, *in 367*, the Senate gave way and the plebeian decrees became law.

Plebeian consuls nominated plebeians for other offices; and, since appointments to the Senate were made now from those who had held high office, that body itself gradually became

plebeian. By the year 300 B.C. all distinction between the two classes had died out.

The century of class struggle had been marked by two noteworthy features.

1. The patricians had been especially bitter toward any of their own order who were great-souled enough to dare take the side of the people. The first such hero was *Spurius Cassius*. He had served Rome gloriously in war and in statesmanship, and finally, as consul, he proposed to reform the selfish patrician management of the public lands — in the way that was accomplished later by the Licinian Laws. But the wily patricians raised the cry, “He is trying to win popular favor so as to make himself tyrant. Kill him! Kill him!” and the silly and envious plebeians — who had been taught to hate the name “king” — allowed themselves to be fooled into helping wickedly to slay the man who had been trying only to do them good. So, too, when the patrician *Marcus Manlius* proposed similar reforms (after he had saved Rome from destruction by an invasion of Gauls), he, also, was put to death under a like charge.

2. The second characteristic of the period is more cheering. After all, in spite of these mob murders and of the assassination of one tribune by patricians, the long struggle had been carried on in what we now call a “constitutional” way. There were no civil wars between the two classes, such as were common in Greek cities, and no violent revolutions. In a few cases the patricians did succeed for a time, by sharp tricks, in taking back rights that they had promised to the other class; but, on the whole, after each political defeat, they accepted the result in good faith and confined future struggles to new points.

This Roman method was slow — but it was certainly much better in the end, even for the plebeians, than any sudden revolution, brought about by violence, could have been. Both patricians and plebeians had great respect for law. The Romans were the first people to teach the world that while it is perfectly right for citizens to try, by all lawful means, to get an objectionable law changed, still, while it is law, it must be obeyed.

## II. ROME UNITES ITALY

While Rome was most weakened by internal strife, she had been obliged also to fight continually for life against outside foes — Etruscans, Sabines, Volscians — who thought they might now conquer her. Then in 390 B.C. the city was actually occupied by a horde of invading Gauls except that a small garrison, under the soldier *Marcus Manlius* (page 217), still held the citadel on the Capitoline Hill. Later Romans told the story that one night the barbarians had almost surprised even this last defense, but some hungry geese, kept there for religious sacrifices, awakened Manlius by their noisy cackling just in time for him to hurl back the invaders from the walls.

The Gauls were ravaged by the deadly malaria of the Roman plain, and they had little skill or patience for a regular siege. So finally they withdrew on the payment of a huge ransom. While the gold was being weighed, the Romans objected to unfair scales; whereupon, as the story runs, the Gallic chieftain, Brennus, threw his sword into the scale, exclaiming “*Vae Victis*” — “*woe to the vanquished.*” Such has been the principle of many a peace treaty since.

Other states in Italy had suffered from the Gauls as much as Rome, or more. Rome at once stood forth as the champion of Italian civilization against the barbarians. After her own immediate peril was past, she followed up the invaders of Italy in vigorous campaigns until they withdrew to the Po valley.

Then, as soon as the Licinian Laws had united her own people, *she turned in earnest to unite Italy under her rule* — a job that kept her busy just a century (367–266). Some powerful alliances were formed against her, especially one between the warlike Samnites of the southern Apennines and the turbulent Gauls of the Po valley; but, *using to the full the advantage of her central position*, Rome always beat her foes one by one before they could unite their forces.

The final struggle was with Tarentum, a great Greek city of the south, *which had called in aid from Pyrrhus*, the chivalrous king of Epirus.

Pyrrhus was one of the Greek military adventurers who arose after the death of Alexander. He came to Italy with a great armament and with vast designs. He hoped to unite the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and then to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellenes in the West. He knew little of Rome; but at the call of Tarentum he found himself engaged as a Greek champion with this new power. He won some victories, chiefly through his elephants, which the Romans had never before encountered; and, anxious to carry out his wider plans, he then offered a favorable peace. Under the leadership of an aged and blind senator, *Appius Claudius*, defeated Rome answered haughtily that she would treat with no invader *while he stood upon Italian soil*.



GOLD COIN STRUCK BY PYRRHUS WHILE IN ITALY. The head represents Zeus of Dodona (a sacred oracle in Epirus).

Pyrrhus chafed at the delay, and finally hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back, and a great Roman victory at *Beneventum* (275 B.C.) ruined his dream of empire and gave Rome the sovereignty of Italy which she had claimed so resolutely. In 266, she rounded off her work by conquering that part of Cisalpine Gaul which lay *south of the Po*.

*The internal strife between classes in Rome had closed in 367. That strife had fused patricians and plebeians into one Roman people. Then that Roman people at once turned to unite Italy — and completed the task by 266 B.C.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 9-13, with particular attention to Dr. Davis' admirable introductions.

The author of this textbook hesitates to advise junior high school students to grapple with any of the larger secondary works on this difficult period of the Early Republic. Strong students, however, may find interest and profit by spending some time on either Ihne's *Early Rome* (pages 125-151, 165-190) or Pelham's *Outlines*, 68-97 — both readable books by great scholars.

## SUGGESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Some student ought to prepare (from library material) and present to the class a special report, giving the story of how the Roman army was sent "under the yoke" by the Samnite Pontius, explaining the Roman perfidy and trickery that followed that event.

2. Note that the war with Pyrrhus (page 219) brings the story of Rome almost as far along on the time line as we carried the story of the Greek world in chapter xii. What were the Greeks doing at about the time that Rome got rid of her kings, or "tyrants"?

3. The struggle between patricians and plebeians is a good topic for an outline, or syllabus. Each student may be asked to make his outline independently (for criticism by the teacher), or a group of students may do the work as a "socialized" study.

4. Have you noticed that the four ancient *city* place "tribes," or wards, are marked out on the map facing 206? If not, trace them there now, and re-read the passage about place tribes on page 215. The other seventeen "tribes" of the early period were located in territory outside Rome itself.





## CHAPTER XVI

### UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE AFTER 266 B.C.

The Romans of this great period were brave and patriotic, and simple in their manner of living, but they were also brutal, haughty, and coarse. In many ways, Rome was more like rude Sparta than like beautiful and cultured Athens. A few poets and play-writers made their homes in the city, after Rome had conquered Magna Graecia, but, for two hundred years more, these were almost all either Greek slaves or Latins who copied Greek models. Nor did Rome have any other art of her own during that period, except that, toward the close, there was some progress in architecture, — especially in the use of the round arch. (We still call a round arch a “Roman arch,” for Rome passed on the use of this device in building to the other peoples of Europe.)

Still Rome had one great excellence that neither Sparta nor Athens had. She taught the world a new respect for law, and she made new advances in government. When she had conquered Italy she did not rule its cities as a mass of subject towns, always anxious to revolt, as Sparta ruled the cities of Greece for a time after the fall of Athens. Instead, Rome almost made the peoples of Italy into one Roman nation.

#### I. “CITIZENS” AND “SUBJECTS”

By 266 B.C. Italy contained 5,000,000 people. More than a fourth of these were Roman citizens. All Roman citizens had certain valued rights. In any of Rome’s possessions they might hold property and intermarry with the inhabitants. At Rome itself they could vote in the Assembly and hold any office to which they could get themselves elected. If condemned at any time to death or to other bodily punishment, they had the right to appeal to the Assembly. Moreover, Rome and her citizens now owned directly a third of all the land in Italy.

The majority of the citizens no longer lived at Rome. Large parts of Latium and Etruria and Campania had become "suburbs" of Rome, and some settlements of Roman citizens were found also in distant parts of Italy. **There were now three classes of citizens:** the inhabitants of *Rome itself*; inhabitants of *Roman colonies*; and inhabitants of *Roman municipia*.

From an early date Rome had planted colonies of her citizens as military posts at important points in the territory she conquered. The colonists *and their descendants* kept all the rights of Roman citizens. They could not actually *make use* of all those rights, it is true, as easily as if they lived in Rome, because *representative government* had not been invented. Each colony had complete control over its *local* affairs in an Assembly of its own, but in order to vote upon matters that concerned the whole Roman state, the colonists had to come to Rome at the meeting of the Assembly there — which, of course, would often prove impossible. (These colonists corresponded closely to Athenian cleruchs. Note location of colonies on map facing 224.)

*And Rome had made another advance in this matter of citizenship* — an advance beyond anything that even Athens had ever dreamed of. She had *incorporated* many conquered towns (especially the Latin and Sabine towns) into the Roman state upon full equality with herself and her colonies. Each town so incorporated was called a *municipium*. The municipia differed hardly at all from a Roman colony, except in origin. *By 266 B.C. Rome had five times as many citizens as Athens ever had.*

As Rome created new municipia, their inhabitants were enrolled in the "tribes," and so **the old twenty-one tribes (page 215) were gradually increased to thirty-five** — four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. At first these had been real divisions of territory; but, once enrolled in a given tribe, a man remained a member of it, no matter to what place he might move — and his son after him. (Compare with the "tribes" of Cleisthenes at Athens.) Each tribe had one vote in the Assembly.

When Rome had expanded the number of tribes to thirty-five, she stopped adding new ones. Instead, she thereafter listed the people of a new municipium in some one of the thirty-five. This opened the way for serious abuses — as we shall partly see.

So far we have been speaking only of the Roman citizen classes. The other three fourths of the people of Italy were subjects of Rome. Of these there were also three classes — *Latin colonies*, *"Allies,"* and *Prefectures*.

1. After 338 B.C. the name *Latins* (or Latin colonists) did not apply to the old Latin towns (nearly all of which had become municipia, but to thirty-five colonies of a new kind, sent out to various parts of Italy from Rome's landless citizens. These "Latin colonists" did not keep Roman citizenship (as "Roman colonists" did), but they had full self-government in their own cities and they had also "the Latin right" — the right of moving to Rome, and so becoming full Roman citizens, if they chose. This class, then, was a sort of link between citizens and subjects.

2. Far larger than any other one class were the subject Greek, Italian, and Etruscan cities, grouped under the general name of Italian Allies. Some of these cities had more privileges than others, for each one was bound to Rome by its *separate* treaty — and those treaties differed much among themselves. In none of the allied cities did the inhabitants have any of the rights of Roman citizens named above on page 221, but in general they were allowed to keep their own old consuls, Senates, and Assemblies for all *local* matters. Rome protected them and placed few burdens upon them, but she did sternly *isolate* them. They were allowed no relationship or connection with one another except through the head city.

3. The class of *Prefectures* consisted of a very few conquered towns which in some way had offended Rome so deeply that she would not grant them either the "Latin right" or "alliance." They had no self-government. Alone of all cities in Italy, their local government was administered for them by *prefects* sent out from Rome.

Rome herself (the Roman-citizen fourth of Italy, that is) managed all those matters which concerned Italy as a whole — such as peace and war and other relations with foreign countries. *Never before had so many people* (and people spread over so large an area) *had a real share in the supreme government of any country.* To the remaining three fourths of the inhabitants of Italy this rule brought good order<sup>1</sup> and prosperity, with protection against invasion from without, and at the same time it left them complete self-government in local matters (except for the small class of Prefectures) and showed a remarkable spirit of toleration for their varying customs.

With regard to these subjects, however, Roman rule had one feature (barely mentioned above) which seems to us thoroughly mean, though it proved remarkably effective. Rome, we have seen, had arranged the subject cities in different classes, *some more favored than others.* Afterward, she often took skillful advantage of that situation to stir up jealousies between one and another, so that they might not combine against her. Even within a given city, too, Rome often set class against class — usually favoring an aristocratic organization. In politics as in war, Rome's policy was, "Divide and conquer."

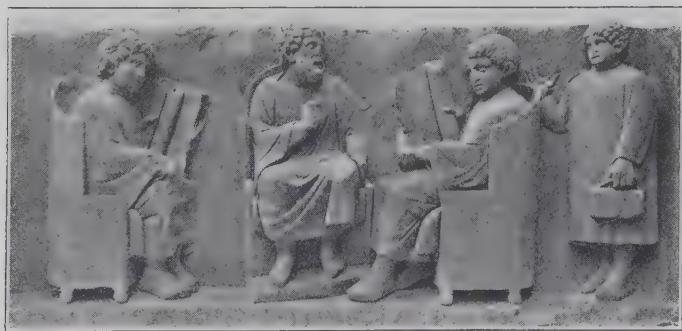
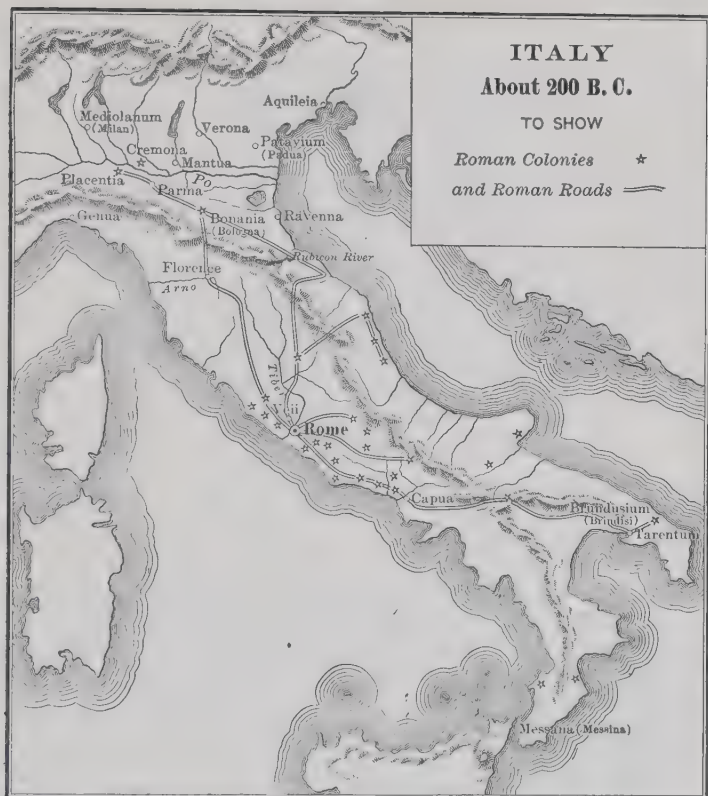
Still, so long as Rome's rule reached only over Italy, the general result was excellent — by far the best government for a large state that the world then had ever seen. Italy became consolidated under a queen-city, with all connecting ties radiating from that city. Even the *physical* ties — the famous *roads* that marked her dominion, and helped hold it together, "all led to Rome."

Why was Rome able to unite Italy? Her central position helped, no doubt. But what were the qualities in the Romans themselves that led to her success? *They were brave soldiers, but so were the peoples they conquered. They were patriotic,*

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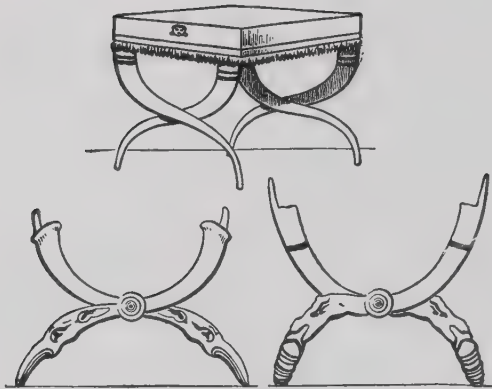
<sup>1</sup> The calamities of great wars between large states strike our imagination, but, especially in ancient times, they caused infinitely less woe than did the everlasting petty wars between small neighbors, with pillage and slaughter diffused everywhere. Roman supremacy put an end, for the first time, to such wasting strife in Italy.





ROMAN SCHOOL. — The outer roll of each papyrus "book" is broken off in this relief. The standing boy holds a case containing writing tablets.





THE CURULE CHAIR (see page 228). The details below the chair show how the legs of ivory were fastened into the seat and how each pair of legs was held together.



*Ewing Galloway*

THE APPIAN WAY TO-DAY.—Every great road leading out from a Roman city was lined for miles by tombs and funeral monuments. The “reconstruction” facing 326 gives an idea of how those along the Appian way looked in Roman times. This view shows some of the ruins.

but, so far as we know, the peoples they conquered were just as much so. Bravery and patriotism are the commonest virtues among barbarous peoples. But Romans had one quality not common in the ancient world: they had what we sometimes call "political sense," or "genius for government." Quite possibly this quality had grown out of the necessity for the three early tribes on the three hills (page 206) to learn to work together by peaceful compromise.

Rome won her battles by virtue of geographical position and of capacity for team work; and afterward she held what she had conquered, not mainly by superior force, but because her rule was intelligent and wise and (on the whole) just and generous.

## II. ROADS AND ARMY

Roman roads were bonds of union. They were built originally to make it easier for the army to march quickly from point to point, but they became even more important for peaceful intercourse and trade. The system of roads was begun in 312 B.C. when the Appian Way was built southward into Magna Graecia as far as Rome had then conquered. This road was the work of the Censor<sup>1</sup> Appius Claudius, the man who fifty years later (old and blind) was to defy haughtily the conquering Pyrrhus and claim dominion over all the peninsula for Rome (page 219). Later, all Italy, and finally the growing empire outside Italy, was traversed by a network of such highways.

Nothing was permitted to obstruct the course of these roads. Mountains were tunneled; rivers were bridged; marshes were spanned by viaducts of masonry. The construction was slow and costly. First the workmen removed all loose soil down to some firm layer, preferably the native rock. Then was laid a layer of large stones, then one of smaller, and at least one more of smaller ones still, — all bound together — some two feet in thickness — by an excellent cement. The top was then leveled carefully and paved smoothly with huge slabs of rock fitted to one another with the greatest nicety, so that the surface some-

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<sup>1</sup> Censors were a new kind of officers that the patricians had set up during their struggle with the plebeians to take over parts of the power of the consuls, when it became plain that plebeians were soon to become eligible to that office. Cf. page 227.

times seemed one vast flat stone. Remains of these roads in good condition to-day still "mark the lands where Rome has ruled."

This is the natural place to consider also **the army** of the Early Republic. Under the kings the army had been similar to the old Dorian organization, — a dense hoplite array, usually eight deep. In Greece the next step was to deepen and close the ranks still further into the *massive phalanx*. In Italy, instead, they were broken up into three successive lines, and each



IRON HEAD OF A JAVELIN. — Such a head was about three feet long, and it was fitted into a wooden shaft of the same length. Each soldier carried two javelins.

line was divided further into small companies (ten in each line), forming the *flexible legion*.

The phalanx depended upon long spears. While it remained unbroken and could present its front, it was invulnerable; but if disordered by uneven ground, or if taken in flank, it was doomed. The legion used the hurling javelin to disorder the enemy's ranks before close fighting (as moderns have used musketry, and, more recently, cannon and high explosives), and then it used the famous Roman short sword (pages 202, 210) for close combat, as moderns have used the bayonet. Flexibility and individuality took the place of the collective lance thrust of the unwieldy phalanx.

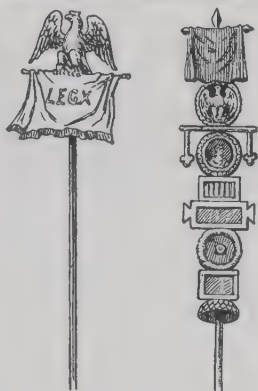
The companies were *usually* six men deep, with twenty in each of the six ranks; and between each two companies there was a space, usually narrow but sometimes equal to the front of a company. Thus, if one line fell back, the companies of the line behind could advance through the intervals. Within a company, too, each soldier had about twice the space permitted in the phalanx. Different conditions required some variations in the arrangements, but, as a rule, the front rank contained the raw recruits; experienced soldiers made up the second line of companies; and the third line contained only veterans, usually held in reserve to deliver a decisive blow at a critical moment in the battle.

The legion was made up of 5000 heavy-armed Roman citizens,<sup>1</sup> accompanied by about 5000 *auxiliaries* from the Allies, to serve on the wings as light-armed troops and as cavalry.

The Roman camp was characteristic of a people whose colonies were garrisons. Where the army encamped — even if for only a single night — there grew up in an hour a fortified city, with earth walls and regular streets. This system allowed the Romans often “to conquer by sitting still,” declining or giving battle at their own option; while, too, when they did fight, they did so with a fortified and guarded refuge in their rear. The importance of these camps as the sites of future cities is shown by the frequency of the Roman word *castra* (camp) in English place-names, as in *Chester*, *Rochester*, *Winchester*, *Dorchester*, *Manchester*.

### III. THE GOVERNMENT

The officers of the Republic had gradually increased in number. Those of chief dignity, from least to greatest, were: *aediles* (two), with oversight over police and public works; *praefors* (two), with the chief judicial power; *consuls* (two), leaders in war and in foreign policy; *censors* (two), with power to appoint and to degrade senators, with control over public works, and with supreme oversight over morals; *dictator* (one,



ROMAN STANDARDS.—Each legion had a distinctive standard, but almost every standard had an eagle somewhere in its insignia—so that one could speak of “rallying to the eagles” as we speak of “rallying to the flag.” The left-hand standard in this cut claims to be that of the Tenth legion. The other belongs to a late period, and, below the eagle, it carries a carved head of some ruler.

<sup>1</sup> For defensive armor, a legionary wore (1) a bronze helmet; (2) a corselet, of interwoven leather straps holding a plate of iron; (3) a short leather skirt, strengthened with metal plates, hanging lower than the corselet; (4) metal greaves on the legs; and (5) on the left arm an oblong shield with a convex surface. See page 210.

and in critical times only). These five offices were called *curule offices*, because the holders kept the right to use the curule chair — the ivory “throne” of the old kings. (See facing page 225.) There were also eight *quaestors* (in charge of the treasury and with some judicial power) and the ten *tribunes*.

The old Assemblies continued to exist side by side, but **the tribes had become far more important than the centuries.** The Centuriate Assembly still elected consuls, censors, and praetors, but the Tribal Assembly chose all other officers and made laws. In 287, too, after a sharp clash, the tribes took from the Senate its old power to veto the plebiscites of their Assembly.

In reality, however, the Senate remained the guiding force in the government. It contained the wisdom and the experience of Rome. War with other countries was constant and dangerous, and, even in peace, foreign relations were growing more and more complex. The people were glad to have the far-seeing, compact, experienced Senate assume authority which in theory belonged to the clumsy inexperienced Assembly. “Rome became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms.”

Each magistrate expected, after his brief term of office, to become permanently a member of the Senate. Therefore he guarded its dignity and dreaded its anger. Thus, as the magistrate controlled the Assemblies, so the Senate controlled the magistrate. No consul would think of bringing a law before the people without the previous approval of the Senate (so that indirectly that body, rather than the Assembly, had become the real legislature). As a last resort, it could usually count upon one or more of the ten tribunes, and could block any action it disliked by his veto. No officer would draw money from the treasury without the Senate's consent. It declared and managed wars. It received ambassadors and made alliances. And certainly, for over a hundred years, by its sagacity and energy, this “assembly of kings” (as an ambassador from Pyrrhus once called it) justified its usurpation, earning from a great



German historian the epithet, "the foremost political corporation of all time."

Moreover, a new aristocracy had appeared — even before the old patrician aristocracy had fully merged with the common people. Each curule official, by law, handed down to his descendants the right to keep upon the walls of their living rooms the wax masks of ancestors, and to carry them in a public procession at the funeral of a member of the family. A chief part of such a funeral was an oration commemorating the virtues and deeds of the ancestors whose images were present (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 19). Families with this privilege were called *nobles* ("the known").

Soon these nobles became jealous of the admission of "new men" to their ranks, and their united influence usually controlled nearly all curule elections in favor of some member of their own order. To make this easier, they secured a law fixing the order in which these offices could be attained: no one could be elected aedile until he had held the quaestorship, nor praetor till he had been aedile, nor consul till he had been praetor. Then the nobles had to watch only the election of quaestors.

Since senators had to be appointed from those who had held curule offices, each "noble" family was sure to have a senator among its near relatives, if not in its own home. "Nobles" became equivalent to the *senatorial order*, and that order was practically a hereditary oligarchy of a few hundred families.

#### IV. ROMAN SOCIETY IN ITS BEST AGE

From 367 to about 200 B.C. is the period of greatest Roman vigor. The old class distinctions had died out, and the new aristocracy of office was still in its "age of service." There was soon to come a new struggle between rich and poor — but this had not yet begun.

The Roman citizens, in the main, patrician or plebeian by descent, were still yeomen farmers, who worked hard and lived plainly. The rapid gain in territory after 367 made it possible to turn poor Romans into landowners — in a colony, if not near

Rome. Each farmer tilled his few acres with his own hands and the help of his own sons. Every eighth day he came to the city with a load for "market," — horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, wheat, barley, or garden vegetables and fruit, — beans, onions, turnips, cabbages, figs, olives, apples, plums, and pears.

**There was little wealth and little extreme poverty.** *Manius Curio*, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus, was a peasant. Plutarch tells us that, though he had "triumphed" thrice,<sup>1</sup> he continued to live in a cottage on a little three-acre plot which he tilled with his own hands. Here once some Samnite ambassadors found him dressing turnips in the chimney corner, when they came to offer him a large present of gold — hoping to win his support for certain requests they were soon to make to the Roman government. Curio refused the gift: "A man," said he, "who can be content with this supper hath no need of gold; and I count it glory, not to possess wealth, but to rule those who do." This sober history quite matches the less trustworthy legend of *Cincinnatus* of the fifth century, called from the plow on his three-acre farm to become dictator and save Rome from a hostile invasion, and returning to the plow again, all in sixteen days.

In the city itself, as no doubt in all Italian towns, **the craftsmen were organized in "unions" (*gilds*)**. These gilds were not for the purpose of raising wages, as our labor unions are, nor mainly for improving the character of the work, as in later centuries in Europe. They were associations for friendly intercourse and mutual helpfulness among the members, and they illustrate the extraordinary Roman capacity for teamwork, — in contrast to the individuality of Greek life.

**Commerce (*trade with other lands*)** was growing fast, especially toward the close of the period. It paid huge profits to those successful adventurers who did not too often lose vessels by shipwreck or pirates. The few rich Romans long disdained the business for themselves; but they early began to use their capital in it through their slaves or former slaves; and toward 200 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> For a Roman triumph, see page 260 f.

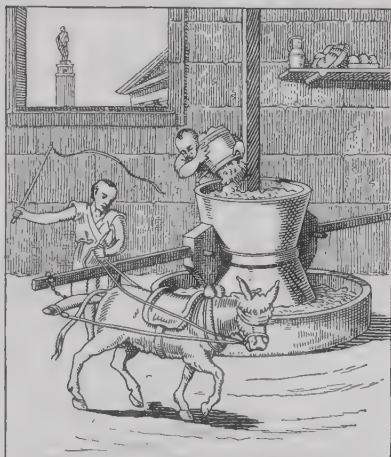
their profits began to build up a new class of merchants and money-kings.

The oldest Latin word for money (*pecunia*, from which comes our *pecuniary*) came from the word for herd (*pecus*). This points to a time when payments were made chiefly in cattle (page 204). Next, the Romans began to "*estimate*" value in copper (*aes*), counting by the pound weight; and then they soon made smaller copper coins, each one twelfth of a pound (an old Babylonian unit of weight). Such a coin was an "*uncia*,"—one *ounce* (Troy weight). Silver was not used at Rome either for money or for household purposes until after the union of Italy.

**The family and religion as yet showed little change** from the early state described in pages 207–209. *The house* had added rooms on sides and

rear, and openings for windows, but it was still exceedingly simple, like the life within. A plain table, wooden couches, and a few stools and simple cooking utensils comprised the furniture. Artificial warmth and light were secured by braziers and lamps, like those of the Greeks (page 151). The Roman took his chief meal at midday, not in the evening, as the Greeks did.

In early times the main food was a "porridge" of ground meal or pease boiled in water. ("Pease porridge in the pot nine days



ROMAN GRIST MILL. — The modern artist has skillfully added details to help our imagination,—the slaves, the blindfolded donkey, the view through the window; but we know the Romans of the later Republic did use mills such as the one here pictured. The grain runs down between two great millstones, the upper one being turned upon the lower by means of power applied to a long lever. This permitted the use of animal instead of human power. See pages 23, 79, and 654.

old " was to remain a chief food for the poor in Europe for hundreds of years.) Pork, especially in the form of sausage, was the favorite meat. Bread, from ground wheat or barley, was baked in flat, round cakes. Water or milk was the common drink, but wine mixed with water was coming into general use, after the fashion of the Greeks. The Romans who defeated Pyrrhus were still a frugal, temperate people.



CONFERRING THE TOGA. — When a boy reached the age of fifteen, the Roman father clothed him in a man's toga. This event was the occasion for a joyous family celebration. In this picture (by a modern artist) the abandoned hoop signifies that the young man has put away his boyhood toys.

**Dress was as simple as the food.** The Roman kept the primitive *loin cloth* of linen, such as we noted in old Egyptian pictures (page 27). Over this he drew a short-sleeved woolen shirt (*tunic*) falling to the knees. This made the common dress of the house, workshop, and field. In public the Roman wore an outer garment — a white woolen blanket, thrown about him in graceful folds. This was the famous *toga*, borrowed from the old Etruscans. Women wore a long and a short tunic, and, for

the street, a blanket-wrap distinctly different from the men's toga. Foot-gear was like that of the Greeks. Stockings and hats were alike unknown. Women were fond of jewelry, — rings, bracelets, pins, and chains; and each man wore a seal-ring. Members of the senatorial families wore also broad gold rings.

**Education** was elementary. Until seven, the children were in the mother's care. After that age, boys from well-to-do families went to a private school, taught usually by some Greek slave. (Until nearly the close of the period there were not many slaves, and only in wealthy households.) As in Greece, the pupil was attended by a "pedagogue." He learned merely to read, to write, and, in a limited degree, to use numbers. (The clumsy Roman numerals made work in arithmetic difficult. Try to divide CCCXLVII by LXXIV — without *thinking* in our Arabic figures). The only textbook was the Twelve Tables, which were learned by heart. Physical training was found in athletic games in the Campus Martius (facing 206), where the young Romans contended in running, in wrestling, and in the use of spear, sword, and javelin.



ROMAN MATRON, as sculptured  
on her tomb.

We have seen a village of rude shepherds and peasants grow into a city-state and then (by 266 B.C.) into the queen-city of united Italy. During the next hundred years Italy was to organize the fringes of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean into one "Roman world." But it was not Rome's genius in war, great as that was, which made the world Roman. *It was her political wisdom and her organizing power.* As Greece stands



for art and intellectual culture, so Rome stands for government and law. A little later her poet Vergil wrote :

Others, I grant, indeed, shall with more delicacy mold the breathing brass; from marble draw the features to the life; plead causes better; describe with a rod the courses of the heavens, and explain the rising stars. *To rule the nations with imperial sway be thy care, O Roman.* These shall be thy arts: to impose terms of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud.

Besides their own contributions to civilization, the Greeks had *collected* the arts and science of the older Oriental peoples. Rome, aside from her gift of political institutions, was to *preserve and pass on* this common treasure of mankind. The Roman world, as the historian Freeman well says, is the central "*lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves, and which all the streams of modern history flow out of.*"

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 14-19, with the admirable introductions and notes.

#### EXPLANATIONS AND EXERCISES

1. The early Roman numerals were *pictures*. I, II, III (and IIII, as that number was at first written) are easily recognized as uplifted fingers. V is the extended hand, and X is the two hands crossed. C and M (initial letters of Latin words for *hundred* and *thousand*) came into use much later. So did the complex rule for writing a smaller numeral in front of a larger one — as IV for *five-less-one*.

2. The legion, as described on page 226, usually had ten "companies" in each of its three "lines." Can you then draw a diagram of a legion in battle array?

3. If you had been a citizen of the Roman state in 250 B.C., to which of the three classes of citizens would you have preferred to belong? List the reasons for your preference. If you had had to be an inhabitant of a city subject to Rome, why would you have preferred to be a "Latin colonist" rather than any other kind of subject?

4. Compare Roman dress (as described on page 232 f.) with Greek dress.

## CHAPTER XVII

### ROME WINS THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD 264-146 B.C.

#### I. THE WINNING OF THE WEST

##### ROME AND CARTHAGE

In 264 B.C. Italy was one of five great Mediterranean states. Alexander the Great had been dead nearly fifty years, and the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean world was divided among the three great Greek kingdoms, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia*, with their numerous satellites (page 178 f.). In the western Mediterranean, *Carthage* had held undisputed sway. Between the three powers of the East and that mistress of the West now stood forth the new state, *Roman Italy*.

*Carthage* was an ancient Phoenician colony (page 56), on the finest harbor in North Africa. Her government was in form a republic, somewhat like Rome, but in reality a still narrower oligarchy, controlled by a few wealthy families. Polybius, the great Greek historian of the age, called her the richest city in the world. She had built up a vast empire, including North Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, half of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. In Africa alone she ruled three hundred cities, and her territory merged into the desert where tributary nomads roamed. The western Mediterranean she regarded as a Punic<sup>1</sup> lake: foreign sailors caught trespassing there were cast into the sea. But the Greeks of South Italy had traded in those waters for five hundred years; and Rome, now mistress and protector of those Greek cities, was bound to defend their trading rights against this Carthaginian "closed door" policy.

<sup>1</sup> "Punic" is another form for "Phoenician," and is used as a shorter adjective for "Carthaginian."

Carthage herself is "a dumb actor on the stage of history." She once had poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but none of it escaped Roman hate, to tell us how Carthaginians thought and felt. Her Roman foes represented her as wanting in honesty, and invented the term "Punic faith" as a synonym for treachery. But, even from the Roman story, the charge of faithlessness and greed is most apparent against Rome.

However, the civilization of Carthage was Oriental rather than European. Her religion was the cruel and licentious worship of the Phoenician Baal and Astarte. Her armies were a motley mass of mercenaries. And though, like the mother Phoenician states, she scattered wide the seeds of a material culture, like them, also, she showed no power of assimilating inferior nations. The conquests of Rome were to be Romanized, *but six centuries of Punic rule had left the Berber tribes of Africa wholly outside Carthaginian civilization.*

Thus, whatever our sympathy for Carthage and her hero leaders, we must see that the struggle between Rome and Carthage was in many ways a struggle between European and Oriental civilization. *It was the conflict of Greece and Persia repeated on a western stage.*

Carthage was mistress of an empire huge but scattered and heterogeneous. Rome was the head of a small but compact nationality. Each state ruled about five million people. Carthage was strong in her wealth and her navy. She had four weaknesses. (1) Her ruling families were jealous of their own successful generals, fearing lest one of them make himself king. (2) Her mercenary armies felt no loyalty except to a general and to their pay. (3) Her subjects were always ready to seize any promising chance to revolt. (4) An invading army, after one victory, would find no resistance outside her walls — since her jealousy had leveled the defenses of her tributary towns.

Rome was strong in the patriotism and vigor of her people, in the discipline of her legions, and in the fidelity of her walled "Allies." An invader must conquer not merely one city, but many. Her weakness lay in her lack of a navy and in the

fact that her army of yeomen soldiers could not very well be kept in the field more than a few months at a time, while even her generals (the consuls) were likely to be changed each year.

### FIRST PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SICILY")

The *occasion* for the First Punic War was found in Sicily. Sicily is really a continuation of the Italian peninsula. It reaches to within ninety miles of the African coast. A sunken ridge on the bed of the sea shows that it once joined the two continents, and it still forms a stepping-stone between them. For this middle land, European and African struggled for centuries. For two hundred years now, it had been divided, Syracuse holding the eastern half, Carthage the western. (Cf. page 115 f.) A minor quarrel gave Rome an excuse for taking a hand, and in 264 B.C. Roman legions for the first time crossed the sea.

The war lasted twenty-three years. Carthage had warned the Roman Senate that, against her will, "no Roman could wash his hands in the sea." For a time she almost made good that proud boast, ravaging the coasts of Italy at will. Even when Rome began to build warships (drawing them at first mainly from her "Allies" in Magna Graecia), several terrible disasters befell her because of the inexperience and lack of seamanship of her commanders. In swift succession, she lost four great fleets with large armies on board. A sixth of her citizens of military age had perished, and her treasury was empty. She was saved, however, by the public spirit of her citizens. Lavish loans from rich Roman merchants<sup>1</sup> fitted out another fleet of two hundred vessels, and this huge armament at last won an overwhelming victory which gave Rome secure command of the sea.

Carthage could no longer reënforce her armies in Sicily, and her commerce was being ruined by Roman warships. In 241 B.C. she sued for peace. To obtain it she paid a heavy war indemnity

<sup>1</sup> The Republic promised to repay these loans when it should be able to do so; but it could give no security, and, if Rome had been defeated again, the merchants would never have been repaid. In that case, however, Carthage would probably have taken most of their wealth anyway.

and withdrew from Sicily. That island passed under the rule of Rome, except for Syracuse, whose king (Hiero II) had been an ally of Rome in the war.



SILVER COIN OF HIERO II OF SYRACUSE.

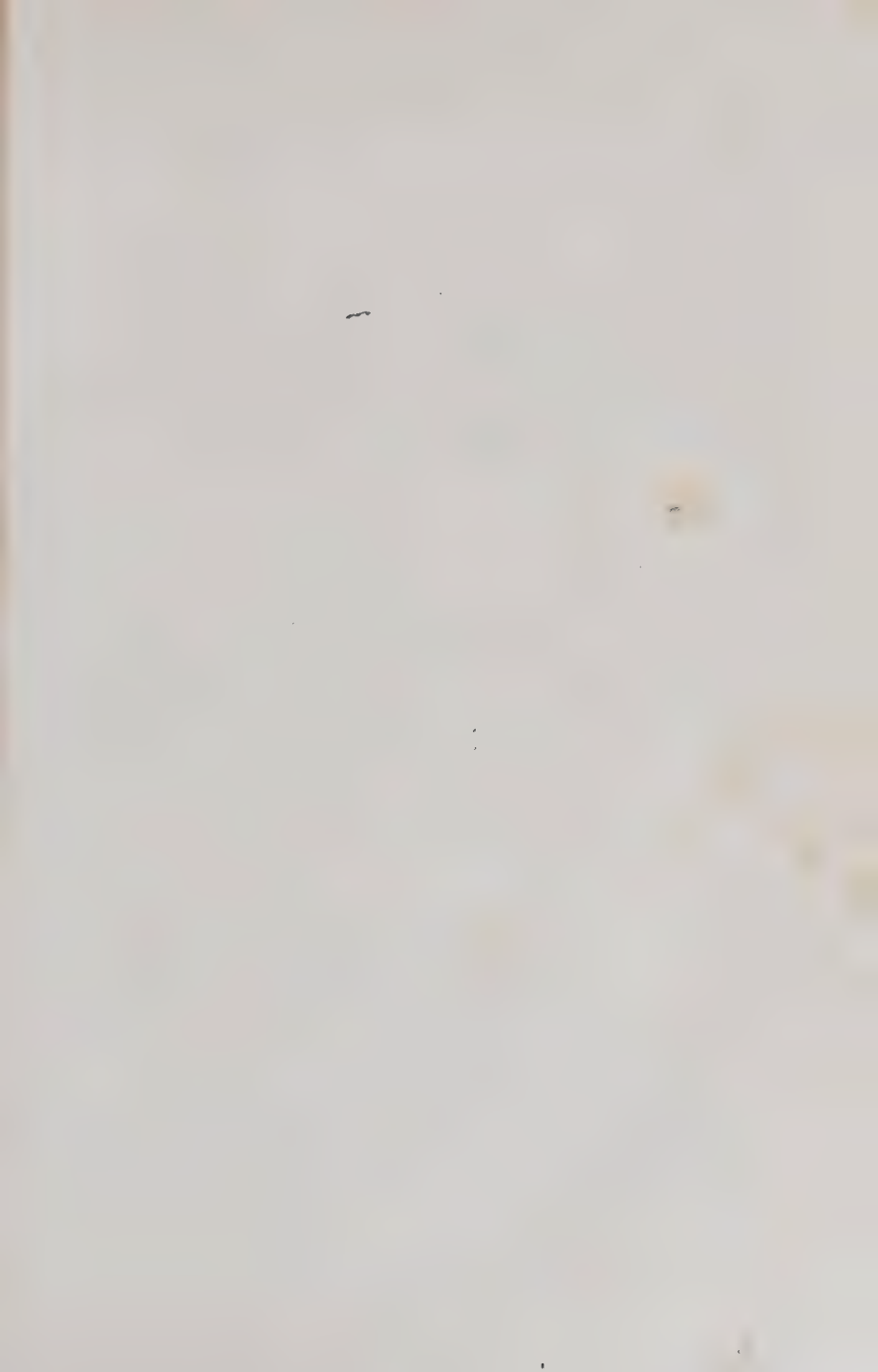
### HOW ROME USED THE REST PERIOD

It was plain that there was likely to be **another and more decisive struggle between Rome and Carthage**, but that **conflict did not come for twenty-three years**. Meantime, Rome pushed wider the borders of Italy. By a base mingling of treachery and violence, she seized Sardinia and Corsica from war-weary Carthage; and, provoked by Illyrian pirates, she established order in all the coasts of the Adriatic. **These events made Italy completely mistress of the seas that bordered her coasts.**

Still more important was an advance on the north. Rome had begun to plant colonies in the part of Cisalpine Gaul which she had conquered (page 219). The Gauls were alarmed and angered, and, in 225, for the last time they threatened Italy. They penetrated to within three days' march of Rome; but Italian patriotism rallied around the endangered capital, and the barbarians were crushed. **By 222, all Cisalpine Gaul had become a Roman possession**, garrisoned by numerous colonies and traversed by a great military road. *At last Rome had pushed her northern boundary from the low Apennines to the great crescent wall of the Alps.*

**In organizing her new conquests**, Rome was for a time less successful. *All her conquests since the war with Pyrrhus — Cisalpine Gaul as truly as the islands — were looked upon as outside*









...n of the Seleucidæ had  
 ...ter extent to the East  
 ...shown on this map.

from 20 Greenwich 25 30 35



*Italy* (page 199). Their distance seemed to Rome to forbid for these districts the liberal government given to the "Allies" in Italy. Rome failed at this point to invent a new form of government to match the new needs, and she fell back upon the poorest sort of government she had ever used. All the vast new acquisitions she ruled henceforth much as she had ruled the three or four little prefectures in Italy. Two additional praetors, it was decided, should be elected each year, one to govern Sicily, the other to govern Cisalpine Gaul; and these conquered districts received the new name of *provinces*.

### SECOND PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SPAIN")

**The Second Punic War was often called by the Romans "the War with Hannibal."** The most brilliant Carthaginian general in the first war had been Hamilcar, surnamed *Barca* ("the lightning"). Rome's high-handed treachery in Sardinia bred in him a deathless hatred for his old enemy, and he began at once to prepare for another conflict. To offset the loss of the great Mediterranean islands, he sought to extend Carthaginian dominion over Spain — on whose coasts Carthage already had several trading stations. The mines of that country, he saw, would furnish the needful wealth; and its hardy tribes, when disciplined, would make an infantry which might meet even the legions of Rome. *detained by Hannibal etc.*

When Hamilcar was about to cross to Spain, in 236, he swore his son *Hannibal* at the altar to eternal hostility to Rome. Hannibal was then a boy of nine years. He followed Hamilcar to the wars, and, as a youth, became a dashing cavalry officer and the idol of the soldiery. He used his camp leisure to store his mind with the culture of Greece. At twenty-six he succeeded to the command in Spain, where he had already won the devotion and love of his fickle, mercenary troops.

Hamilcar had made the rich south of Spain a Carthaginian province. Hannibal rapidly carried the frontier to the Ebro, collected a magnificent army of over a hundred thousand men, and besieged Saguntum, an ancient Greek colony, which had



already sought Roman alliance. Then, in alarm and anger, Rome declared war (218 B.C.).

Rome had intended to take the offensive. But, with audacious rapidity, Hannibal in five months had crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, fighting his way through the Gallic tribes; forced the unknown passes of the Alps, under conditions that made it a feat paralleled only by Alexander's passage of the Hindukush; and, leaving the bones of three fourths of his army between the Ebro and the Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with 26,000 "heroic shadows."

With these "emaciated scarecrows" Hannibal swiftly destroyed two Roman armies which had been gathered hurriedly and sent to meet him in Cisalpine Gaul. Then the recently pacified Gallic tribes rallied turbulently to swell his ranks. The next spring he crossed the Apennines, ambushed a Roman army of 40,000 men, blinded with morning fog, near *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it, and carried fire and sword through Italy.

**Quintus Fabius Maximus** was now named dictator, to save Rome. That wary old general adopted the wise policy of delay ("Fabian policy") to wear out Hannibal. He would not give battle, but he followed close at the Carthaginian's heels, from place to place. Even Hannibal could not catch Fabius unawares, and he did not dare to attack the intrenched Roman camps. But he had to win victories to draw the Italian "Allies" from Rome, or he would have to flee from Italy. So far, not a city in Italy had opened its gates to him.

But in Rome many of the common people murmured impatiently, nicknaming Fabius *Cunctator* (the Laggard), and popular leaders began to charge the Senate with drawing out the war purposely so as to keep more power in the hands of aristocratic generals. So the following summer the new consuls were given 90,000 men — by far the largest army Rome had ever put in the field (several times as large as Hannibal's army) — with orders to crush the invader.

The result was the battle of Cannae — "a carnival of cold steel, a butchery, not a battle." Hannibal lost 6000 men.

Rome lost 60,000 dead and 20,000 prisoners. A consul, a fourth of the senators, nearly all the officers, and over a fifth of the fighting population of the city perished. Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings from the hands of fallen Roman nobles.

**Even this victory yielded little fruit.** The mountain tribes of the south, eager for plunder, did join Hannibal, as did one Italian city, *Capua*. Syracuse, too, renounced its Roman alliance, and joined its ancient enemy Carthage. But the other cities — colonies, Latins, or Allies — closed their gates against him as resolutely as Rome itself,<sup>1</sup> — and so gave marvelous testimony to the excellence of Roman rule and to the national spirit it had fostered.

The surviving consul, Varro, courageously set himself to reorganize the wreckage of his army, and he stifled a plot among some faint-hearted nobles in his camp to abandon Italy. Then he returned to Rome, expecting to face stern judges. He had been elected, in a bitter partisan struggle, as the champion of the democratic party, against the unanimous opposition of the aristocracy. Though an excellent man, he had proved utterly lacking in military talent, and his poor generalship was largely responsible for the disaster. At Carthage, a general so placed would have been nailed to a cross or thrown under the feet of enraged elephants. At Rome, faction was silenced, and the aristocratic Senate publicly gave thanks to the democratic and luckless general "because he had not despaired of the Republic."

In other ways, **Rome's greatness showed grandly in that hour of gloom.** With stern temper and splendid tenacity she refused even to receive Hannibal's envoys or to consider his moderate proposals for peace. Nor would she ransom prisoners. Much as she needed her soldiers back, she preferred to teach her citizens that they ought at such a time to die for the Republic rather than surrender.

A third of the adult males of Italy had fallen in battle within three years, or were in camp, so that all industry was demoral-

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<sup>1</sup> Three years later a cruel and blundering act by Rome did drive some of the Greek cities of South Italy to Hannibal's side.

ized. Still, taxes were doubled, and the rich gave cheerfully, even beyond these crushing demands. The days of mourning for the dead were shortened. Not a man was called back from Sicily or Spain. Instead *Rome sent out new armies to those places*; and, by enrolling slaves, old men, boys, and the criminals from the prisons (arming them with the sacred trophies in the temples), she managed to put two hundred and fifty thousand troops into the field. Moreover, the legions and generals sent to Spain, Sicily, and other distant lands were no longer recalled at the end of the year. They were enlisted "for the war."

**Hannibal was now in no peril in Italy.** But he made no more headway. The bulk of Rome's "Allies" held to her with steady loyalty. Hannibal had not force enough to capture any important walled town. So his only possible chances for success lay in arousing a general Mediterranean war against Rome, or in receiving himself strong reinforcements from Carthage or Spain. Philip V of Macedonia did ally himself with Hannibal, but he acted timidly and too late. Carthage showed a strange apathy when victory was within her grasp. She made no real attempt even to regain her ancient command of the sea, and so could not send troops to Hannibal, or defend her new ally, Syracuse, from Roman vengeance.

**Meantime Rome guarded her coasts with efficient fleets and strained every nerve for success outside Italy** — where Hannibal's superb genius could not act. Especially was Syracuse besieged promptly by land and sea. After three years (212 B.C.) that proud city was taken by storm. Precious works of art, accumulated slowly through several centuries, were destroyed or carried off as plunder by rude soldiers, and the large and cultured population was slaughtered or subjected to indescribable horrors. For a time the city was wiped from the map. (This barbarous cruelty to Syracuse was due in large measure to the greedy desire of Roman merchants to take for themselves the rich trade formerly carried on by that city. The siege was memorable, too, for the scientific inventions of Archimedes used

in the defense and for the death of that scientist. See page 192 and Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 27.)

**In Italy itself, Rome fell back upon iron constancy and steadfast caution.** The war became a long series of wasting sieges and marchings and counter marchings. Hannibal's genius shone as unsurpassed as ever, earning him from modern military critics the title, "Father of Strategy," but he found no more chance for dazzling victories. Meantime his African and Spanish veterans died off, and slowly the Romans learned from him how to wage war.

For thirteen years after Cannae Hannibal maintained himself in Italy without reënforcement in men or money, — always winning a battle when he could engage the enemy in the field, — and directing operations as best he might in Spain, Sicily, Macedonia, and Africa. But it was a war waged by one supreme genius against the most powerful and resolute nation in the world — and the genius was defeated after a sixteen years' war.

**One more dramatic scene marked the struggle in Italy.** The Romans had besieged Capua. In a daring attempt to relieve his ally, *Hannibal marched to the very walls of Rome*, ravaging the fields about the city. The Romans, however, were not to be enticed into a rash engagement, nor could the army around Capua be drawn from its prey. The only result of Hannibal's desperate stroke was the fruitless fright he gave Rome, — such that for generations Roman mothers stilled their children by the terror-bearing phrase, "Hannibal at the Gates!" Roman stories relate, however, that citizens were found, even in that hour of fear, to show a defiant confidence by buying eagerly at a public sale the land where the invader lay encamped. Hannibal finally drew off, and Capua fell, — to meet a fate more harsh even than that of Syracuse. Its leading men were massacred; most of the rest of the population were sold as slaves; and colonies of Roman veterans were planted on its lands.

**Hannibal's one remaining chance lay in reënforcements by land from his brother Hasdrubal, whom he had left in charge in Spain.** But for year after year, in spite of some great vic-

tories, Hasdrubal had been checked by the overwhelming forces Rome sent against him. Finally, in 208, he did elude the Roman Scipio. Rome's peril was never greater than when this second son of Barca crossed the Alps with 56,000 veteran soldiers. If the two Carthaginian armies joined, Hannibal could march at will through Italy, — and leading Latin colonies had already given Rome notice that they could not much longer endure the ravages of the war.

Rome put forth its supreme effort, and threw 150,000 men between the two Carthaginian armies. By chance, a messenger from Hasdrubal to his brother was captured, and his plans discovered, while Hannibal was left ignorant of his approach. The opportunity was used to the full. The consul, Claudius Nero, with audacity worthy of Hannibal himself, left a small part of his force to deceive that leader, and hurrying northward with the speed of life and death, joined the other consul and fell upon Hasdrubal with crushing numbers at the Metaurus. The ghastly head of his long-expected brother, flung into his camp with true Roman brutality, was the first notice to Hannibal of the ruin of his cause. (On all occasions, Hannibal had given chivalrous treatment to captives, and honorable burial to dead Roman generals.)

Hannibal still remained invincible in the mountains of southern Italy. But **Rome now carried the war into Africa.** After Hasdrubal left Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the Roman general there, rapidly subdued the whole peninsula, and, in 204, he persuaded the Senate to send him with a great army against Carthage itself. Two years later, to meet this peril, *Carthage recalled Hannibal.* That great leader obeyed sadly, "leaving the country of his enemy," says Livy, "with more regret than many an exile has left his own."

**The same year (202 B.C.) the struggle closed with Hannibal's first and only defeat,** at the battle of Zama (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 28). Carthage lay at the mercy of the victor, and sued for peace. She gave up Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean; surrendered her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten; paid a huge war indemnity, which was



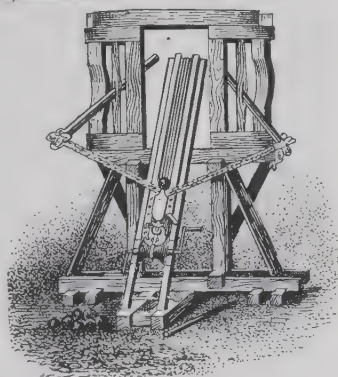
intended to keep her poor for many years; and became a dependent ally of Rome, promising to wage no war without Roman consent. Scipio received the proud surname *Africanus*.

Rome had been fighting for existence, but she had won world-dominion. *In the West no rival remained.* Her subsequent warfare there was to be only with unorganized barbarians. In the East, the result showed more slowly; but there, too, Roman conquest was now mainly a matter of time. No civilized power again invaded Italy; but, one by one, Rome absorbed into her dominion the kingdoms of Alexander's realms.

#### HOW SPAIN WAS ROMANIZED

In Spain Rome created two new provinces. The Roman governors proved rapacious and incompetent, and the warlike Spanish tribes were soon driven into a long war for independence.

The struggle was marked by the heroic leadership of the Spanish patriot, *Viriathus*, and by contemptible Roman baseness. A Roman general massacred a tribe which had submitted. Another general procured the assassination of Viriathus by hired murderers. Rome itself rejected treaties after they had saved Roman armies. Spanish towns, which had been captured after gallant resistance, were wiped from the face of the earth, so that other towns chose wholesale suicide rather than surrender to Roman cruelty.



A ROMAN CATAPULT for hurling darts or small metal balls (such as are shown here piled on the ground) with great force and considerable accuracy. Notice how the chain or rope ("string" of the bow) is drawn back into position by the use of a crank. The Romans had somewhat similar engines for discharging large rocks to beat down city walls.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also page 249. Probably these engines included the improvements made by Archimedes on earlier devices of this kind. Except "Greek fire" (page 389), nothing more effective appeared until the days of gunpowder — sixteen hundred years later.

Still, Roman conquest in the end was a blessing to Spain. The struggle in the most inaccessible districts went on until 133, but long before that year the greater part of the land had been Romanized. Traders and speculators flocked to the sea-ports. For more than half a century twenty thousand soldiers were left under arms in the province. These legionaries, quartered in Spain for many years at a time, married Spanish wives, and when relieved from military service, they gladly received lands in Spain, as a sort of pension, and settled down in military colonies, to spread Roman language and customs among the neighboring natives. No sooner were the restless interior tribes fully subdued than there appeared the promise — to be well kept later — that Spain would become “more Roman than Rome itself.” (In this same way, settlements of Italians were soon spread over other provinces, as they were conquered, one by one, to *Italianize the world*, as Roman colonies had formerly Romanized Italy.)

Meantime (about 188) Rome had secured a land road, through southern Gaul, from Italy to Spain. This was obtained in the main by friendly alliance with the ancient Greek city Massilia, but there was also some warfare with the native tribes, which laid the foundations for a new Roman province (the modern *Provence*) in South Gaul in the near future.

We have seen how the Punic wars, especially the war in Spain, with campaigns lasting year after year, had changed the character of the Roman army. Alongside the citizen army, raised as before year by year for summer campaigns, there had grown up a professional army, which was kept under arms, far from Italy, for many years.

A still more important change followed in politics. To call home a consul each year from an unfinished campaign in these distant wars was intolerably wasteful. So the commander's term of office was extended, with the title *pro-consul*, for a term of years. This title was often given also to the governors of provinces. The office soon became the most powerful one in the Republic.

## THIRD PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR AFRICA")

Even before Spain was pacified, hatred and greed had led Rome to seize the remaining realms of Carthage. That state had already been made harmless; but Roman fear was cruel, and her commercial envy was rapacious and reckless. So (after some fifty years) a long series of persecutions forced a needless conflict upon the unhappy Carthaginians. The Third Punic War was marked by *black perfidy on the part of Rome* and by the final *desperate heroism of Carthage*.

First, that city was called upon to surrender Hannibal to Roman vengeance.<sup>1</sup> Then it was vexed and injured by ceaseless aggressions on the part of Massinissa, Prince of Numidia, who, *encouraged by Rome*, seized piece after piece of the small territory that had been left to the city.

Time after time Carthage appealed to Rome for justice. Rome sent commissioners to act as arbiters — with secret orders in advance to favor Massinissa. These men, on their return to Rome, made still more intense the old fear of Carthage by their reports of its reviving wealth — a city with crowded streets, with treasury and arsenals full, and with a harbor thronged with shipping. One of the commissioners, the narrow-minded but zealous *Cato*, thereafter closed every speech in the Senate, no matter what the subject, with the phrase, *Delenda est Carthago* ("Carthage must be blotted out"). More quietly the Roman merchant class worked ceaselessly to the same purpose, so as to prevent Carthage from recovering her ancient trade in the Western Mediterranean.

Carthage cautiously tried to avoid giving any handle to Roman hate, but at last Rome snatched at a flimsy excuse to declare war. In vain, terrified Carthage offered complete submission. The Roman Senate promised that she should keep her independence if she complied with all Roman demands — but would

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<sup>1</sup> Hannibal escaped to the East. Roman petty hatred followed him from country to country, until, to avoid falling into Roman hands, he took his own life, "proving in a lifelong struggle with fate that success is in no way necessary to greatness."

not make those demands known until she should be at the mercy of a Roman army. **A huge Roman armament sailed for Carthage and played out an act of masterful treachery.**

First, at the demand of the Roman commander, Carthage sent as hostages to the Roman camp three hundred boys from the noblest families, amid the tears and outcries of the mothers. Then, on further command, the city dismantled its walls and stripped its arsenals, sending to the Roman army, in long lines of wagons, 3000 catapults and 200,000 stand of arms, with vast military supplies. Next the shipping was all surrendered. Finally, now that the city was supposed to be utterly defenseless, came the announcement that it must be destroyed and the people removed to some spot *ten miles inland*, away from the sea from which, from dim antiquity, they had drawn their living.

Despair blazed into passionate wrath, and the Carthaginians chose death rather than ruin and exile. Carelessly enough, the Roman army remained at a distance for some days. Meanwhile the dismantled and disarmed town became one great workshop for war. Women gave their hair to make ropes for catapults; the temples were ransacked for arms, and torn down for timber and metal; and to the angry dismay of Rome, Carthage stood a four years' siege, holding out heroically against famine, pestilence, and war.

At last the legions forced their way over the walls. For seven days more the fighting continued from house to house, until at last a miserable remnant surrendered. The commander at the last moment made his peace with the Roman general; but his disdainful wife, taunting him from the burning temple roof as he knelt at Scipio's feet, slew their two boys and cast herself with them into the ruins.

For many days the city was given up to pillage. Then, *by express orders from Rome*, it was burned to the ground, and its site was plowed up, sown to salt, and cursed (146 B.C.). What was left of its ancient territory was made the Roman Province of Africa, with the capital at Utica.

Roman fear and Roman greed had combined to "blot out" Carthage. To carry out this crime fell to the lot of one of the



purest and noblest characters Rome ever produced, — *Publius Scipio Aemilianus*, the nephew and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus, known himself as *Africanus the Younger*. As he watched the smoldering ruins (they burned for seventeen days)



ROMAN ARMY STORMING A TOWN. — Notice the two hurling engines, one of which throws huge stones fit to batter down city walls. At the back of the picture is a tall tower on rollers (filled with Roman soldiers) which has been pushed up against one of the city towers. Roman soldiers are trying to scale the walls in one place by using long ladders, some of which the citizens throw down.

with his friend Polybius the historian, Scipio spoke his fear that some day Rome might suffer a like cruel destruction, repeating Homer's lines,

Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,  
The day when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend  
And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, gives a large part of the story of the Punic Wars from old Roman historians. The most valuable Number, in the opinion of the author of this textbook, is 27 (relating to Archimedes and the siege of Syracuse).

EXPLANATION. — A Roman had at least three names. The clan name was the *nomen*, the most important of the three; it came in the middle. The third (the *cognomen*) marked the family. The first (*praenomen*)



was the individual name (like our baptismal name). Then a Roman often received also a surname for some achievement or characteristic. Thus *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus* (the elder Africanus) was the individual Publius of the Scipio family of the great Cornelian gens, *surnamed* Africanus for his conquest of Africa. The first name was often abbreviated or omitted. The most common of these abbreviations were: C. for Caius (Gaius); Cn. for Gnaeus; L. for Lucius; M. for Marcus; P. for Publius; Q. for Quintus; T. for Titus.

## II. THE WINNING OF THE EAST (201-146 B.C.)

The fifty years following the Second Punic War saw Rome expand continuously in both West and East. The two stories, however, had little connection and can best be treated separately. The expansion in the West has been described in the last few pages. Now we turn to that in the East.

We have said that Philip V of Macedonia made a treaty of alliance with Hannibal toward the close of the Second Punic War — though he did not take any active part in the struggle.



GOLD COIN OF PHILIP V OF MACEDONIA. The reverse represents Athene hurling the lightning.

As soon as that struggle was over, however, **Rome took advantage of the excuse to attack Macedonia.** The decisive battle was fought in 196 B.C. at *Cynoscephalae* (Dogs' heads) in Thessaly. The two armies, nearly equal in size, met by chance in mist and rain, and the result was due, not to generalship, but to the fighting qualities of the soldiery. *The flexible legion proved its superiority over the unwieldy Greek phalanx.* The Roman loss was 700; the Macedonian, 13,000.

Macedonia sank at once into a second-rate power, under the control of Rome, and was compelled to "set free" most of her

possessions outside her own borders. After so freeing the Greek states from Macedonia, Rome gave them the name of allies, though they had really been made *protectorates*. That is, Rome controlled all the relations of each one of them with foreign powers, leaving them, however, full control over their own internal affairs.

Rome, therefore, can hardly be blamed for her next war. Both Egypt and the Greeks now begged protection against Antiochus, King of Syria. Rome sincerely dreaded a conflict with the "Great King," the "Lord of Asia." But the struggle proved easy and brief. **In 190, Roman legions for the first time invaded Asia, and at Magnesia, in Lydia, shattered the power of Syria.** That kingdom was reduced in territory and power, somewhat as Macedonia had been. *Rome still kept no territory for herself, but rewarded her allies with gifts of territory.*



ANTIOCHUS III, — from one of his coins. Compare with Hiero on page 238, to see the Greek character.

Thus, in eleven years (200–190 B.C.) after the close of the Second Punic War, Rome had made all the realms of Alexander's successors into dependent states or protectorates. She had set out deliberately to conquer the West but had hesitated to attack the civilized and older East. The weakness of the degenerate Eastern states, however, drew her on. The East had become an "intolerable hubbub," from which men's eyes turned with wonder and hope "to the stable and well-ordered Republic of the West."

An interesting illustration of this feeling of the small Oriental states for Rome at this time is found in Jewish history. Antiochus of Syria sought ardently to Hellenize completely all parts of his dominions. In Judah he felt himself thwarted by the strong national feeling of the people and especially by the Jewish religion. So he ordered the Jews to exchange their worship for that of the Greeks, and he even dedicated to Zeus the Temple which Solomon had built to Jehovah. This sacrilege drove the

gallant little people into revolt, under the hero Judas Maccabeus (168 B.C.). Josephus, a Jewish historian (page 323), tells how this leader naturally turned his eyes toward Rome (*1 Maccabees*, viii) :

And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, — that they are valiant men . . . and that with their friends they keep friendship. . . . Moreover, whomsoever they will to succor and to make kings, these do they make kings; and whomsoever they will, do they depose; and, for all this, none of them ever did put on a diadem, neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified thereby . . . and how they had made for themselves a Senate-House, and day by day three hundred men sat there in council, consulting alway for the people . . . and how they commit their government to one man year by year [the consuls] . . . and all are obedient to that one; and neither is there envy nor emulation among them.

Soon, however, Rome ceased to deserve such praise — if ever she had deserved it — and began to annex territory in the civilized East, as before in the barbarous West. By 146 B.C. this change was well under way, — to go on for a century. Appetite for power grew with its exercise. A class of ambitious nobles craved new wars of conquest for the sake of glory and power; and the growing class of merchants and money lenders (who now indirectly dominated the government) hungered raveningly for conquests in order to secure trade monopolies and the management of finances in new provinces. Thus to extend her sway in the East, where at first she had hesitated so modestly, Rome sank to violence and perfidy as high-handed and as base as had marked her treatment of Carthage in the West.

We can note here only **three chief steps in the long process of Eastern annexation.**

1. Rome's gentle treatment of the Greeks after the Macedonian War (page 251) was due to admiration for Greek civilization. But this feeling was soon lost in contempt for Greek fickleness and weakness — and in greed for Greek riches. On their side the Greek cities at first welcomed Rome joyfully as a guardian of Hellenic liberty. But arrogant Roman officials soon made them look back regretfully to the rule of Macedonia,

which at least had understanding and sympathy with Greek character and ways of thinking.

Perseus of Macedonia (son of Philip V) took advantage of this change of feeling in Greece to try a revolt against Rome, but the Roman victory of *Pydna* (168 B.C.) closed this last attempt at Macedonian independence.

2. After *Pydna*, Rome began to treat parts of Greece, too, like a conquered country. This goaded the Achaean League into a war for Greek independence. The complete Roman victory in 146 B.C. was marked by the destruction of *Corinth*—another of those commercial centers whose prosperity so roused the envy and hatred of Roman merchants. By express order of the Senate, the city was burned; its site plowed and cursed; and its people murdered or sold into slavery. The art-treasures became the plunder of the Roman state.

Much was lost. Polybius saw soldiers playing at dice, amid the smoking ruins, on the paintings of the greatest masters.

3. Even more base, though less bloody, was Rome's treatment, soon after, of *Rhodes* (page 178 f.). That city had committed absolutely no offense against Rome—except to grow swiftly in prosperity. Indeed she had been a faithful and trusting friend. But Roman merchants looked avariciously



RUINS AT CORINTH, as they appeared in 1905. The Roman destruction was so complete that the site of Corinth has yielded fewer remains from the earlier period to the modern excavator than almost any other famous ancient center. The building in the foreground was a temple of Apollo—the only Doric temple known whose columns are monoliths (each a single stone). In the background is the ancient acropolis of Corinth.

toward her widespread commerce throughout the Mediterranean, and a sham excuse was manufactured to rob her of her territories and her trade.

**In 264 B.C. Rome had been one of five Great Powers** (page 235). **In 146, she was the sole Great Power.** Carthage and Macedonia were provinces. Egypt and Syria had become protectorates and were soon to be provinces. All the smaller states had been brought within the Roman "sphere of influence." Rome held the heritage of Alexander as well as that of Carthage. *The civilized world had become a Graeco-Roman world, under Roman sway.*

**But Rome's relations with the two sections of her empire were widely different.** To the people of the West, despite terrible cruelties in war, she brought better order and higher civilization than they had known. The Western world became Latin. But to the last, the East remained Greek, not Latin, in language, customs, and thought. The Adriatic continued to divide the Latin and Greek civilizations when the two shared the world under the sway of Rome.

#### EXERCISES

1. Catch-word review (page 127) of Rome's expansion in the West from 264 to 146 B.C.

2. As in previous "time-order" tests, write the following terms in true time order, verifying your list afterward from the text: *Archimedes' death; Pyrrhus' campaigns in Italy; beginning of Punic Wars; Alexander's invasion of Asia; building of the Via Appia.*

3. Let five or six students each prepare similar time-order tests of five terms pertaining to Greek and Roman history for the period from 500 to 146 B.C. •

4. What was going on in Rome during the Age of Pericles in Greece?

5. Let some student present a special report (prepared from library material) on the story of Hannibal after Zama.

6. On the map facing 198 find the place of each battle of Hannibal in Italy, so far as named in this chapter. (Did you locate them as you read the story?)





ROMAN STREET in front of a food shop, — a reconstruction by Von Falke.



Every Roman city came to have its theater, or rather its *amphitheater* (two theaters back to back). Within the elliptical barriers was a sanded space (the *arena*) where took place various sports and contests. Around the arena rose tier upon tier of stone seats. This picture shows the ruin of the theater at Pompeii (page 302). At the further side you can see the opening into the cages whence wild beasts were let loose to play their parts in gladiatorial games (page 260). See also other amphitheaters where the structures are more complete, facing pages 260, 270. This ruin, however, gives a better idea of the general plan than those others. The most famous Roman amphitheater, known as the *Coliseum*, was not completed until 80 A.D.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### RISE OF NEW CLASS HATREDS, 146-49 B.C.

#### I

The Second Punic War alone cost Italy a million lives. These included the flower of the Roman citizens, — tens of thousands of high-souled youth, who, in peace, would have served the state through a long lifetime. The Italian race was made permanently poorer by that terrible hemorrhage. The long wars, in which Rome won the world, brought upon her also disastrous changes in the character and manners of her people — as we are now to see.

Conquest and war had hastened the growth of a capitalist class. By 146, Rome had become the money center of the world. The capitalists became known as *equites*, or “knights.” They formed a new and larger aristocracy of wealth just below the old senatorial aristocracy of office and birth. Very commonly they were organized in partnerships and stock companies, and the *Via Sacra*, along which such companies had many offices, was the first Wall Street. Some of these combinations monopolized the trade in important commodities — so as to raise the price unreasonably. Olive oil was a necessary part of Italian food, holding more than the place that butter does with us, and it had many other uses aside from food; so about 200 B.C., we find an “oil trust” at Rome. A few years later the people were so distressed by a speculators’ “corner” in grain<sup>1</sup> that the government felt it necessary to prosecute certain “malefactors of great wealth” under an ancient law of the

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<sup>1</sup> A man is said to “corner” any product when he gets control of so large a part of it (by purchase or by agreement) that no one else can get much of it except at his price.

Twelve Tables which, it was thought, might be taken to forbid such practices. Ordinarily, however, the capitalists went their extortionate ways without rebuke.

Some attempts were made to keep this new class from influencing the government. Senatorial families were forbidden by law to engage in foreign trade or in government contracts. But, in various indirect ways, the money power soon won control of the government.

This condition began with patriotic action of moneyed men in the Second Punic War (page 242). Year by year, during that desperate struggle, the Senate had to have immense sums of money such as the Roman treasury had never before known. The only way then to get such sums quickly was from the rising companies of capitalists. These companies risked their wealth generously to build the fleets and equip the armies with which Hannibal was held in check. Then, in return, when the danger was past, they demanded and obtained special favors. In particular, they were allowed to disregard the land provision of the Licinian Laws (page 216) and to take for their own the public lands. Some of them even robbed the state by contracts which enabled them to extort high payments for shoddy supplies, while others overinsured ships laden with army supplies, and then scuttled them, to collect the money from the government.

Moreover, the capitalists loaned money, perhaps without security, to ambitious young nobles to help them get elected to office; and in return, when one of these nobles became a provincial governor, he could easily induce a rich city to give fat contracts to his favorite Roman syndicate (as such a combination of capitalists is called), or he could enable the syndicate to squeeze from a debtor city the last penny of extortionate interest which its government had foolishly or wrongfully promised.

The syndicates were of no political party. Like "big business" in our own time, they sought to control or own every leader and party which might be able sometime to serve them. Moreover (much as in America to-day), small shares of the stock companies were widely distributed, so that the whole middle

class of citizens was interested in every prospect of enlarged dividends. Such citizens could be counted upon to support almost any project of the moneyed interests with their votes in the Assembly and with their shoutings in the street mobs.



ROMAN BANQUET — in the late days of the Republic. Three couches were arranged about each table in such a manner as to leave room for attendants to bring in food and wine. Romans prided themselves upon the costliness and beauty of their banqueting tables: gold inlay work or jewels for the tops and curiously carved legs. Very possibly the garlanded guests at this feast had spent the afternoon as spectators at the scene pictured facing 260.

**With all well-to-do classes the old simplicity and frugality gave way to sumptuous luxury.** Ever since the war with Pyrrhus, Greek culture from Magna Graecia had been more and more influencing Rome. A few Romans with strong minds, like the Scipios, were softened and refined by this influence, but as a rule it merely veneered the native Roman coarseness and brutality.

And after the conquest of the Greek East, there was a *new* inflow of Greek culture into Italy. Greek became the fashionable language; Greek marbles and pictures, plundered from Greek cities, adorned Roman palaces; Greek slaves wrote plays to amuse Roman nobles. There was a growing display in dress, in rich draperies and couches and other house furnishings, in the celebration of marriages, at funerals, and at the table. (The Romans now adopted the Greek custom of reclining at meals.) As the Roman Juvenal wrote later: "Luxury has fallen upon us — more terrible than the sword; the conquered East has avenged herself by the gift of her vices."

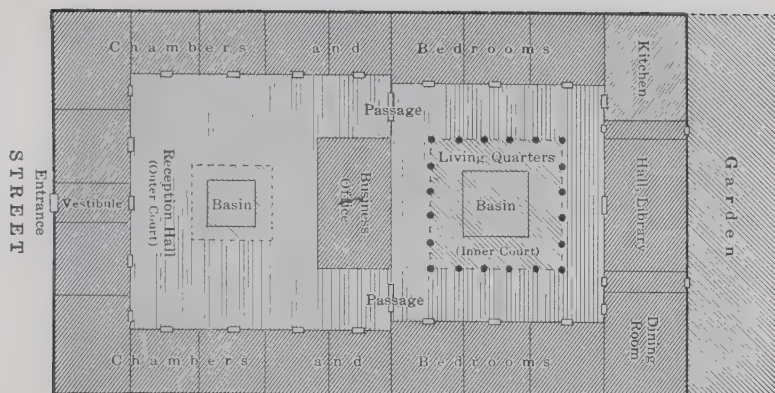


These changes, of course, were sometimes good. Thus **the houses of the well-to-do had come to imitate the Greek house.** We have already noticed (page 231) that the original Roman "house" had become a central hall (*atrium*) with rooms on the sides and rear. This *atrium* now became a *front* hall, where the master of the house received his guests. It was shut off from the street by a vestibule and porter's room. Its central court, open to the sky, still admitted light and air, and it now held a marble basin to catch the rain, and perhaps a fountain, surrounded by flowering shrubs. In the rear was a second court, about which, as well as in the second story, were many rooms for the women and for household work.

Each house had its kitchens, and several dining rooms, large and small, where stood tables, each surrounded on three sides by luxurious couches, in place of the old-fashioned hard benches. Each fashionable house, too, had its bathrooms, one or more, and its library. The pavement of the courts, and many floors, were ornamented with artistic mosaic. Walls were hung with costly, brilliantly colored tapestries; and ceilings were richly gilded. Sideboards were beautiful with vases and gold and silver plate; and in various recesses stood glorious statues, the booty from some Hellenic city.

Besides his town house, each rich Roman had one or more country houses (*villas*), with all the comforts of the city, — baths, libraries, museums, mosaic pavements, richly gilded ceilings, walls hung with brilliant tapestries, — while about the house spread parklike grounds with ornamental shrubbery and playing fountains and with glorious marble forms gleaming through the foliage, and perhaps with fish ponds and vineyards.

Commonly a villa was the center of a large farm; and its magnificent luxury found a sinister contrast in the squalid huts, leaning against the walls of the villa grounds, in which slept the wretched slaves that tilled the soil and heaped up wealth for the noble master. Near by, in somewhat better quarters, lived his skilled artisans — carpenters, smiths, and bakers. To care for the many needs of his sumptuous life, too, every man of



GENERAL PLAN OF ROMAN GENTLEMEN'S HOUSES AFTER 100 B.C.



INNER (OR WOMEN'S) COURT OF A ROMAN HOUSE as pictured by a modern painter (*Boulanger*). Note the slave girl watering plants, the awning to shield the ladies from the hot southern sun, the master approaching from the front court, and the narrow balcony in front of the rooms on the upper floor.



REMAINS OF PART OF A ROMAN VILLA (the library) near Tivoli. Walls so well preserved are not common; but the *foundations* of such structures are scattered widely over Western and Southern Europe, and it is not uncommon for excavation to reveal finds of this sort even to-day.



THE BATHS OF THE VILLA of which the library is shown above.

wealth kept troops of *household* slaves — who slept on the floors of the large halls or in the open courts.

**Exaggerated copies of the Greek public baths appeared in Rome.** These became great public clubhouses, where the more voluptuous and idle citizens spent many hours a day. Besides the various rooms for baths, — hot, tepid, or cold, — a bathing house had its swimming pools, gymnasiums, eating rooms,



ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SAME VILLA LIBRARY RUINS that are shown facing this page. The two give a better idea of the huge size of this one part of the building.

libraries, and museums, and extensive gardens with delightful shady walks. Before long, some of these buildings were opened free to the poorer classes. The baths of Rome itself, under the Empire a little later, could accommodate 60,000 people at one time.

Alongside this private luxury, candidates for office began a practice of entertaining the populace with shows, especially with *gladiatorial games*. These games came, not from the Greek East, but from neighbors in Italy. They were an old

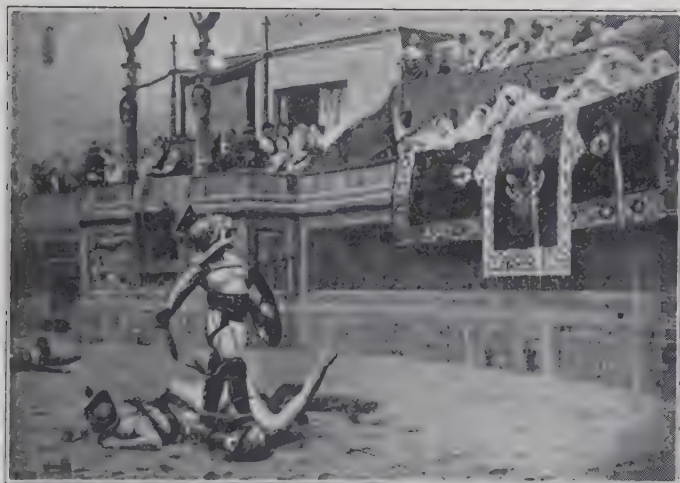


Etruscan custom, and were introduced into Rome about the beginning of the Punic Wars. A gladiatorial contest was a combat in which men fought one another to the death for the amusement of the spectators. The practice was connected with ancient human sacrifices for the dead, and at Rome the first contests of this kind took place only at the funerals of nobles, but by degrees they became the most common of the public amusements.

When a gladiator (in a single combat) was seriously wounded, or disarmed, his victor was expected to pause to allow the spectators to give a signal for mercy or death. If the crowd held their thumbs *up*, the vanquished man was to be permitted to live, but "thumbs down" was an order to the conqueror to slay. At first the gladiators, protected by helmets and shields, usually fought with swords; but the mob was greedy for excitement and demanded more and more variety in the contests. Sometimes one gladiator used a net, to throw over the head of his antagonist, and a three-pronged spear to impale him while so entangled. Sometimes a man fought with wild beasts, or beasts with one another — a bear with a lion, or an elephant with a tiger. One of these shows lasted 123 days and cost the lives of more than ten thousand gladiators.

The only show that could rival the gladiatorial games in popular interest was a "triumph" by some victorious general on his return to Rome, if the Senate voted him that honor. The historian Plutarch has described for us the triumph of Aemilius Paulus, the victor of Pydna (page 253). For three days the festal procession paraded from the gates of Rome through the principal streets and on through the Forum up to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, while throngs of shouting and cheering citizens, clad in their white togas, crowded the window spaces and the platforms that had been built for spectators at every convenient corner. On the first day, passed two hundred and fifty wagons loaded with paintings and marble statues that had been seized from Greek cities. The next day was given to long lines of wagons filled with rich armor of the vanquished, fol-





"THUMES DOWN!"—a modern painting picturing a defeated gladiator at Rome appealing in vain to the Vestal Virgins who sit in the front balcony.



THE COLISEUM (*Roman amphitheater*) TO-DAY.—During the Middle Ages a great many fallen stones were used by Roman nobles to build their castles and palaces, but the immense size of the structure prevented its complete destruction. It covered six acres (more than two city blocks) and seated 45,000 spectators. The walls rose 150 feet.



INTERIOR OF A ROMAN PUBLIC BATH HALL, as a famous German scholar (*Von Falke*) reconstructs it.

lowed by three thousand men, each carrying a basin filled with *silver* coins, or some silver goblet or vase or other such dish. Then on the third day came first long lines of men carrying basins of *gold* coins, or dishes of gold. Next followed the chariot of the Macedonian king, with his golden armor piled on the floor and his crown resting on the seat. Behind the chariot walked the captured children of the king, — a daughter and two little crying princes — while, some distance behind and all alone, strode the captive king himself, on foot and clothed in black. And finally came the victorious army, greeted by song and music and ceaseless cheers, with Paulus at its head in a golden chariot, robed himself in a toga of Tyrian purple embroidered heavily with gold thread.

A modern student ought to be most impressed (as the exultant Roman crowd was not) by the horrible background of human suffering for every such “glorious” spectacle. This same Paulus, besides carrying off all this *public* plunder, had paid his soldiers for the campaign by permitting them to sack seventy helpless rich cities in northern Greece — leaving in each only ruined lives, broken families, and unspeakable misery.

Rome now had a rabble, — masses of hungry, unemployed men. This new class, like the new rich, was also a product of the Second Punic War. That war began the ruin of the small farmer in Italy. Over much of the peninsula the homesteads were hopelessly devastated; and years of continuous camp life, with plunder for pay, corrupted the simple habits of the yeoman class, so that they drifted to the city, to become a rabble.

When the great wars were over, the rift between the new rich and the new poor went on widening. Rome confiscated vast tracts of land in her conquered provinces, and afterward sold them cheap to her own nobles; and often the ruined natives were glad to sell their remaining estates for a song. By such means, Roman nobles became the owners of huge landed properties in Sicily, Spain, Africa, and soon in the East, — all worked by cheap slave labor, which was supplied in abundance

by the continuous wars of conquest. This new landlord class then supplied the Italian cities with grain from Sicily and North Africa cheaper than the Italian farmer could raise it on his less fertile soil.

This did not hurt the large landlord in Italy: he turned to cattle grazing or sheep raising, with slave labor. But the small farmer had no such refuge. Ruined and dismayed, many of this class were ready to sell their farms; and they found eager purchasers in the new capitalists, who especially desired pleasure resorts in Italy. Indeed, when the yeoman (in the more secluded districts) still clung stubbornly to his ancestral fields, a grasping landlord neighbor sometimes used even force and fraud. The Roman poet Horace (page 322) describes in pathetic words the helplessness of the poor farmer, whose cattle died mysteriously, or whose growing crops were trampled into the ground overnight, until he would sell at the rich man's price. Redress at law was usually too costly and too uncertain for a poor man in conflict with a rich one.<sup>1</sup>

In parts of Italy, especially in the north, many yeomen did hold their places. But over great districts, only large ranches could be seen, with half-savage slave herdsmen and their flocks, where formerly there had nestled numerous cottages on small, well-tilled farms, each supporting its independent family. **As a class, the small farmers, once the backbone of Latin society, had disappeared.** Rome could never again have a Cincinnatus or a Curio.

What became of this dispossessed yeomanry, from whom formerly had come conquerors, statesmen, and dictators? Many had foresight and energy enough to make their way at once to Gaul or Spain, while their small capital lasted. To Italy their strength was lost. But in the semibarbarous western provinces, for a century, a steady stream of sturdy Italian peasant emigrants spread the old wholesome Roman civilization and confirmed the Roman rule, while at the same time they built up homes and fortunes for themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> Horace knew whereof he wrote. True, he had become a favorite of the most fashionable Roman society, but he had been the son of a yeoman farmer.



A whole class of people, however, could not leave their native land. The great bulk of the ex-farmers merely drifted to the cities of Italy, and especially to the capital. If Italy had been a manufacturing country, they might finally have found a new kind of work in these city homes. But the Roman conquests in the East prevented this. In the Eastern provinces, manufacturing of all sorts was much more developed than in Italy, and Roman merchants found it cheaper to import Oriental goods than to build up a system of factories at home. Rome ceased to develop home resources, and fed upon the provinces. (Such manufactures as remained in Italy were already in the hands of skilled Oriental slaves or freedmen.)

Thus the ex-farmers found no more employment in the city than in the country. They soon spent the small sums they had received for their lands, and then they and their sons sank into a degraded city rabble. Hannibal had struck Rome a deadlier blow than he ever knew. The rugged citizen farmers who had defeated Pyrrhus were replaced, on one side, by an incapable, effeminate aristocracy, and on the other, by a mongrel mob reënforced by freed slaves. The lines of an English poet, almost two thousand years later, regarding similar phenomena in his own country, apply to this Italy:

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,  
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay!"

With this moral and economic decline came political decay. In theory the constitution had not changed, but really it had become a plaything for factions of ambitious and degenerate politicians. Old ideas of loyalty, obedience, regard for law, self-restraint, vanished. Leading statesmen disregarded all checks of the constitution, to carry a point, and young nobles flattered and bribed the populace for their votes. The senatorial order shriveled up from a broad and wise aristocracy into a narrow, selfish, incompetent oligarchy, careful only of its own class interests. The shows expected from aediles, to entertain the populace, had become so costly that only the wealthiest men, or the most reckless gamblers, could start in politics. (See page 229.)



## II

So far in this chapter we have discussed the growth of a new class division *among Roman citizens* into rich and poor. In like manner, soon after the Second Punic War, **there appeared throughout Italy a sharper division than formerly between Roman citizens and the other inhabitants.** Rome ceased to take in new bodies of citizens: she no longer sent out Latin colonies — because her ruling class wished all vacant lands for themselves; and her “Allies,” whose loyal friendship had saved her from Hannibal, she began to treat as though they were conquered subjects. She gave them a smaller share of the plunder of war than formerly, and doubled their share of men for the army. Roman officials, too, often displayed toward them a new insolence and a brutal cruelty. In one town the city consul was stripped and scourged because the peevish wife of a Roman magistrate (traveling through the place) felt aggrieved that the public baths were not vacated for her use quickly enough. In the territory of another town, a young Roman noble, looking on idly from his litter, caused a free herdsman to be flogged to death, in revenge for a jest.

## III

**More dangerous still was the distinction in the Roman world at large between Italy and the provinces.** “Italy was to rule and feast: the provinces were to obey and pay.” The character of the government of a province has been briefly discussed (page 239). To be sure, the Roman administration of those conquered districts was *at first* more honest and capable than Carthaginian or Greek rule had been. But irresponsible power bred recklessness and corruption, and before the year 100 B.C. it began to seem doubtful (for a time) whether the world had gained by Rome’s victories.

**The two special marks of a province were:** payment of taxes in money or grain, and the *absolute* rule of a Roman governor.

1. *The Senate* fixed at will the amount that each province must pay. Then it “*farmed out*” the collection of this revenue,

*at public auction*, usually to some company of Roman capitalists. The "contractor" paid down a lump sum, and had for himself all that he could squeeze from the province above that amount. This arrangement constantly tempted the contractor to extortion, and encouraged his agents in theft — all at the expense of the helpless provincials. If a contractor seized twice the intended amount, it would afterwards be almost impossible to prove the fact — especially when the only judge was the Roman governor who perhaps received part of the plunder. The whole corrupt and tyrannical system was like that by which Turkey ground down her Christian provinces in Asia and Southeastern Europe until very recent years.

2. *Everything tended to make the governor a tyrant.* He had soldiers to back up any command. There was no appeal from his decrees, and no tribune to veto his acts. His power, even in peace, was like that of a consul in the field in war, and commonly his title was *proconsul*. Even the persons of the provincials were at his mercy.<sup>1</sup> He was appointed by the Senate from those nobles who had just held consulships or praetorships; and commonly he had expected to get a province to plunder, in order to repay himself, or his creditors, for earlier outlay in getting office.

True, a governor might be brought to trial; but only *after* his term had expired; and only *at Rome* before the Senate — whose members were interested in passing around such chances for exploitation among their order. Poor provincials, of course, had to endure any abuse without even seeking redress; and in any case it was rarely possible to secure conviction even of the grossest offenders. When a certain Verres was given the province of Sicily for three years, Cicero tells us, he cynically declared it quite enough: "In the first year he could secure plunder enough for himself; in the second for his friends; in the third for his judges."

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<sup>1</sup> In Cisalpine Gaul a Roman governor beheaded a noble Gaul, a fugitive guest in his camp, just to gratify with the sight a worthless favorite who was lamenting that he had missed the gladiatorial games at Rome (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 37).

**Summary.** — The victory of Rome in the Second Punic War was followed by a new period of internal class struggle *threefold* in character: *in Rome* between rich and poor; *in Italy* between Romans and other inhabitants; and *in the Roman world* between Italy and the provinces. This period of class hatred and rivalry lasted more than a century, and was ended only by the coming of a common master — the Caesars.

#### IV

Meantime, let us note, **there was a fourth phase of this class strife** — *between slaves and masters*. This distinction was found in practically all ancient societies, but in the closing period of the Roman Republic there grew up a slavery beyond all parallel in extent and in horror. Says one leading authority (Momm-  
sen), “In comparison with its abyss of suffering all Negro slavery [has been] but a drop in the ocean.”

In ancient times slaves were commonly not of a different color or race from their masters, though often they did speak a different language. Roman slaves came in large part from the cultured East, and some of them became teachers, secretaries, and stewards. But others came from wild barbarian tribes, and the most unfortunate of these were made savage herdsmen or branded and shackled workers, clothed in rags and herded at night into underground dungeons on the master's estate. The most cultured might be degraded into this class at the whim of a master.

Slaves were made cheap by the wars of conquest. Later, to keep up the cheap supply, man hunts were organized regularly on the frontiers, and kidnapers even desolated some of the provinces. At the famous slave market in Delos ten thousand slaves were once sold in a day.

The model Roman, Cato (page 268), advised his countrymen to work slaves like cattle, selling off the old and infirm. “The slave,” he said, “should be always working or sleeping.” With brutal masters, there were of course indescribable cruelties. There grew up a common saying, — “So many slaves, so

many enemies." Rome was to see many terrible slave wars. The first came in 135 B.C. Seventy thousand insurgent slaves were masters of the rich province of Sicily for four years. They defeated army after army that Rome sent against them, and desolated the island before the rising was stamped out.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 31-38. The topics are taken up in somewhat different order from that of this text-book, but the student can easily rearrange them in the order best suited to this text. No. 38 is the most important.

At this point it is desirable that "reading students" should begin to pay more attention to interesting accounts by modern scholars. Especially recommended are Beesly's *The Gracchi*, *Marius and Sulla* (opening chapters).

### EXERCISES

1. How does the length of time from the Pyramid Age to the Punic Wars compare with that from those wars to the present time?

2. In *modern* times, also, it has sometimes happened that large numbers of farmers have lost their farms on mortgages or have left them because of some sharp decrease in the profits of farming. Until very recently it has been easy for these farmers and their sons to find work of some kind in our towns. State two reasons why this was not possible for the dispossessed yeomen in Italy, of whom we have just been reading.

3. Some one has well said that about 200 B.C. the earlier "river-valley stage of civilization" expanded into "an inland-sea stage." Explain that statement as well as you can at this point in your study. (Later chapters will perhaps make its meaning still clearer to you.) Name in order the earlier steps in advance beyond a *single*-river-valley stage.

4. Which was the more likely to survive the accidents of time (including new barbarian invasions), the river-valley stage of civilization or the inland-sea stage? Why? Did Rome's conquests, then, prove a good thing for mankind, in spite of their cruelties?

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE GRACCHI, 133-121 B.C.

The evils described in the preceding chapter had not come upon the Roman world without being seen by thoughtful men. **One notable attempt at reform had been made by *Marcus Porcius Cato*.** This man was a Roman of the old school — austere, upright, energetic, patriotic, but coarse and narrow. A simple Sabine farmer, he had risen to the highest honors of the state. He had been just old enough to join the army at the beginning of the Second Punic War, in which he fought from Trasimene to Zama; and half a century later, as we have seen (page 247), he had a chief part in bringing on the needless Third Punic War.

Cato longed ardently to restore “the good old days” of Roman simplicity. As Censor (195 B.C.) he tried to bring back those days. He checked luxurious habits sternly, and struck from the Senate some of the proudest names because of private vices. But he had no far-reaching views. He did nothing to build up a new farming class, or to make the government truly represent the Roman people. Instead, he spent his force foolishly in fighting the new Hellenic culture and the rising standard of comfort.

**For a time there seemed one other chance.** After 146 B.C. Scipio Africanus the Younger was the foremost man in Rome. He was liberal, virtuous, cultivated, and brave enough to defy the rabble. On occasion he could quell their hissings with stern contempt: “Silence, you step-children of Italy. Think ye I fear those whom I myself brought in chains to Rome!” Many looked hopefully to him for reform. But brave and wise as he was, he shrank from a struggle with his own order. When he laid down his censorship, he betrayed his despair by praying the



gods, not in the usual words, to *enlarge* the glory of Rome, but to *preserve* the state.

The older statesmen were too selfish, too narrow, or too timid; and the great attempt at reform fell to two youths, the Gracchi brothers, throbbing with noble enthusiasm and with the fire of genius.

**Tiberius Gracchus** (still under thirty at his death) was one of the brilliant circle of young Romans about Scipio. His father had been a magnificent aristocrat. His mother, *Cornelia*, a daughter of the elder Africanus, is as famous for her fine culture and noble nature as for being the "Mother of the Gracchi." Tiberius himself was early distinguished in war and marked by his uprightness and energy. *This was the first man who had wisdom and courage enough to strike at the root of the industrial, moral, and political decay of Italy, by trying to rebuild the yeoman class.*

Tiberius obtained the tribuneship for the year 133, and at once brought forward an agrarian<sup>1</sup> law. It was the land clause of the Licinian Laws (which the Senate had allowed to become a dead letter) in a gentler but more effective form. The law had three main provisions.

1. Each holder of *public* land was to surrender all that he held in excess of the legal limit (page 216), *receiving in return absolute title to the three hundred acres left him*. This was generous treatment, not confiscation. (It was further provided that an old holder might keep about 160 acres more for each son.)

2. The land reclaimed was to be given in small holdings (some eighteen acres each) to poor applicants, so as to re-create a class of yeomen. To make the reform lasting, these holders and their descendants were to possess their land *without right to sell*. In return, they were to pay a small rent to the state.

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<sup>1</sup> *Agrarian* (from the Latin *ager*) refers to land, especially farm land. The word has been used also very much as *socialism* is often loosely used now. Opponents of reform a century ago in America commonly referred to all attempts at social betterment as "agrarianism."

3. To provide for changes, and to keep the law from being neglected, there was to be a *permanent board* of three commissioners to superintend the reclaiming and distributing of land.

Gracchus urged his law with fiery eloquence: "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for her are without homes or settled habitations. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world without having a sod to call their own." The Senate opposed the proposal as "confiscation." Tiberius brought the question directly before the tribes, as he had the right to do. The Senate put up one of the other tribunes, Octavius, to forbid a vote. After many pleadings, Tiberius resorted to a revolutionary measure. In spite of his colleague's veto, he put to the Assembly the question whether he or Octavius should be deposed. The thirty-five tribes (page 222) all voted against Octavius, and Tiberius had him dragged from his seat. Then the great law was passed.

Tiberius next proposed to extend Roman citizenship to all Italy (to remove the second kind of class strife — between Romans and other Italians). But the Senate fell back upon an ancient cry: it accused him of trying to make himself king, and threatened to try him at the end of his term. To complete his work, and to save himself, Gracchus asked for reelection. The first two tribes voted for him, and then the Senate, having failed in other methods, declared it illegal for him to be a candidate for a second term. Tiberius saw that he was lost. He put on mourning and asked the people only to protect his infant son. It was harvest time, and the farmers were absent from the Assembly, which was left largely to the worthless city rabble. The more violent of the Senators and their friends, charging the undecided mob, put it to flight and murdered Gracchus, a patriot-martyr worthy to join the Cassius and Manlius of earlier days. Some three hundred of his adherents also were killed and thrown into the Tiber. Rome, in all her centuries of stern, sober, patient constitutional strife, had never witnessed such a day before.



CHARIOT RACE IN THE ROMAN COLISEUM, — a modern painting. Notice the awnings (richly colored, of course) over the dignitaries on the left, and the old Roman salute with which friends on the right hail the victor, — a salute now used again in Italy by the Fascisti.



THE DISCUS THROWER (*Discobolus*). — This glorious marble (unearthed in 1871 amid some ruins on the Esquiline Hill, and now at the Lancelotti Palace in Rome) is a copy of a bronze by Myron (see page 173) celebrating probably a victor at Olympia. This fine copy had no doubt been plundered from some Greek city.

The Senate declared the murder an act of patriotism, and followed up the reformer's friends with mock trials and persecutions, fastening one of them, says Plutarch, in a chest with vipers. But the work of Tiberius lived on. The Senate did not dare to interfere with the great law that had been carried. A consul for the year 132 inscribed on a monument that he was the first who had installed farmers in place of shepherds on the public domains. The land commission (composed of the friends of Tiberius) continued its work zealously, and in 125 B.C. *the citizen list of Rome had increased by eighty thousand farmers.*

This "back to the land" movement was a vast and healthful reform. If it could have been kept up vigorously, it might have turned the dangerous rabble into sturdy husbandmen, and so removed Rome's chief danger. But of course to reclaim so much land from old holders led to many bitter disputes as to titles, and, after a few years, the Senate took advantage of this fact to abolish the commission.

**Immediately after this reaction, Caius Gracchus took up the work.** He had been a youth when Tiberius was assassinated. Now he was Rome's greatest orator, — a dauntless, resolute, clear-sighted man, long brooding on personal revenge and on patriotic reform. Tiberius, he declared, appeared to him in a dream to call him to his task: "Why do you hesitate? You cannot escape your doom and mine — to live for the people and to die for them!" A recently discovered letter from Cornelia indicates, too, that his mother urged him on.

**First Gracchus sought to win political allies.** He gained the favor of the "knights" (page 255) by getting them the control of the law courts formerly controlled by the senatorial class; and the city mob he secured by a corn law providing for the sale of grain to the poor in the capital at half the regular market price — the other half to be made up from the public treasury.

This measure undoubtedly had a vicious side, but Caius probably regarded it as compensation for the public lands that still remained in the hands of the wealthy. It did not pauperize the poor, because such distributions by office-



seekers were already customary on a vast scale: it simply took this charity into the hands of the state. If Gracchus' other measures could have been carried through, the need for such charity would have been removed.

To guard against his brother's fate, Caius next secured a law that declared it legal for a tribune to seek reelection, and then he entered upon the work of reform. The land commission was reestablished, and its work was extended *to the founding of Roman colonies in distant parts of Italy*. Still more important, — Caius introduced the plan of Roman colonization outside Italy. He sent six thousand colonists from Rome and other Italian towns to the waste site of Carthage, and planned other such settlements. (If this statesmanlike plan had been allowed to work, it would not only have provided for the landless poor of Italy: it would also have Romanized the provinces rapidly, and would have broken down the unhappy distinctions between them and Italy, for the colonists kept full citizenship.)

Caius also proposed (as Tiberius had done, though more cautiously) to give full citizenship to Latin colonies, and Latin rights (page 223) to all Italy. But the tribes, jealous of any extension of their privileges to others, were quite ready to desert him on these matters. The "knights" and merchants had grown hostile, also, because they hated to see commercial rivals like Corinth and Carthage rebuilt. So the Senate seized its chance. It set on another tribune, *Drusus*, to outbid Caius by promises never meant to be kept. Drusus proposed to found twelve large colonies at once in Italy and to do away with the small rent paid by the new peasantry. There was no land for these colonies, but the mob thoughtlessly followed the treacherous demagogue and abandoned its true leader.

The word *demagogue* has an interesting history. It comes from a Greek word meaning "leader of the people" (as *pedagogue* means "leader of a child"). At first it was a term of praise. Pericles felt that there was no higher approval than to be called "leader of the people." But an evil or ambitious man might *mislead* the people, appeal-

ing to their passions or their greed to win their favor for himself or for some bad purpose. This happened so often that the word demagogue came to be a term of reproach. Of course the student will easily understand that it is often used in this way of men in public life unjustly.

So when Gracchus stood for a third election he was defeated. Now that he was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribuneship, the nobles were sure to destroy him with little delay. An excuse was soon found. The Senate tried to get the Assembly to repeal the law for the colony at Carthage. This attempt caused many of the old supporters of Caius to come into the Assembly from the country. Remembering the fate of Tiberius, some of them came in arms. The nobles cried out that this meant a plot to overthrow the government. The consul called the senatorial party to arms and offered for the head of Gracchus its weight in gold (*the first instance of head money in Roman civil strife*). A bloody battle followed in the streets. Gracchus, taking no part in the conflict himself, was slain. Three thousand of his followers were afterward strangled in prison.

The victorious Senate struck hard. The proposed colonies were abandoned, and the great land reform itself was undone: *the peasants were permitted to sell their land, and the commission was abolished*. Then the old economic decay began again, and soon the work of the Gracchi was but a memory.

Even that memory the Senate tried to erase. Men were forbidden to speak of the brothers, and Cornelia was not allowed to wear mourning for her sons. One lesson, however, had been taught. The Senate had drawn the sword. When next a great reformer should take up the work of the Gracchi, he would come as a military master, to sweep away the wretched oligarchy with the sword, or to receive its cringing submission.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 39; and the full story of the Gracchi in Beesly's *The Gracchi*.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE SENATE AND MILITARY CHIEFS

#### I. MARIUS AND SULLA, 106-78 B.C.

The corrupt Senate had proved able to throttle reform and save its own unjust privileges, but it was glaringly incompetent to guard the Roman world against outside foes. Rome had left no other state able to keep the seas free from pirates or to protect the frontiers of the civilized world against barbarians. It was her plain duty therefore to police the Mediterranean lands herself. But even while she was murdering the followers of the Gracchi, the seas were swarming again with pirate fleets, and new barbarian thunderclouds were gathering unwatched along her borders. *This was another reason why the Roman world was ready for a military master.*

The first great storm broke upon the northern frontier. The Cimbri and Teutones, two German peoples, migrating slowly from central Europe, with families, flocks, and goods, reached the passes of the Alps in the year 113. These new barbarians were huge, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes, and they terrified the smaller Italians by their size, their terrific shouts, and their savage customs. They defeated five Roman armies in swift succession (the last with slaughter that recalled the day of Cannae), ravaged Gaul at will for some years, and finally threatened Italy itself. *At the same time a dangerous Slave War had broken out in Sicily.*

Rome found a general none too soon. Marius (a rude soldier, son of an Italian day-laborer) had just before risen from the ranks to chief command in a critical war against African barbarians. In defiance of law and against the wish of the Senate, the Assembly reelected him consul in his absence —

and repeated this action each year for the next four years. Fortunately for Rome, the invaders turned aside for the first half of this time to ravage Spain. While the Germans so gave him time, Marius reformed and drilled his army. Then, in the summer of 102, at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix) in southern Gaul, he annihilated the two hundred thousand warriors of the Teutones, with all their women and children, in a huge massacre (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 41). The next summer he destroyed in like manner the vast horde of the Cimbri, who had penetrated to the Po. The first German nation to attack Rome had won graves in her soil.

At Rome new strife soon broke out between democrats and aristocrats. Marius was the natural champion of the democrats; and he was so popular now that, had he been a true statesman, he might have used his power to reform the Republic. But except as a general, he could not make prompt and firm decisions. He let slip the chance to establish his party safely in control, and the senatorial party once more massacred thousands of democrats in the streets.



COIN STRUCK BY THE ITALIAN ALLIES in their war against Rome. The head is a symbolic "Italia." The reverse shows the associates swearing fidelity to one another.

Another war brought to the front another great general. In the year 91, the tribune *Drusus*, son of the Drusus who had opposed the Gracchi, took up the Gracchi's work and proposed to extend citizenship to the Italians. The nobles murdered him, and carried a law threatening death to any one who should renew the proposal. Then the Italians rose in arms. Once more Rome fought for life, surrounded by a ring of foes. This *Social War* (war with the *Socii*, or "Allies") was as dangerous a contest as the city ever waged (91-88 B.C.). Two things saved her. She divided her foes by granting citizenship to all



who would at once lay down their arms; and the aristocratic consul, **Sulla**, showed magnificent generalship.

The "Allies" were crushed, *but their cause was victorious*. When the war was over, Rome gradually took into the Roman state all Italy south of the Po. **All Italian cities became municipia** (page 222), and all free Italians became Roman citizens.

At once, however, there followed a true civil war (the first in Roman history), because the Senate tried to undo this reform by a trick. It placed the new citizens — more than half of the whole citizen body — in only eight of the tribes, so that the old citizens still controlled twenty-seven of the thirty-five votes. The democratic tribune *Sulpicius*, a friend of Drusus, carried a law to remedy this injustice by distributing the new citizens fairly among all the tribes. In trying to prevent this law, Sulla provoked a riot, from which he himself barely escaped with his life through the aid of his rival Marius. Just before this, the Senate had appointed Sulla proconsul (page 265) to manage a war in the East. Now Sulpicius induced the tribes to give this command to Marius instead.

Sulla fled to his army at Capua, and, though all but one of his officers left him, he **marched upon Rome** (88 B.C.). After a brief but furious resistance, the unorganized democrats under Marius were scattered, and Sulla became military master. He *repealed the Sulpician laws*, executed a few democratic leaders, set a price upon the head of Marius, tried to buttress the Senate by hasty laws to put all power in its hands, and then departed for the East, where Roman dominion was rapidly crumbling.

This by no means ended the civil war. As soon as the democratic party showed signs of life, the terrified aristocrats determined to crush it forever. They surrounded the unarmed Assembly with armed forces, ruthlessly massacred ten thousand men, and took complete possession of the city. But the country tribes and the new Italian citizens now marched on Rome and besieged it. Marius came back from exile to take command, — a grim, vengeful, repulsive old man, with a bodyguard of thousands of freed slaves. He captured Rome and closed the gates,



and for days his desperadoes hunted down and butchered the senatorial party, despite the indignant protests of other democratic leaders, like the generous *Sertorius*, who now stood forth as the best hope of the democrats.

Violent and illegal acts by both sides had destroyed the old Roman regard for law. Marius proclaimed himself consul, without even the form of an election, but died in the midst of his orgy of triumph. Then Sertorius with regular troops stamped out the band of slave assassins, and the democrats remained in peaceful control of Rome for four years, while Sulla was busy in the East.

For thirty years the indolent Senate had looked on carelessly while danger gathered head in Asia. Finally the storm had burst. Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia had grown into independent kingdoms, each of them, for long time past, encroaching upon Rome's protectorates. At last, *Mithridates VI*, king of Pontus, suddenly seized the Roman province of Asia Minor, then called the "Province of Asia."<sup>1</sup> The people hailed him as a deliverer, and joined him enthusiastically to secure freedom from the hated extortion of Roman tax-collectors and money-lenders. Eighty thousand Italians, scattered through the province, — men, women, and children, — were massacred, almost in a day, by the city mobs. Then Mithridates turned to Macedonia and Greece. Here, too, the people joined him against Rome. Athens welcomed him as a savior from Roman tyranny; and twenty thousand more Italians were massacred in Greece and in the Aegean islands. Rome's dominion in the Eastern world had crumbled at a touch.

This was the peril that had called Sulla from Rome. Outlawed by the democrats at home, without supplies, with only a small army, he restored Roman authority in the East in a series of brilliant campaigns. Then he returned, to glut his vengeance and to restore the nobles to power (83 B.C.).

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<sup>1</sup> This is the sense in which the name *Asia* is used in the New Testament — as when Paul says that "all they who dwelt in *Asia* heard the word."

Italy was almost a unit for the democrats, but **Sulla's veteran army and his military genius made him undisputed master** after a desolating two-year struggle. At his suggestion the Senate then declared him *permanent* Dictator (81 B.C.), and he proceeded to root out the remnants of the democratic faction by systematic assassination. He posted lists of names in the forum day by day, and invited any desperado to kill the men so proscribed at two thousand dollars a head. His friends were given permission freely to include their private foes in the lists, and many a man was murdered only because some follower of



GOLD COIN STRUCK BY SULLA at Athens, on his return from his conquests in the East. The head represents Athene, and the reverse pictures the sacred bird of that goddess.

Sulla desired his property. "Unhappy wretch that I am," exclaimed one gentleman who had stepped up unsuspectingly to look at the day's list and found his own name upon it; "my villa pursues me!"

After a three-year rule, Sulla felt that he had intrenched senatorial government beyond further danger, and he then **abdicated** — to go back to his debaucheries and to die in peace shortly after. He is a monstrous enigma — dauntless, crafty, treacherous, dissolute, licentious, refined, as capable as unscrupulous, absolutely unfeeling and selfish, and with a mocking cynicism that spiced his conversation and actions. He liked to call himself the favorite of the Goddess of Chance, and was fond of the title "Sulla the Fortunate"; but he had striven against the age, and his work hardly outlived his mortal body.

## II. POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78-49 B.C.

During the absence of Sulla in the East, **Sertorius** (page 277) had become governor of Spain, and that province remained the one stronghold of the democratic party. Sertorius was a skillful

general and a wise statesman. The Spaniards became devoted to him, and with their support he easily maintained himself against the generals whom Sulla sent against him.

The leading man at Rome now was *Pompey*, one of Sulla's old officers, — a capable soldier, but otherwise of mediocre ability, vain, sluggish, and timidly cautious. The time was near, it was plain, when some leader would make himself practically king of Rome. Sulla's career had shown that the path to the throne lay through a position as proconsul in a rich province for a term of years, with a war that would call for a large army. Pompey had not yet held any of the offices leading to such an appointment (page 229); but, with the new disregard for law, he soon compelled the Senate to send him to Spain against Sertorius, *with an indefinite term* and absolute powers (77 B.C.). After some years of warfare, Sertorius was basely assassinated, and then **Pompey quickly reduced Spain to obedience.**

Meantime had come a terrible slave revolt in Italy, headed by the gallant *Spartacus*. Spartacus was a Thracian captive who had been forced to become a gladiator. With a few companions he escaped from the gladiatorial school at Capua and fled to the mountains. There he was joined by other fugitive slaves until he was at the head of an army of 70,000 men. For three years he kept the field, and repeatedly threatened Rome itself. In 70 B.C., however, his forces were crushed by *Crassus*, another of Sulla's old lieutenants; but Pompey arrived from Spain in time to cut to pieces a few thousand fugitives and to claim a share of the credit.

And in 67, military danger called Pompey again to the front. The navy of Rome had fallen to utter decay, and swarms of pirates terrorized the seas, setting up a formidable state on the rocky coasts of Cilicia and negotiating with kings as equals. They paralyzed trade along the great Mediterranean highway, ravaged the coasts of Italy, and threatened Rome itself with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets from Egypt and Sicily. To put down these plunderers **Pompey was given supreme command for three years in the Mediterranean and in all its**

coasts for fifty miles inland. He received also *unlimited* authority over all the resources of the realm. Assembling vast fleets, he swept the seas in a three months' campaign.

Then his command was extended indefinitely in order that he might carry on another war against Mithridates of Pontus, who for several years had again been threatening Roman power in Asia Minor. He was absent on this mission five years — a glorious period in his career, and one that proved the resources and energies of the commonwealth unexhausted, if only a respectable leader were found to direct them. He waged successful wars, crushed dangerous rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, annexed wide provinces, and extended the Roman bounds to the Euphrates, restoring order throughout the East. When he returned to Italy, in 62 B.C., he was "Pompey the Great," the leading figure in the world.<sup>1</sup> The crown was within his grasp; but he let it slip, expecting it to be thrust upon him.

During Pompey's absence three new leaders had appeared at Rome, but only one of them was ever to rival his power. *Cato the Younger*, great-grandson of Cato the Censor, was a brave, bigoted, honest aristocrat, bent upon preserving the oligarchic republic. *Cicero*, one of the greatest orators of all time, was a refined scholar and a representative of the wealthy middle class. (If you study Latin, you will read some of his orations and essays in your high school and college course.) He wished reform, and at first leaned toward the democratic party; but, alarmed by their violence and rudeness, he finally joined the conservatives in the idle hope of bringing back the times of the Early Republic. Both these men, says a modern historian, "were blinded to real facts: Cato by his ignorance; Cicero by his learning."

The third man was perhaps the greatest genius of all history. *Caius Julius Caesar* was a descendant of an old patrician family. His early years had been divided between dissipation

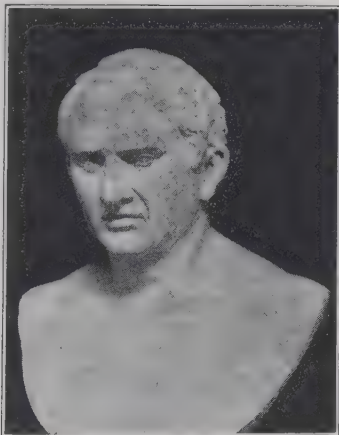
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<sup>1</sup> Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 45, gives a Roman account of Pompey's conquests and of his "triumph."



and adventure. He had married a daughter of *Cinna* (one of the lieutenants of Marius), and when Sulla ordered him to divorce her, he refused with quiet dignity, at peril of death. (Pompey did not hesitate to obey a like order.) Still little more than a boy in years, Caesar saved himself from assassination at the hands of Sulla's bravos by fleeing into hiding in the mountains.

At Sulla's death, Caesar returned to Rome, and soon began to rebuild the democratic party. During Pompey's long absence in the East he held in swift succession the offices of quaestor, aedile, and praetor. In his public speeches he ventured to praise Marius and Cinna as champions of the people. In the year 64,



CICERO, — a portrait bust.

by a daring stroke, he set up once more at the Capitol the German trophies of Marius. Sulla had torn these down, but their reappearance was greeted by the populace with wild enthusiasm. Caesar then planned still further to counterbalance Pompey's influence by securing for himself the governorship of Egypt, but in the year 63 B.C. his hopes were blasted by an unexpected incident. The demagogue *Catiline* (one of the extreme agitators on the fringe of the democratic party) had organized a reckless conspiracy of bankrupt and ruined adventurers to murder the consuls and senators, confiscate the property of the wealthy, and make himself tyrant. The plot was discovered and crushed by Cicero (consul for that year), and for a time it brought discredit upon the entire democratic movement. Then, just a few months later, Caesar's career seemed closed by Pompey's return.

Fortunately the jealous and stupid Senate drove Pompey into Caesar's arms. It refused to give his soldiers the lands he had



promised them for pay, and delayed even to ratify his wise political arrangements in the East. Pompey had disbanded his army, and for two years he fretted in vain. Caesar seized the chance and formed an alliance (sometimes called the "First Triumvirate") between Pompey, Crassus, and himself. Caesar furnished the brains, and obtained the chief fruits. He became consul (59 B.C.) and set about securing Pompey's measures. The Senate refused even to consider them. Caesar laid them directly before the Assembly. A tribune, of the Senate's party, interposed his veto. Caesar looked on calmly while a mob of Pompey's veterans drove the tribune from the Assembly. To delay proceedings, the other consul then announced that he would consult the omens. According to law, all action should have ceased until the result was known, but Caesar serenely disregarded this antiquated check and carried the measures by the votes of the tribes. Then, in the months that followed, bolstered by Pompey's support, he secured other laws that did away with all the aristocratic changes which Sulla had introduced into the government.

Pompey, however, was plainly growing jealous of Caesar's prominence. Caesar knew that to keep the fickle favor of the mob, when the time came for the inevitable break, he also must have won military glory. So, at the close of his consulship, he secured command of the Gallic provinces<sup>1</sup> for five years as proconsul. For the next ten years he abandoned Italy for the supreme work that opened to him beyond the Alps. He found the province threatened by two great invasions: the whole people of the Helvetians were migrating from their Alpine homes in search of more fertile lands, and an invading German nation was already encamped in Gaul.

The jealous Senate had given Caesar only a small force, but he now hastily levied reinforcements in Cisalpine Gaul, marched swiftly across the Alps, and in one summer drove back the Helvetians and annihilated the German invaders. "Let

<sup>1</sup> Cisalpine Gaul (pages 238-239) and a narrow strip of "Gaul beyond the Alps" (page 246).

the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero when the news of these amazing victories reached terrified Rome; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but they are no longer needed!" And truly it was four centuries before barbarians again broke across the Alps or even across the Rhine — as long a time as from Columbus to our day: long enough for Roman civilization to do its work in Western Europe and to prepare a way for the spread of Christianity.

In his second summer Caesar took up again his original plan of making all Gaul Roman. Pretexts were easily found for attacking the free Gallic tribes; and, year by year, in a series of masterly campaigns,<sup>1</sup> he expanded the little "Province" into a mighty state, stretching from the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees to the North Sea, and from the Rhine to the Atlantic.

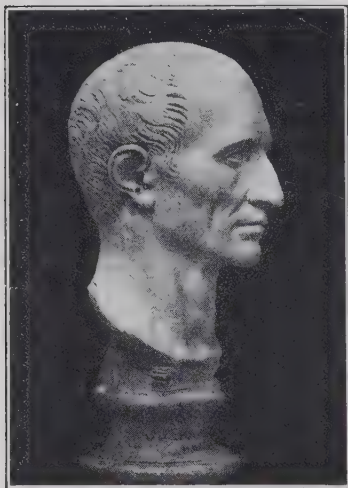
Whatever we may think about the morality of these conquests, they were to result in vast good for mankind. Their justification, indeed, rests upon much the same basis as the white occupation of America at the expense of the red man. They won a new and larger home for civilization. In less than two centuries Gaul was to become one of the most civilized parts of all the Roman world, and at a later time (under the name of France) it was to be for many centuries "the teacher of Europe."

The close of Caesar's first five-year term in Gaul saw him easily superior to his colleagues, and able to seize power at Rome if he chose. But it was never his way to leave the work in hand unfinished. He renewed the "triumvirate" in 55 B.C., securing the Gauls for five years more for himself, giving Spain to Pompey, and Asia to Crassus.

Crassus soon perished in battle against the Parthians in the East. Then it became plain that the question whether Caesar or Pompey was to rule at Rome could not long be postponed. The Senate was growing frantic with fear of Caesar's victorious legions. Pompey, jealous of his more brilliant rival, drew

<sup>1</sup> Caesar even made two expeditions into Britain, but only to "punish" and intimidate the natives there who had been sending aid to Gallic tribes with which he had been at war. No attempt to make the island Roman came at this time.

nearer to the Senate again, and that terrified body adopted him eagerly as its champion, hoping that it had found another Sulla to check this new Marius. Pompey was made *sole consul*, with supreme command in Italy, and at the same time his unlimited proconsular power abroad was renewed.



CAESAR — a marble head now in the British Museum. It is not certain that any of the so-called busts of Caesar are true portraits. But see his coin, on page 292.

Caesar still shrank from civil war. When his second term as proconsul was about to expire, he planned to secure the consulship for the next year and, in that case, he hoped to carry out reforms at Rome without violence. But his offers of conciliation and compromise were rebuffed by Pompey and the Senate. To stand for consul, under the law, Caesar must disband his army and come to Rome in person. There would be an interval of some months when he would be a private citizen.

The aristocrats boasted openly that in this helpless interval they would destroy him as they had the Gracchi. Caesar offered to lay down his command and disband his troops, if Pompey were ordered to do the same. Instead, the aristocrats carried a decree that Caesar must disband his troops before a certain day or be declared a public enemy. Two tribunes vetoed the decree, but were mobbed, and barely escaped to Caesar's camp in Cisalpine Gaul.

The Senate had forced Caesar to choose between civil war and ruin both for himself and for all his hopes for the Roman world. He had made no preparation for war. Only one of his eleven legions was with him in Cisalpine Gaul; the others were in distant and scattered garrisons far beyond the

Alps. But within an hour after the arrival of the fugitive tribunes, he was on the march. The same night he crossed the Rubicon — the little stream that separated his province from "Italy." This act was war, — for a proconsul was strictly forbidden by law to bring an army into Italy. Caesar paused a few moments, it is said, for the last time, when he reached the bank of the river at the head of his troops; then he spurred forward, exclaiming, "The die is cast."

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 41-51.

### EXERCISES

1. Write out briefly a list of reasons (to be found in this and the preceding chapter) why Rome was ready for a military master rather than for a peaceful reformer.

2. Give examples of the growing disregard for law at Rome *before* Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

3. What condition in Italy most needed reform? What was the chief obstacle to reform?

4. Let a committee of the class prepare and place upon the board from memory the chief periods of Roman history up to the end of this chapter, with at least approximate dates and with desirable subdivisions.

5. Let two committees each prepare a time-order test of ten terms on Part III, to be given to the class.

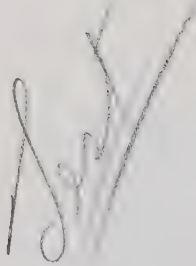
6. If any members of the class have read Caesar's *Commentaries* (usually read in second-year high-school Latin), one of them should tell, in a ten-minute report, Caesar's story of his campaign against the German invaders of Gaul — usually known as "the War with Ariovistus."

7. Drill upon the following table of dates for the Roman Republic:

500-367 B.C., class strife, closed by the Licinian Laws;

367-266 B.C., conquest of Italy;

264-146 B.C., conquest of the Mediterranean world.



## PART IV

### THE ROMAN EMPIRE

*Rome was the whole world, and all the world was Rome.* — SPENSER.

#### CHAPTER XXI

##### FOUNDING THE EMPIRE, 49-31 B.C.

With audacious rapidity Caesar led his one legion directly against the much larger forces that Pompey was mustering ponderously, and in sixty days, almost without bloodshed, he had forced his foes to flee from the peninsula. They were still masters of much the greater part of the Roman dominions — all indeed except Italy and Gaul — but Caesar held the capital and the advantage of Italy's central position.

Pursuing Pompey to Greece, Caesar became master of the world the next spring by a battle at Pharsalus. His little army had been living in part for weeks on roots and bark of trees, and it numbered less than half Pompey's well-provided troops. Pompey, too, had his choice of positions, and he had never been beaten in the field. But despite his career of unbroken success, Pompey was "formed for a corporal," while Caesar, though caring not at all for mere military glory, was one of the greatest captains of all time. And of the two armies an English historian says :

The one host was composed in great part of a motley crowd from Greece and the East . . . the other was chiefly drawn from the Gallic populations of Italy and the West, fresh, vigorous, intelligent, and united in devotion and loyalty to their leader. . . . With Caesar was the spirit of the future; and his victory marks the moment when humanity could once more start hopefully upon a new line of progress.

Other wars took precious time that was needed for the great work of reorganization. Egypt and Asia Minor each required



a campaign. In Egypt, with the voluptuous queen, *Cleopatra*, Caesar wasted a few months, but he atoned for this delay by swift prosecution of the war in Asia against the son of Mithridates. This was the campaign that he reported pithily, and rather boastfully, to his lieutenants in Rome, — "I came, I saw, I conquered." Meantime, Cato and the senatorial party had raised troops in Africa. Caesar crushed them at *Thapsus*. Somewhat later, Pompey's sons and the last remnants of their party were overthrown in Spain.

Cato, stern republican that he was, committed suicide after Thapsus, unwilling to survive the commonwealth. His death was admired by the ancient world, and cast an undeserved halo about the expiring "republican" cause. The story may be read in Plutarch's *Life of Cato*.

Caesar's first constructive work was to reconcile Italy to his government. The wealthy classes there had trembled when he crossed the Rubicon, expecting new massacres. But Caesar maintained strict order, guarded property carefully, and punished no political opponent who laid down arms.

Only one of his soldiers had refused to follow him when he decided upon civil war. Caesar sent all this officer's property after him to Pompey's camp. He continued the same policy, too, toward the nobles who left Italy to join Pompey. On the field of victory, he called to his vengeful soldiers to remember that the enemy were their fellow citizens; and after *Pharsalus*, he employed in the public service any Roman of ability, without regard to the side he had fought on. This clemency brought its proper fruit. Almost at once all classes, except a few aristocratic extremists, became heartily reconciled to his rule.

To understand Caesar's wider work, we must keep in mind the evil conditions of the age. From the time of the Gracchi, Rome had been moving toward monarchy. (1) Because of the corruption of the populace in the capital, and of the incompetent greed of the oligarchs, a tribune had sometimes been able to use his tremendous power to make himself practically a dictator, as

Caius Gracchus did for two years. (2) *Because of the growing military danger on the frontiers*, the mighty authority of a proconsul of a single province was sometimes extended, by special decrees, over *vaster areas for indefinite time*, as with Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

*To make a monarch needed but to unite these two powers, at home and abroad, in one person. This was what Caesar did.* He preserved the old republican forms. The Senate debated, and the Assembly elected aediles, consuls, and praetors as before. But Caesar received "the tribunician power" for life, and the title of *Imperator* for himself and his descendants. This term, from which we get our word "Emperor," had meant simply supreme general, and had been used only of the master of legions in the field abroad. Probably Caesar would have liked the title of king, since the recognized authority that went with it would have helped him to keep order. But he found that name still hateful to the people; and so he adopted *Imperator* for his title as monarch. (He also had himself elected censor for life, so that he could make and unmake senators.)

The corruption of the populace in Italy and the incapacity of the greedy oligarchy there, as we have said, made monarchy inevitable. **And another condition** (the desperate need for better government for the provinces) **made Caesar's monarchy a boon to the whole Roman world.** In no small degree, indeed, Caesar rose to power as champion of oppressed subject peoples, and his great aim was to mold the distracted Roman world into one mighty whole under equal laws.

Already, as proconsul, on his own authority, he had admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to all the privileges of citizenship. In the midst of arduous campaigns, he had kept up correspondence with leading provincials in all parts of the Empire. Other Roman conquerors had spent part of their plunder from the provinces in adorning Rome with public buildings: Caesar had expended vast sums in adorning and improving *provincial cities*, not only in his own districts of Gaul and Spain, but also in Asia and Greece. All previous Roman armies had been

made up of Italians: Caesar's army was drawn from Cisalpine Gaul, and indeed partly from Gaul beyond the Alps. Many of the subject peoples had begun to look to him as their best hope against senatorial rapacity, and the great body of them wished for monarchy as an escape from anarchy and oligarchic misrule.

To call Caesar's monarchy a solution for the problems of his day is not to call monarchy good at all times. A despotism can get along with less virtue and intelligence than a free government can. The Roman world was not good enough or wise enough for free government. It seemed on the verge of ruin. The despotism of the Caesars was a strong poison-medicine which preserved that world for five precious centuries.

Caesar made over the system of provincial government. The old governors had been irresponsible tyrants, with every temptation to plunder. Under Caesar they began to be *trained servants* of a stern master who looked to the welfare of the whole Empire. Their authority was lessened, and they were surrounded by a system of checks — in the presence of other officials dependent directly upon the Emperor.

Caesar's plans were broader than this. He meant to put the provinces upon an equality with Italy. Part of this he accomplished in the brief time left him. He incorporated all Cisalpine Gaul in Italy, and multiplied Roman citizenship by adding whole communities in Gaul beyond the Alps, in Spain, and elsewhere.

Leading Gauls, too, were admitted to the Senate, whose membership Caesar raised to 900. Old-fashioned Romans were sadly shocked that fair-haired barbarians, speaking with uncouth and almost unintelligible accent, should mingle on the benches of the Senate House with proud Italian aristocrats, even though the new members had laid aside the breeches, at which Rome jeered, for the white, purple-bordered togas of senators. But Caesar hoped to make the Senate represent not merely Rome or Italy, but the whole Empire.

**Rome and Italy were not neglected.** A commission, like that of the Gracchi, was put at work to reclaim and allot public lands. Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously. In his early consulship (page 282), Caesar had refounded Capua. Now he did the like for Carthage and Corinth, and those noble capitals, which had been criminally destroyed by the narrow jealousy of the Roman aristocracy, rose again to wealth and power. Eighty thousand landless citizens of Rome were provided for *beyond seas*; and by these and other means the helpless poor in the capital, dependent upon free grain, were reduced from 320,000 to 150,000.

Soon after the time of the Gracchi, it had become necessary to extend the practice of selling *cheap* grain to distributing *free* grain, at state expense, to the populace of the capital. This became one of the chief duties of the government. To omit it would have meant starvation and a horrible insurrection. For centuries to come, the degraded populace was ready to support any political adventurer who seemed willing and able to satisfy lavishly its cry for "bread and games." To have attacked the growing evil so boldly is one of Caesar's chief titles to honor. With a longer life, no doubt he would have lessened the danger still further, but his successors soon abandoned the task.

**There were also a number of minor reforms, which might of themselves have made many a ruler famous.** Rigid economy was introduced into all branches of the government. A bankruptcy law released all debtors from further claims if they surrendered their property to their creditors (a principle adopted by modern lawmakers), and so the demoralized Italian society was given a fresh start. A census was taken for all Italy, and measures were under way to extend it over the Empire. Caesar also created a great *public* library, rebuilt the Forum, began vast public works in all parts of the Empire, and reformed the coinage, the method of raising taxes, and the calendar.





PART OF THE ROMAN FORUM TO-DAY. — This view looks southward from the direction of the Capitoline (map facing page 206), toward the western edge of the Palatine. The group of columns in the foreground belonged to a Temple of Saturn, which was also the Roman Treasury. The rows of bases of pillars, on the right, belonged to a splendid basilica, or judgment hall, built by Julius Caesar. South of the Temple of Saturn, and to the left of Caesar's basilica, lay the open market place.

The Mediterranean world was using the ancient Egyptian calendar, which counted only 365 days — although Egyptian scientists had long since pointed out that the true year was a quarter-day longer (page 30). Because of that discrepancy, the calendar had come to be three months out of the way, so that the spring equinox came in the month that was supposed to mark the long midsummer days. To correct the error, Caesar made the year 46 ("the last year of confusion") consist of four hundred and forty-five days, and, for the future, instituted the system of leap years as we have it, except for a slight correction by Pope Gregory in the sixteenth century. (What do you know about recent proposals to reform our calendar?)

Caesar was still in the prime of manhood, and had every reason to hope for time to carry his work much farther. No public



enemy could be raised against him. One danger there was: lurking assassins beset his path. But with characteristic dignity he quietly refused a bodyguard, declaring it better to die at any time than to live always in fear of death. So the daggers of men whom he had spared struck him down.

A group of irreconcilable nobles plotted to take his life, — led by the envious *Cassius* and the weak enthusiast *Brutus*,



SILVER COIN OF CAESAR'S, 44 B.C. Compare the head with the portrait sculpture on page 284. The reverse shows a Venus holding a Winged Victory. This coin must have been struck very shortly before the assassination.

whom Caesar had heaped with favors. They accomplished their crime in the Senate House, on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. Crowding around him, and fawning upon him as if to ask a favor, the assassins suddenly drew their daggers. According to an old story,

Caesar at first, calling for help, stood on his defense and wounded Cassius; but when he saw the loved and trusted Brutus in the snarling pack, he cried out sadly, "Thou, too, Brutus!" and drawing his toga about him with calm dignity, he resisted no longer, but sank at the foot of Pompey's statue, bleeding from three and twenty stabs.

Caesar was resourceful, quick in decision, dashing in the execution of a plan, and tireless in his activity. His opponent Cicero said of him: "He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, exactness." Many anecdotes are told of his doing different things at one time — like dictating six or more letters to as many scribes at once. Says a modern critic, "He was great as captain, statesman, lawgiver, jurist, orator, poet, historian, grammarian, mathematician, architect." His gracious courtesy and his charm of manner won hearts easily, so that his enemies dreaded personal interviews lest they be



THE DEATH OF CAESAR. — A modern painting. The assassins are just leaving the Senate House — whence the other senators, so far as possible, have already fled.



NORTHEAST SIDE OF THE ROMAN FORUM—*above*, as it was in Roman times (according to a reconstruction by Benvenuti); *below*, as it is in recent times.

drawn to his side ; and toward his friends he never wearied in forbearance and love.

No doubt, "Caesar was ambitious." He was a broad-minded genius, with a strong man's delight in ruling well. The murder came only five years after Caesar crossed the Rubicon. Those years, with their seven campaigns, gave only eighteen months for constructive reform. The work was left incomplete ; but that which was actually accomplished dazzles the imagination, and marked out the lines along which Caesar's successors, less grandly, had to move.

The murder was as imbecile as it was wicked. It struck the wise monarch, but not the monarchy, and left Caesar's work to be completed by smaller men after a new period of anarchy. There is no better way to leave "the foremost man of all this world," than with the words of the German historian, Mommsen : "Thus he worked and created as never any mortal before or after him ; and as a worker and creator he still, after two thousand years, lives in the memory of the nations — the first and the unique Imperator Caesar !"

Caesar's assassination led to fourteen years more of dreary civil war, before the Empire was finally established. The murderers had hoped to be greeted as liberators, but, to their dismay, all classes (even the senatorial order) shrank from them. At Caesar's funeral his lieutenant and friend, Mark Antony, was permitted to deliver the usual oration over the dead body. His artful and fiery words roused the populace to fury against the assassins.<sup>1</sup> The mob rose ; all Italy was hostile ; and the conspirators fled to the Eastern provinces, where the fame of Pompey was still a strength to the aristocrats.

In the West, control fell to *Antony* and *Octavius Caesar*. Antony, the orator of Caesar's funeral, was a dissolute, resolute, daring soldier. Octavius was a grandnephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar, and, though only a youth of eighteen, he was supported by some of Caesar's old legions. Through the

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<sup>1</sup> Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 53, gives Appian's account of this speech. Compare it with Shakespeare's version in his *Julius Caesar*.

statesmanlike policy of Octavius, these two leaders joined forces and marched against Brutus and Cassius, who had gathered a mighty but mixed army from Parthia, Armenia, Media, Pontus, and Thrace. Again East and West met in conflict, and again the West won — at *Philippi* in Macedonia (42 B.C.).

Octavius and Antony then divided the Roman world. The East fell to Antony. In Egypt he became infatuated with Cleopatra. He bestowed rich provinces upon her, and, it was rumored, he planned to conquer the West and replace Rome as chief capital by Alexandria. The West turned to Octavius as its champion. In 31, the rivals met in the naval battle of *Actium* off the coast of Greece. Early in the battle, Cleopatra took flight with the Egyptian ships. Antony followed her, deserting his fleet and army. Once more the West had won.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 52, 53, 54; and (on Caesar's constructive work) Warde Fowler's *Caesar*, 326-359. Davis' *A Friend of Caesar* is the best story on the period.

### EXERCISES

1. Make and drill upon a catch-word review of Caesar's life and work.
2. Why do you think that his victory was or was not a good thing for the Roman world?
3. Do you think a rule like his would be a good thing for any parts of the civilized world to-day? Why, or why not?
4. Compare Caesar as a leader with Marius, Sulla, and Pompey.
5. Add (for the founding of the Empire) the dates 44 B.C., 31 B.C.



## CHAPTER XXII

### THE EMPERORS OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES

31 B.C.—180 A.D.

One thoughtful *reading* of this chapter is enough. To fix all names and events is by no means needful. The chapter, in large degree, is meant for reference as the class study the following chapters.

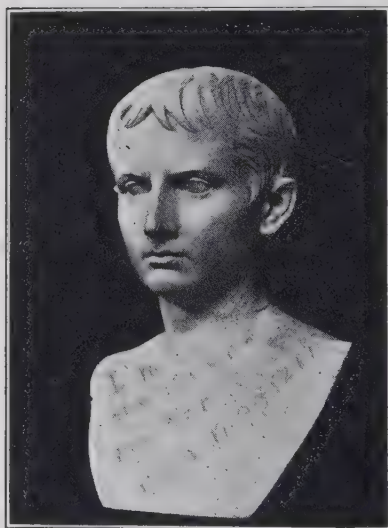
#### I. AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.—14 A.D.

Actium made Octavius sole master of the Roman world. He gave the next two years to restoring order in the East. On his return to Rome in 29 B.C., the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed, in token of the reign of peace.<sup>1</sup> He welcomed to favor and to public office the followers of his old rivals, and, by prudent and generous measures, he soon brought back prosperity to long-distracted Italy. In the year 27 he went through a pretense of resigning his authority as dictator, — an office which he had had the Senate confer upon him some years before — and declared the Republic restored. In reality his act showed merely that the Empire was fully established. The Senate had given him the title of *Princeps*, or Prince, which meant “the first citizen,” and it now conferred upon him the new title *Augustus*, which formerly had been used only of the gods. It is by this title that he is thenceforth known in history.

Augustus wrote years later: “After that time I excelled all others *in dignity*, but *of power* I held no more than those who served with me in any office.” In fact, however, he kept in his own hands the title of Imperator (“master of the legions”) which carried with it supreme power. To be sure, he respected republican forms even more carefully than Julius Caesar had.

<sup>1</sup> These gates were always open when the Romans were engaged in any war. In all Roman history, they had been closed only twice before, — and one of these times was in the legendary reign of King Numa.

He lived more simply than many a noble, and walked the streets like any citizen, charming all whom he met by his frankness and courtesy. He even went through the form of personally soliciting votes in the Assembly for his nominees for office,



OCTAVIUS CAESAR (Augustus) as a boy.—  
A marble head.

like any friend of a candidate in earlier times. He was so popular that he did not need open support from the army. The legions were stationed mostly on the frontiers, far from Italy. He did create a body of city troops, nine thousand in number (the *praetorian guards*), to preserve order at Rome, but, during his rule, even these guards were encamped outside the city.

**Augustus ruled forty-five years after Actium (31 B.C.-14 A.D.),** carrying out the policies of the great Julius, and renewing, for

the last time, the work of founding colonies outside Italy. Peace reigned; order was established; industry revived. Marshes were drained and roads were built. A postal system was organized. A census of the Empire was taken, and many far-distant communities were granted Roman citizenship. Augustus himself tells us, in a famous inscription, that in *one* year he began the rebuilding of eighty-two temples; and of Rome he said, — “I found it brick, and have left it marble.” He also encouraged by generous rewards the famous writers, sculptors, and architects who now thronged to Rome. The “Augustan Age” is the golden age of Latin literature (page 322).

**At the death of Augustus, the Senate decreed him divine honors.** Temples were erected in his honor, and he was wor-

shipped as a god. Such worship seems impious to us, but to the Romans it was connected with the idea of ancestor worship and with the worship of ancient heroes, and was a way of recognizing the Emperor as "the father of all his people." The practice was adopted for the successors of Augustus, and this worship of dead Emperors soon became a general and widespread religious



BRIDGE AT RIMINI (on the Adriatic ten miles south of the Rubicon) built by Augustus. A recent photo.

rite, the only religion common to the whole Roman world, — binding together the dwellers on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Tiber, the Rhone, and the Tagus.

Shortly before this worship began, when the reign of Augustus was a little more than half gone, there was born in a manger in an obscure hamlet of a distant corner of the Roman world the child Jesus, whose religion, after some centuries, was to replace the worship of dead Emperors and all other religious faiths of the pagan world.

## II. FOUR MORE JULIAN CAESARS<sup>1</sup>

**At Augustus' death, every one recognized that some Emperor must be appointed to succeed him, and the Senate at once**

<sup>1</sup> So named because related by blood or adoption to the great Julius. Every successor of Augustus was hailed *Imperator Caesar Augustus*. The title Caesar lasted on until recently — in *Kaiser* and in *Tsar*.

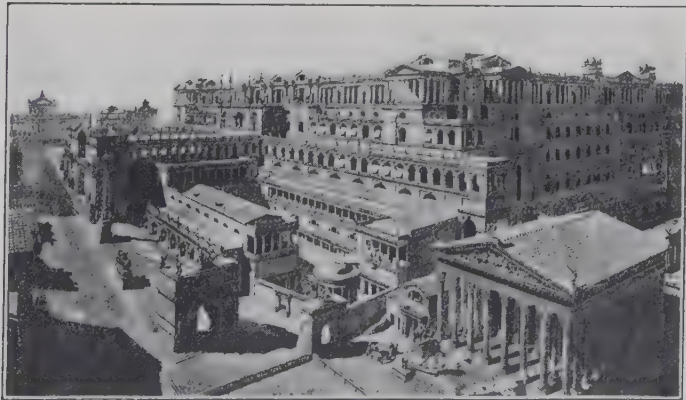
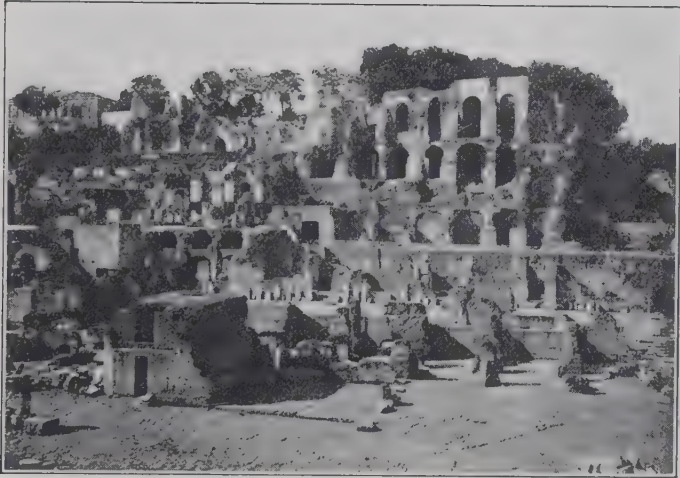
granted all his titles and authority to his stepson *Tiberius*, whom he had *recommended* for the position.

**Tiberius** (14-37 A.D.) was stern and suspicious but he was also able and conscientious. The nobles of the capital conspired against him, and were punished cruelly. The populace of Rome, too, hated him because he abolished the Assembly, where they had been able to sell their votes, and because he refused to amuse them with gladiatorial sports. To keep the capital in order, *Tiberius brought the praetorians* (page 296) *into the city*. He also made the law of treason (*majestas*) apply to *words* against the Emperor, as well as to *acts* of violence, *and he encouraged a system of paid spies*. Such wretches sometimes *invented* plots, when there were none, so as to share in the confiscation of the property of the man they accused. So the people of Rome with some reason looked upon Tiberius as a gloomy tyrant. *But in the provinces he was proverbial for fairness, kindness, and good government*. "A good shepherd shears his sheep, he does not flay them," was one of his sayings. On one occasion, after a great earthquake in Asia Minor, he rebuilt twelve cities which had been destroyed there. In this reign occurred *the crucifixion of Christ*.

In the absence of nearer heirs, Tiberius had adopted his grand-nephew Caligula, nominating him to the Senate, in his will, for his successor. The Senate confirmed the appointment.

**Caligula** (37-41 A.D.) had been a promising youth, but, crazed by power, or by a serious illness, he became a capricious madman, with gleams of ferocious humor. "Would that the Romans had all one neck!" he exclaimed, wishing that he might behead them all at one stroke. The gladiatorial shows and the wild-beast fights of the amphitheater fascinated him strangely. It is said that sometimes, to add to the spectacle, he ordered spectators to be thrown to the animals, and he entered the arena himself as a gladiator, to win the applause of the people whom he hated. After four years this insane monster was slain by officers of his guard.





ABOVE. — RUINS OF THE "PALACE OF THE CAESARS," built by Tiberius and Caligula, on the Palatine Hill.

BELOW. — A RECONSTRUCTION of the Palace of the Caesars, by Benvenuti.





RUIN OF THE HOUSE OF A WEALTHY ROMAN (*M. Olconius*) AT POMPEII. Note Vesuvius the Destroyer in the background. Cf. page 302 f.



RUINS OF PART OF THE FORUM AT POMPEII.

Caligula had named no successor. For a moment the Senate hoped to restore the old Republic, but the praetorians (devoted to the great Julian line) hailed Claudius, an uncle of Caligula, as Emperor, and the Senate had to confirm the appointment. Claudius had been a timid scholar and an author of tiresome books; but now he gave his time faithfully to the hard work of governing, with good results. His reign (41-54 A.D.) is famous for a great extension of citizenship to provincials, for legislation to protect slaves against cruel masters, and for the conquest of southern Britain.

Nero, Claudius' stepson, became Emperor as a likable boy of sixteen. He had been trained by the philosopher Seneca (page 323), and for two thirds of his reign he was guided by wise ministers. He cared little for affairs of government, but was fond of art and ridiculously vain of his skill in music and poetry. He sought popular applause also as a gladiator. After some years his fears and his greed led him to crime and tyranny. He murdered his half-brother and his ambitious mother. Wealthy nobles were put to death in numbers, and their property confiscated, Seneca himself being among the victims.

During this reign, half of Rome was laid in ashes by the "Great Fire" (Davis' Readings, II, No. 65). In the densely populated parts of the city, many-storied, cheap, flimsy tenement houses projected their upper floors nearly across the narrow, crooked thoroughfares, so that the fire leaped easily from side to side. For six days and nights the flames raged unchecked, surging in billows over the slopes and through the valleys of the Seven Hills. By some, Nero was believed to have ordered the destruction, in order that he might rebuild in more magnificent fashion. On better authority he was reported to have at least enjoyed the spectacle from the roof of his palace, singing a poem he had composed on the "Burning of Troy."

The new sect of Christians also were accused of starting the fire, out of their supposed "hatred for the human race," and because they had so often declared that a fiery destruction of the world was coming. To turn attention from himself, Nero

took up the charge against them, and carried out the *first persecution of the Christians*, one of the most cruel in all history. Vic-

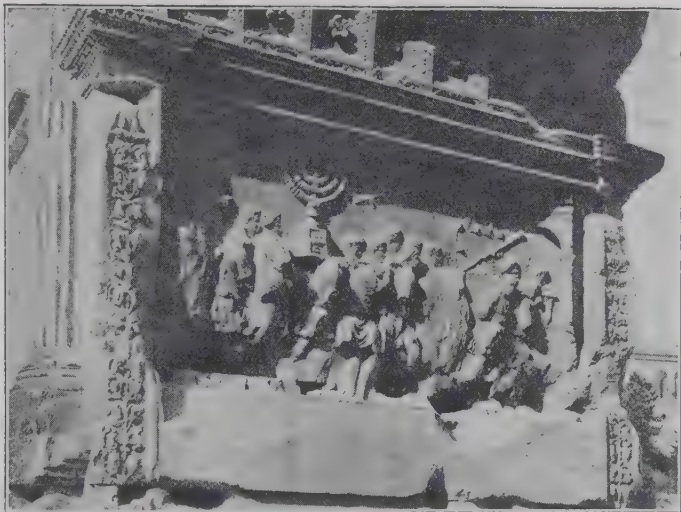


ARCH OF TITUS (to commemorate the victory over the Jews; page 302), showing the Coliseum in the distance. (Locate both structures on map facing page 340.) The *triumphal* arch, spanning a city street like a gate, was a favorite decorative use of the arch by the Romans. For an Egyptian model, see cut facing page 190.

tims, tarred with pitch, were burned as torches in the imperial gardens, to light the indecent revelry of the court at night; and others, clothed in the skins of animals, were torn by dogs

for the amusement of the mob. The persecution, however, was confined to the capital.

Nero's disgraceful rule finally roused the legions on the frontiers to rebel; and to avoid capture, he stabbed himself, exclaiming, "What a pity for such an artist to die!"



DETAIL FROM THE ARCH OF TITUS, showing the sacred seven-branched candlestick taken from the Temple at Jerusalem.

### III. THE FLAVIAN<sup>1</sup> CAESARS

The year 69 A.D. was one of wild confusion. In various provinces the legions set up favorite generals as Emperors; and finally **Vespasian**, at the head of the army in Syria, **made himself master**. The Senate could then only confirm this choice of the soldiery.

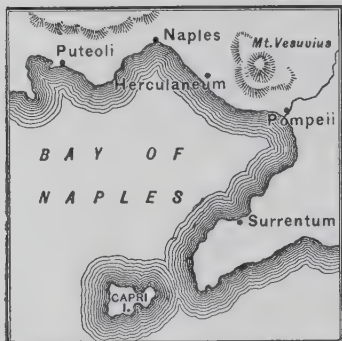
Vespasian was the grandson of a Sabine laborer. He was a rude soldier, — stumpy in build, blunt in manner, homely in tastes, but honest, industrious, experienced, and broad-minded. He had distinguished himself in Britain and in Asia, and he

<sup>1</sup> The name comes from Vespasian's first name, Flavius. The "Julian" Emperors had been *Romans*; this Flavian group were of *Italian* descent; the next group (page 303) were *provincials*.



knew the needs of the Empire. His reign (70-79 A.D.) was economical and thrifty. He loved simple manners and homely virtues, and hated sham. At the end, as he felt the hand of death upon him, he said, with grim irony, "I think I am becoming a god," — in allusion to the worship of dead Emperors.

*In this reign came the destruction of Jerusalem.* The Jewish kingdom which had been established by the heroic Maccabees



(page 252) had been made a tributary state by Pompey (63 B.C.), and in 4 A.D. it became a Roman province. But the Jews were restless under foreign rule, and in the year 66, in Nero's time, a national uprising drove out the Roman officers. This rebellion was now put down by Vespasian and his son Titus. In 70 A.D. Titus captured Jerusalem, after

a stubborn siege. He had offered liberal terms; but the starving Jews made a frenzied resistance, and when the walls were finally stormed, many of them slew their women and children and died in the flames. The miserable remnant for the most part were sold into slavery. (Only recently, during the World War, was a beginning made in reëstablishing a Jewish state in Palestine.)

**Titus** (70-81 A.D.) had been associated in the government with his father. The most famous event of his short reign was the *destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum by Vesuvius*. This volcano had been thought extinct, and its slopes were covered with villas and vineyards; but in 79 A.D., with little warning, it belched forth in terrible eruption, burying two cities and many villages in ashes and volcanic mud. In the eighteenth century, by the chance digging of a well, the site of Pompeii, the larger of the two cities, was rediscovered. In recent years it has been excavated; and to-day a visitor can walk through the streets of an

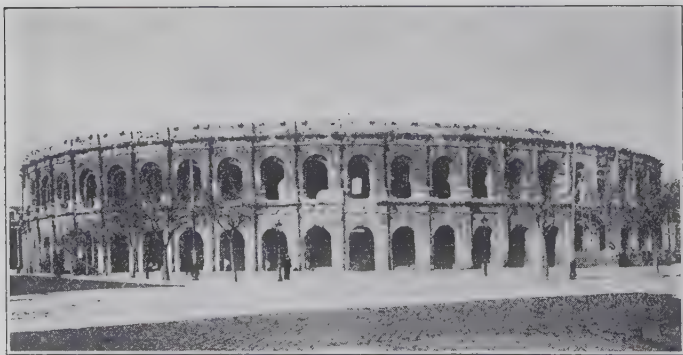




THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN at Rome, commemorating the conquests beyond the Danube mentioned on page 303. This is the finest surviving example of a favorite kind of Roman monument. It is 100 feet high, and the spiral band of reliefs that circles it contains 2500 figures. (One famous detail is pictured over the page. Some other Emperors had similar columns—a relief from one of which is shown on page 355.) Compare this column with the Assyrian triumphal monument on page 47. Later conquerors, like Napoleon I of France, have made use of both this form of monument and the triumphal Roman arch to celebrate their victories.



A DETAIL FROM TRAJAN'S COLUMN (see other side of this page): Trajan sacrificing a bull at the bridge over the Danube, just completed by his soldiers. This bridge (roughly shown in the background above the turbulent river) was a remarkable structure, — probably the most wonderful bridge in the world until the era of iron and steel bridge-work in the nineteenth century.



A ROMAN AMPHITHEATER IN ITS PRESENT STATE AT NÎMES in southern France. — An amazingly well-preserved structure.

ancient city, viewing well-preserved houses, shops, temples, baths, theaters, ornaments, and tools of the men of eighteen hundred years ago, as they chanced to stand or lie when the volcanic ashes and lava flood came upon them.

**Domitian** (81-96 A.D.) was a younger brother of Titus. He proved a strong, stern ruler. His general, *Agricola*, completed *the conquest of Britain* to the highlands of Caledonia (Scotland). In the years that followed, Roman roads were built in the island; camps grew into rich cities; merchants thronged to them; the country was dotted with beautiful villas, and Britain finally became a peaceful and prosperous Roman province.

After Domitian had ruled a short time, the Roman nobles conspired against him and finally assassinated him. Their particular grievance was that he had taken the office of *Censor for life*, and used the power of that office to make and unmake Senators at will. (No Emperor before him, except Julius Caesar, had ventured to hold that office, but all after that time did so.)

#### IV. THE ANTONINE CAESARS

The Senate chose the next ruler from its own number, and he and his four successors are known as the *five good Emperors*. The first of the five was **Nerva** (96-98 A.D.), an aged senator of *Spanish descent*, who died after a kindly rule of sixteen months.

**Trajan** (98-117) was an adopted son of Nerva. He was a *Spaniard* and a great general. He conquered and colonized *Dacia*, a vast district north of the Danube, and then attacked the Parthians in Asia, adding new provinces *beyond the Euphrates*. *These victories mark the greatest extent of the Roman Empire*. Dacia is the modern *Roumania* — still "Roman" in name and largely in speech, although the district was lost to the Empire after only a hundred years.

Trajan's reign was the most famous in Roman history for the *construction of roads and other useful public works throughout the provinces*. Despite his wars, his rule was humane as well as just. By loans from the treasury, he encouraged the cities of

Italy to care for and educate many thousands of poor children,<sup>1</sup> and slaves were protected against cruel masters by strict laws.

**Hadrian**, a Spanish kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him (117-138). Wisely and courageously, he abandoned most of Trajan's conquests in Asia (disregarding the sneers and murmurs of nobles and populace), and withdrew the frontier there to the old line of the Euphrates, more easily defended. He looked to the fortification of other exposed frontiers. His most famous work of this kind was a wall in Britain, from the Solway to the Tyne (to keep out the unconquered Picts of the northern highlands), replacing a less satisfactory "Wall of Agricola" still farther to the north. (See map after page 306.)

This "Wall of Hadrian" was seventy miles long. Considerable portions can still be traced. It consisted of three distinct parts: (1) a twenty-foot stone wall and ditch, on the north; (2) a double earthen rampart and ditch, about one hundred and twenty yards to the south; and (3) between wall and rampart a series of fourteen fortified camps connected by a road.

Hadrian spent most of his twenty years' rule in examining and improving conditions in the provinces. At one time he was in Britain; then in Dacia; again in Gaul, or in Africa, Syria, or Egypt. He spent several months in Asia Minor, and several more in Macedonia, and twice he visited Athens, his favorite city, which he adorned with glorious buildings. All over the Empire, indeed, memorials of his visits sprang up in splendid and useful public works, — aqueducts, baths, schools, basilicas (page 350), temples, and highways.

For relaxation, Hadrian liked to write graceful verse. The lines he addressed to his soul as he felt death approach are true poetry:

"Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,  
Guest and partner of my clay,  
Whither wilt thou hie away,  
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one, —  
Never to play again, never to play?"

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<sup>1</sup> Capes' *Antonines*, 19-21, gives interesting details.

The next Emperor was Antoninus Pius, whom Hadrian had adopted as a son. This reign (138-161) was singularly *peaceful and uneventful*, and might well have given rise to the saying, "Happy the people whose annals are meager." Antoninus himself was a pure and gentle spirit, and the chief feature of his rule was more legislation *to prevent cruelty to slaves*. On the evening



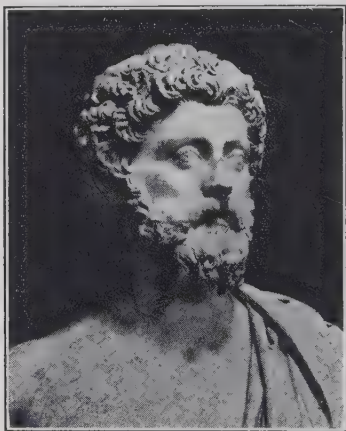
RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS BUILT BY HADRIAN AT ATHENS. What is the style of the architecture? Do you recognize the hill in the background? Find the site of this ruin on the map on page 134.

of his death, when asked by the officer of the guard for the watchword for the night, he gave the word *Equanimity*, which might have served as the motto of his life. His adopted son wrote of him: "He was ever prudent and temperate. . . . He looked to his duty, and not to the opinion of men. . . . There was in his life nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing overdone." (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 69, gives more of this noble tribute.)

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nephew and adopted son of Antoninus Pius, was a *philosopher and student*. He belonged to the Stoics (page 188), but in him that stern philosophy, without losing its lofty tone, was softened by a gracious gentleness.



His tastes made him wish to continue in his father's footsteps, but he had fallen upon harsher times. The barbarians renewed their attacks upon the Danube, the Rhine, and the Euphrates.



MARCUS AURELIUS, — a marble head.

The Emperor and his lieutenants beat them back, but at the cost of almost incessant war: the gentle philosopher lived and wrote and died in camp, on the frontiers. A great Asiatic plague, too, swept over the Empire. Not only did it cause terrible loss of life: it also demoralized society. The populace thought the disease a visitation from offended gods, and, in many districts they were frantically excited against the unpopular sect of Christians who refused to

worship the gods of Rome. Thus the reign of the kindly Aurelius was marked by a cruel persecution.

The "five good Emperors" end with Marcus Aurelius. His son, **Commodus** (180-192), was an infamous wretch who was finally murdered by his officers.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, now becomes very full. Some numbers have been referred to in footnotes. The order of topics varies considerably from the order adopted in this text, and, to aid the student, the following numbers are mentioned as valuable for this chapter: 56, 59, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70.

"Reading students" may well use all or parts of Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Antonines* for both this and the following chapter.

EXERCISES. — 1. A catch-word review of the Roman Empire from the death of Julius Caesar to the death of Marcus Aurelius. 2. How did Augustus carry on the work of Julius? 3. Select five of the rulers named in this chapter whom you think you ought to remember. (Can you tell *why* you selected those five? It would be well for five different students each to put his list on the board, and for the class, after discussion, to choose a list of five by vote.) 4. Fix the exact years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius by examining the text regarding other rulers.











## CHAPTER XXIII

### LIFE UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE

*Republican Rome had little to do with our modern life: imperial Rome, everything.* — STILLÉ.

#### I. DEFENSE AND GOVERNMENT

Unlike the Republic, the Empire waged few wars of conquest. For the most part it merely stood on its defense against barbarians. Julius Caesar left it bounded by the North Sea and the Rhine to the northwest, and by the Black Sea to the northeast; by the upper Euphrates and the Arabian desert on the East; by the Arabian and African deserts on the south; and by the Atlantic on the west.

These natural barriers were satisfactory and complete except in two places:

(1) The Euphrates limit left half the empire of Alexander to Oriental states, like Parthia and Persia, which at times proved exceedingly dangerous to Roman peace. Still, after Trajan's experiment, all later Emperors agreed with Hadrian's decision (page 304) that the boundary was the best one obtainable on that side. (2) The only other line at all open to invasion was on the north, in Europe, between the Black Sea and the mouth of the Rhine. The eastern half of that line was much improved by Augustus — who advanced the frontier in south-eastern Europe as far north as the Danube. Then he *planned* to improve the western half by advancing the frontier from the Rhine, through German territory, to the Elbe.

The line of the Danube and Elbe is shorter than that of the Danube and Rhine (though it guards more territory); and it would have been easier to defend, because the space between the upper courses of the two rivers is filled by the mountain wall of Bohemia and Moravia.

Here, however, the long success of Augustus was broken by his one disaster. His generals did subdue the district between the Rhine and the Elbe, and held it for several years. But in the year 9 A.D. the Germans rose again, under their hero *Hermann*. Varus, the Roman commander, was entrapped in the *Teutoberg Forest*. His three legions were utterly annihilated in a three-day battle (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 62), and the Roman dominion was swept back to the Rhine.

This was the first retreat Rome ever made from territory she had once occupied. The aged Augustus was broken by the blow. For days, it is said, he did little but moan repeatedly, "O Varus, Varus! Give me back my legions!" And at his death, five years later, he bequeathed to his successors the advice to be content with the boundaries as they stood. This policy, on the German frontier, was adopted permanently. Later, Domitian made up as well as he could for the lack of the natural wall of Bohemia, by building a line of forts and castles, joined by long earthen ramparts, along the exposed stretch of 336 miles from the upper Danube to the upper Rhine.

In spite of these imperfections, the general result was efficient and imposing. The Roman Empire was a broad belt of land, about equal to the United States in area, stretching east and west along both shores of its great Mediterranean highway. The loss of part of Alexander's empire on the east (in Asia) was more than made up by the gain of new regions on the west (in Europe). Around this civilized world were drawn almost continuous defensive barriers of stormy waves and desolate sands, and at the weaker gaps — on the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and at the Walls of Domitian and Hadrian — stood the mighty, sleepless legions to watch and ward.

The naval and military forces that guarded this vast and peaceful realm counted less than 400,000 men. For the last sixty years of our own day the Christian nations that fill only the western half of the old Roman territory have kept always under arms many times that number — though there are no longer outside barbarians to dread.

The troops had become a "regular" and professional army, highly disciplined, with perfect confidence in their own invincible discipline. They felt intense pride, too, in the name Roman,



ROMAN WAR GALLEY of the time of the Empire — as shown in the photograph *Ben Hur*. Note that only *square* sails were used, as in earlier times.

though, after the first century, the legions were renewed more and more by enlistments on the frontiers where they were stationed. In the third century, indeed, barbarian mercenaries had come to make the main part of the army. From the hungry foes surging against its walls, the Empire drew the guardians of its peace.

The legions were not wholly lost to useful industry. In time of peace, they penetrated hundreds of miles of swamp and forest by building the marvelous Roman roads; they spanned great rivers with magnificent bridges; they built dikes to bar out the sea, and aqueducts and baths to increase the well-being of frontier cities. Then at the expiration of their twenty years with the eagles<sup>1</sup> (at about the age of forty), the veterans became full Roman citizens, no matter whence they had been recruited, and they were then commonly settled in colonies, with grants of land (Spanish troops perhaps in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Galatians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia). Augustus spent over ten million dollars in purchasing lands for military colonies in the provinces, and this process continued, generation after generation. In their new homes the veterans intermarried with the natives and *helped to mix the many races of the Roman world into one.*

**Taxation** under the *Early Empire* was lighter than most provinces had known under native rulers before Roman conquest. Every one paid a poll tax and a low (five per cent) tax on any inheritances that fell to him. Every landholder paid a land tax, and every trader paid what we should call an "occupation tax," or license. This was about all during the first two centuries, except that in Egypt and Africa the provincial governors collected also from each farmer a portion of his rich grain crop for the imperial government — wherewith to feed the hungry masses of the great cities. (In bad seasons the Emperor usually lightened this burden on the farmer.)

**What did the government do for the people in return for the taxes it took from them?** Many things which a government does to-day, it did not do. It did not build many hospitals or asylums, or maintain *complete* systems of education, or care systematically for the public health, though the government of the

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<sup>1</sup> The eagle was an almost universal emblem on Roman military standards. (See page 227.) Thence it was adopted later by the various European "empires" (Napoleon's and others) that claimed descent from the Roman.



TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT POMPEII — a reconstruction by the German scholar *Weichardt* (1898). The buildings around the open square facing the temple were mainly fine shops, with residences above them. Just in front of the temple stood a public altar, and in and around the square were several marble statues. The worship of Apollo may remind us that Pompeii was originally one of the Greek settlements in southern Italy, — Greek for some four hundred years before it began to be Roman.



RUINS OF TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT POMPEII. — This view represents the same scene as the one above, except that it is taken from a point a little farther toward the right-hand corner and comes a little farther to the front.





THE BLACK GATE (*Porta Nigra*)—one of many famous survivals from Roman times in Trier (Trèves). Cf. text on page 311.



AQUEDUCT NEAR NIMES, FRANCE, built about 150 A.D. by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from springs 25 miles distant; *present condition* of the long gray structure, where it crosses the Gard River. Water pipes were carried through hills by tunnels and across streams and valleys on arches like these. This aqueduct has vanished (its stones used for other buildings) except for this part; but here it is still possible to walk through the pipes on the top row of arches. Some of these Roman aqueducts remained in use till very recent days.

Roman Empire came nearer doing these things (pages 321, 327) than any government in the world had done, or was to do again until very recent times. Two things in particular it did do. It kept the "good Roman peace," and it built and kept up the Roman roads, — the bonds of union and means of intercourse throughout the Roman world.

We know that a mile of road built by Hadrian in southern Italy cost \$4000. On the frontiers and in mountain districts, the cost must have been many times as much. The one island of Sicily had a thousand miles of such roads. In France more than thirteen thousand miles can still be traced. Merely to keep this vast road system in repair called for a large revenue.

The first Caesar began giving Roman citizenship to inhabitants of the provinces (page 289). Several of his early successors extended the practice, as we have seen; and early in the next period (in 212 A.D.), the Emperor Caracalla made all free inhabitants of the Empire full citizens. True, this citizenship no longer gave a vote, but it did give important rights at law — as is illustrated in part by the story of the Apostle Paul and his "appeal to Caesar" (page 331).

Moreover, this extension of citizenship wiped out all the remaining distinction between Italy and the provinces. Indeed the greatest of the later Emperors were more at home at York (on the British Humber), or at Cologne on the Rhine (or at Trier near by) or at some capital by the Danube or the Black Sea, than at old Rome by the Tiber — which perhaps they visited only once or twice for some solemn pageant.

The early Emperors did not invent much new political machinery. Following the example of the first Caesar, *they merely concentrated (each in his own person) powers that had originally been created to check one another.* The Emperor held the *tribunician power* in the capital (with its veto on all acts of every official and on the Senate) and the *proconsular power* throughout all the provinces (pages 278, 288). *As Censor* he could appoint or de-grade senators. *As Princeps* he could speak first in any debate

in the Senate — and other speakers there were not likely to venture often to oppose his settled desire.

The Senate, however, was no longer a narrow oligarchy from one city: the Emperors soon transformed it (as the first Caesar had begun to do; page 289) into a select body of distinguished men from all parts of the Empire, acquainted with the needs and feelings of the whole Roman world. Usually the Emperor kept on good terms with it and made much use of its help and advice in carrying on the government. After Tiberius put an end to the Assembly of Roman citizens (page 298), *the chief way of making new laws lay in the Senate's passing "decrees."* These, of course, could never be in opposition to the wish of the Emperor, and usually they were really drawn up by him or by his council of advisers. (At a later time, the Emperors came to make law *directly* by their personal decrees.)

A few of the Emperors, like Nero and Caligula, even in this "golden age of the Empire," were weak or wicked; but their follies and vices for the most part concerned only the nobles of the capital city. The government of the Empire as a whole went on with little change during the short reigns of these tyrants, and to the vast body of its population, they seemed merely symbols of the peace and prosperity which enfolded the Roman world.

During all this period the next division for government below the Empire as a whole was a province. **No province had any self-government** (as a province — though some of its smaller parts did). There was no provincial Assembly, and there were no *elected* officials. The better Emperors gave earnest attention to provincial needs; but their rule, however kindly, was an absolute despotism, carried on through their appointed officials.

But a province was made up of towns (for the country district about each city was a part of it for all purposes of government), and **hundreds of the towns did keep considerable local self-government**, even under the despotic Empire. To be sure, the local government of Rome itself (along with that of Alexandria and other large cities with dangerous street mobs) was

placed in the hands of officers *appointed* by the Emperors. But in many other cities, scattered from Spain and Gaul to Syria and Dacia, assemblies of citizens continued to elect each year their consuls (a sort of twin mayors), their aediles to oversee the police and the public works, and their quaestors to care for the city finances; while in each such town, a town council (senate) of ex-magistrates voted local taxes, oversaw their expenditure, and looked after town matters in general. Election placards painted on the walls of the houses in Pompeii (page 302) show that the contests for office were quite modern in method (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 99).

Some 1500 political posters were painted on the walls of Pompeii's streets. Probably these all concerned one recent election; for when their purpose was served, the space would be whitewashed over, and used for new notices. These notices are painted in red letters from two to ten inches high, on a white background. Each man, apparently, could use his own wall to recommend his favorite candidates; but hired and zealous "bill-posters" blazoned their placards even upon private buildings and upon funeral monuments. A baker is nominated for quaestor (city treasurer) on the ground that he sells "good bread," while near by a leading aristocrat of the city is recommended for the same office as a man who may be counted on to "guard the treasury." One "wet" candidate for police commissioner is attacked ironically in several posters — as in one that reads, "All the late drinkers ask your support for Vatia for the aedileship."

Provincial governors were often disposed impatiently to sweep away these local institutions in order to get quicker results. Pliny (page 324) was a fine gentleman and an excellent provincial governor; but we find him asking his master, the Emperor Trajan, whether he shall allow the citizens of a town in his province of Bithynia to *repair* their public baths (as they desire) or whether he shall require them to *build new ones*, and whether he shall not interfere to compel a wise use of public moneys lying idle in another town (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 75).

Trajan, wiser than his minister, gently rebuked Pliny's over-zeal in some of these matters, and would have no needless meddling with established rights. Later rulers were not always so far-sighted, however, and local self-government did decline.

° Still, the *forms* of this municipal life never wholly died out. The Empire passed them on — even through the dark period of the Middle Ages, as we shall see — to our modern world.

## II. INDUSTRIES, TRADE, AND TRAVEL

**The seventy-five or a hundred million people who made up the population of the Roman world we have been describing dwelt mostly in cities.**

Thus Spain (a small corner of the Empire) was divided into two provinces, and *one* of these contained 174 towns, each with a charter from some Emperor defining its rights. There were no real towns in the Gaul that Caesar conquered — at best, only villages of one-room huts, protected sometimes by a stockade. But in the third century of the Empire, Gaul had 116 flourishing cities throbbing with industry and intellectual life — with temples, amphitheaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts, and schools of eloquence and rhetoric that drew students even from the banks of the Tiber. One **marked feature** of towns everywhere (as in Rome and in the Greek East earlier; page 259) was the attention paid to securing *a good water supply, with provision for public baths* far better than is found in modern European and American cities.

**Most towns were places of 20,000 people or less; but there were also a few great centers of trade,** — Rome, with perhaps two million people; Alexandria (in Egypt) and Antioch (in Asia), with a half million each; and Corinth, Carthage, Ephesus, and Lyons, with some 250,000 apiece.

**These commercial cities were likewise centers of manufactures.** The Emperor Hadrian visited Alexandria and wrote in a letter: "No one is idle; some work glass; some make paper (papyrus); some weave linen. Money is the only god." The looms of Sidon and the other old Phoenician cities turned forth ceaselessly their precious purple cloths. Miletus, Rhodes, and other Greek cities of the Asiatic coast were famous for their woolen manufactures. Syrian factories poured silks, costly tapestries, and fine leather into western Europe. Each town, large or small, had its guilds of artisans (page 230). In Rome





SOUTHEAST CORNER OF POMPEII, as reconstructed by *Weichardt* (see also facing page 310). The walls were built upon a prehistoric lava cliff due to some very ancient eruption of Vesuvius. The temple of Jupiter, prominent in the picture, was a building of Roman times. Note also the four-story residence in the foreground, and the lovely private grounds outside the walls. Pompeii must have had fifteen thousand inhabitants.



ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM, commemorating his conquests in Asia. See page 303. For the commemoration of Trajan's Danubian conquests, see facing 302, 303.

the bakers' gild listed 254 shops; and the silversmiths of Ephesus were numerous enough (*Acts* xix, 23-41) to stir up a formidable riot.

The ordinary town was the core of a farming district — which was included with the town itself in the *municipium*. The devouring of the small farms by large landlords, which had ruined much of Italy in the second century B.C., began to show ominously in some provinces by the second century A.D. But, on the whole, during "the Early Empire," especially in the West, the farmers were a sturdy peasantry, owning their own lands or at least tilling the same acres as tenants for generation after generation. (For this last condition in North Italy, see Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 88.) Market gardening was profitable near the cities. One Roman historian tells of two old soldiers who, with half an acre of land, made \$500 a year from their bees, — an amount equivalent to several thousand dollars to-day.

Most of the unskilled labor in the towns was done by *slaves* — of whom an artisan was likely to have two or three, or more, to assist him. The other extreme of society (*the gentleman class, or nobles*) found occupation as lawyers or in the army or in the higher posts of the civil service under the Emperor, or sometimes in literature, if they were not sufficiently busied in farming large estates. A *middle class* in the towns furnished merchants (as distinguished from shopkeepers), engineers, bankers, teachers, physicians, and many of the writers of books. We read of dentists and of eye-and-ear specialists.

Trade flourished as never before — and as it was not to flourish again for more than a thousand years after the fall of the Empire. Piracy had been driven from the seas. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. One Roman writer exclaimed that there were as many men upon the waves as upon land. (The vessels were much like the sailing vessels of the Mediterranean coasting trade to-day, and not very unlike those with which Columbus crossed the Atlantic.) On land, trunk roads ran, a thousand miles at a stretch, from all frontiers toward the chief capitals, with a dense

and ever-growing network of branches in every province. Guide books described routes and gave distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day. Travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until the railroad came, about a hundred years ago. Much travel was in wheeled and cushioned carriages, which rolled smoothly along the perfectly faced stones of the Roman roads; but some people chose instead luxurious litters, each swung along by its eight even-paced slaves at a swift trot, with a motion so easy that reading or writing within was a pleasant employment.

**The products of one region of the Empire were known in every other part.** Women of the Swiss mountains wore jewelry made by the silversmiths of Ephesus, and gentlemen in Britain and in Cilicia drank wines made in Italy. The gravestones of ancient Syrian traders are found to-day from Roumania to France; and monuments of Gallic merchants in Asia witness to this same intercourse. One merchant of Phrygia (in Asia Minor) asserts on his gravestone that he had sailed "around Greece to Italy seventy-two times."

**There was also a vast commerce with regions beyond the boundaries of the Empire.** Caesar found that the trader had preceded him to the most distant parts of Gaul. Just as English and Dutch traders journeyed three hundred years ago far into the savage interiors of America for better and better bargains in furs, so did the indomitable Roman trader continue to press on even into regions where the legions never camped. They visited Ireland; and both by sea and by overland routes from the Danube, they found their way to the Baltic shores. Thence they brought back amber, furs, and flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to adorn their heads. The trader paid for these goods cheaply in toys and trinkets and in wine and sometimes in Roman arms and tools, such as have been found on the Jutland coast, — as our colonial traders got their furs from the Indians with beads and whisky and guns and powder and knives.

Toward the south, the far-distant coasts of Central Africa rewarded the venturesome trader with ivory, spices, apes, rare marbles, wild beasts, and Negro slaves. On the east, he reached a civilization older and wealthier than the Roman. A Latin poet tells of "many merchants" who reaped "immense riches" by daring voyages across the Indian Ocean, and beyond it, "to the mouth of the Ganges," and, on their part, Chinese records speak of Roman traders visiting Canton. This dimly seen "Far East" sent to Europe indigo, pearls, sapphires, rubies, diamonds, and the silk yarn which kept the Syrian looms busy, besides costly spices and other new table luxuries. Roman physicians now began to prescribe boiled *rice* for wealthy patients who could afford it; and for the very rich a delicious sweet *sirup*, drawn from sugar cane, took the place of honey — which had been the only sweet before known in Europe.

**Men traveled for pleasure as well as for business.** There was a keen desire in each great quarter of the Empire to see the other regions which Rome had molded into one world. It seems to have been at least as common a thing for the gentleman of Gaul or Britain to visit the wonders of Rome and of the Nile as for the modern American to spend a summer in England and France. One language answered all needs from London to Babylon. Families took pleasure trips in a body; and, quite in modern fashion, they sometimes defaced precious monuments of the past with their scrawls. One of the most famous statues of Egypt bears a scratched inscription that it has been visited by a certain Roman gentleman, "Gemellus," with "his dear wife, Rufilla" and their children.

**Banking became an important business** — to meet the needs of growing trade. The *early Romans and Greeks* often buried their money in the earth for safe keeping, but now, all over the Roman world, men placed money with the bankers, to receive it again with interest. The bankers, of course, earned the interest (and their own profits) by lending the money out meanwhile



at higher rates than they paid. As in our own day, much business was done on borrowed capital furnished by bankers.



Part of a wall painting at Pompeii to show the different things going on in the forum there. The men in this part of the painting are reading a bulletin<sup>1</sup> that rests on the sloping board in front of the sculptured horsemen.

Moreover, countless merchants in every part of the Empire would come, day by day, to owe one another large sums. To carry the coin from one frontier to another for each such debt would be costly — and indeed impossible for business of such volume as had grown up. So banks, as with us, had come to sell “bills of exchange,” or drafts. A merchant in Alexandria who owed money to a citizen of Cologne could pay the amount into a home bank (plus some “premium” for the bank’s service) and receive an order for the amount on a bank in Cologne. This slip of

paper would then be sent to the creditor in Cologne, who could present it at his bank, and get his money. The Cologne bank, sooner or later, would have occasion to sell a draft upon

<sup>1</sup> In the absence of newspapers, the imperial officers posted almost daily bulletins in the Forum of the capital. The governors of provinces did the like in their capitals. Copies of one city’s bulletins were often sent to be posted in the fora of other important towns. A bulletin always contained any new laws issued by the Emperor, with important judicial decisions, and news about the imperial family and court and about other interesting people like famous gladiators, and of course the program of coming gladiatorial games and results of those that had just been held. Many scribes made their living by copying bulletins, to sell to rich people who wanted the news without standing in the crowded Forum to read it.

the Alexandria bank, in like fashion. At some convenient time, the two banks would have to settle their balance in coin; but the amount to be carried from one to the other would be very small, compared with the total amount of business.

With such a widespread system of "credits," the Roman world, like our own, had its money flurries and "panics." A crop failure in Africa, or the loss of a richly laden merchant fleet by a hurricane in the Red Sea, or a period of rash speculation in Gaul, was felt at once in the money market of every part of the Empire. The failure of a great banking house in Antioch might drag down others in Rome and Alexandria. Thus in the year of Christ's crucifixion there happened the first great money panic in history (an event which made much more noise in the Roman world than the vague rumor of a slight disturbance in Judea). Evil results, however, were checked by the prompt and wise action of the government. The Emperor Tiberius placed \$4,000,000 in coin from the imperial treasury in certain central banks, to be loaned to hard-pressed debtors, and ordered that debtors who could give security in real estate should have a three years' extension of time.

### III. PEACE AND PROSPERITY

This widespread, happy society rested in "the good Roman peace" for more than two hundred years, — from the reign of Augustus Caesar through that of Marcus Aurelius. No other part of the world so large has ever known such unbroken prosperity and such freedom from the waste and horror of war for so long a time. *Few troops were seen within the Empire*, and "the distant clash of arms [with barbarians] on the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands." A great English historian once said that, if men could choose, a wise man would have chosen to live during that era rather than at any other period in human history.

With the long peace came prosperity. Stockaded villages of earlier times grew into stately marts of trade; huts into palaces; footpaths into paved highways. Irrigation made parts of the

African desert to blossom as the garden of the world — in districts where, from drifting sands, desolate ruins mock the traveler to-day. The symbol for Africa in Roman art was a gracious woman with arms clasping bursting sheaves of golden grain. Toward the close of the second century one of the early Christian fathers <sup>1</sup> wrote :

Each day the world becomes more beautiful, more wealthy, more splendid. No corner remains inaccessible. . . . Recent deserts bloom. . . . Forests give way to tilled farms. . . . Everywhere there are houses, people, cities. Everywhere there is life.

In language, and somewhat in character, the West remained Latin, and the East Greek ; <sup>2</sup> but **trade and travel, peace and prosperity, and the mild and just Roman law, made the world one in feeling.** Rome won allegiance from the hearts of men. Briton, Dacian, Gaul, African, Greek, Cappadocian, knew one another only as Romans. Claudian, an Egyptian poet of the fourth century, celebrated this world patriotism in a noble ode :

Rome, Rome alone, has found the spell to charm  
The tribes that bowed beneath her conquering arm;  
Has given one name to the whole human race,  
And clasped and sheltered them in fond embrace, —  
Mother, not mistress. . . .  
This to her peaceful scepter all men owe, —  
That through the nations, wheresoe'er we go  
Strangers, we find a fatherland.  
Though we may tread Rhone's or Orontes' <sup>3</sup> shore,  
Yet are we all one nation evermore.

#### IV. ART AND LEARNING

Painting and sculpture followed the old Greek models ; but **the Roman art continued to be architecture** (page 221). Many of the world's most famous buildings belong to the Early Empire. Roman architecture had more massive grandeur, and was fonder of ornament, than the Greek. Instead of the simple Doric or Ionic columns it commonly used the rich Corinthian (page 94),

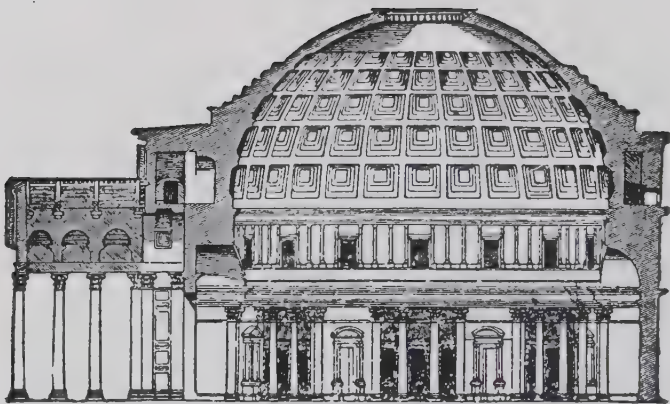
<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, a native of North Africa.

<sup>2</sup> The Adriatic (page 254) remained the dividing line, so far as one can be drawn.

<sup>3</sup> A river of Syria.



THE PANTHEON TO-DAY: "Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods." (Read the rest of Byron's fine description in Canto IV of *Childe Harold*.) Agrippa, victor of Actium and chief minister of Augustus, built this temple in the Campus Martius, and it was rebuilt, in its present form, by Hadrian—who, however, left the inscription in honor of Agrippa. The structure is 132 feet in diameter and of the same height, surmounted by a majestic dome that originally flashed with tiles of bronze. The interior is broadly flooded with light from an aperture in the dome 26 feet in diameter. The inside walls were formed of splendid columns of yellow marble, with gleaming white capitals supporting noble arches, upon which again rested more pillars and another row of arches—up to the base of the dome. Under the arches, in pillared recesses, stood the statues of the gods of all religions, for this grand temple was symbolic of the grander toleration and unity of the Roman world. Time has dealt gently with it, and almost alone of the buildings of its day it has lasted to ours, to be used now as a Christian church. See the reverse of this page.



CROSS-SECTION OF THE PANTHEON. Cf. cut facing page 320.



RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT OF CLAUDIUS, CROSSING THE PLAIN OF LATIUM. — The water was brought forty miles from Apennine lakes to Rome, and for the final ten miles it was carried on arches like these. Not far to one side, and nearly parallel here, runs the Appian Way. Large parts of this structure were used during the Middle Ages as a convenient stone quarry to furnish building material.



and it added, for its own especial features, the noble Roman arch and the dome — which is a group of arches intersecting at their common apex.

The three great centers of learning were Rome, Alexandria, and Athens. Each had its *university* (as did some other cities), with vast libraries and many professorships (page 190). Augustus endowed the university at Athens from his private fortune. Vespasian began the practice of paying salaries from the public treasury. And under Marcus Aurelius the government began to provide some of these institutions with *permanent endowments* (of which only the *income* could be used in any year), as we do for our universities. University professors had the rank of senators, and were given liberal pensions after twenty years' service.

The chief subjects for study in these institutions were *literature* (Latin and Greek), *rhetoric*, *philosophy*, *music*, *arithmetic*, *geometry*, and *astronomy*.<sup>1</sup> *Law* was a specialty for advanced study at Rome, as *medicine* was at Alexandria. Other institutions, too, had their specialties. A university at Rhodes was so famous for teaching *oratory* that the young Julius Caesar went there to study — as he did also for a time at Athens.

Every important city in the Empire had its *grammar school* — corresponding to an advanced high school or small college with us. Like the universities, to which they led, these schools, too, had endowments from the Roman government. The walls of classrooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of important events. The masters were appointed by local magistrates, with life tenure, good pay, and exemption from taxation.

Grammar schools, like the universities, were mainly for the well-to-do; but occasionally bright boys from the lower classes found a wealthy patron to pay their expenses, and rich men sometimes bequeathed money to schools in their home towns for the

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<sup>1</sup> The first three of these subjects (the literary group) made up the *trivium*; the last four (the mathematical group), the *quadrivium*. Do you see how arithmetic in those days might well be ranked as a university subject? Which one of the cities named above had the first true university? Who founded it?

education of deserving poor boys. Davis' *Readings* (II, No. 80) tells of such an endowment, and (No. 79) prints Horace's story of how his father, a poor farmer, gave him the education that

made it possible for him to become one of the most famous of poets.



FREE DISTRIBUTION OF BREAD by the government. Free grain (in all large cities) soon took the form of free loaves, and even well-to-do citizens came to prize their right to a share.

Literature played a small part in Roman life until just before the Empire. The following lists of names, from that time down to Marcus Aurelius, are not to be memorized, but may be talked over in class. Many of them are referred to in later chapters of this book, and all of them have played big parts in the world's history.

#### 1. The "Age of Cicero"

gave us *Lucretius*, perhaps the most sublime of all Latin poets, and *Caesar's* concise, graphic historical narrative. *Cicero* himself remains the foremost orator of Rome and the chief master of the graceful Latin prose essay.

2. For the glorious "Augustan Age" (page 296) only a few of the many writers can be mentioned. *Horace* (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote the most graceful of odes and most playful of satires. *Vergil* (from Cisalpine Gaul), the chief Roman poet, is best known to schoolboys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics*, exquisite poems of country life. *Livy* (Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote their great histories of Rome (see page 214). *Strabo* of Asia Minor (living at Alexandria) produced a geography of the Roman world, and speculated on the possibility of a continent in the unexplored Atlantic between Europe and Asia. The last two authors wrote in Greek.

3. To the second half of the first century (after the Augustan Age) belong another host of great names: among them, the Jewish historian *Josephus* (page 252); *Pliny the Elder* (of *Cisalpine Gaul*), a scientist who perished at the eruption of Vesuvius in his zeal to observe the phenomena; the Stoic philosophers *Epictetus*, a Phrygian slave, and *Seneca*, a Roman noble of Spanish birth (page 299).

4. For the second century, we have the charming *Letters* of *Pliny the Younger*, a *Cisalpine Gaul*, the satirical poetry of the Italian *Juvenal*, the philosophical and religious *Thoughts* of *Marcus Aurelius* (page 325), the histories and biographies, in Greek, of *Appian* (an Alexandrian), *Arrian* (an Asiatic), *Plutarch* (a Greek), and (in Latin) of *Tacitus*, a Roman noble. Science is represented by *Galen* of Asia Minor, who wrote Greek treatises on medicine (and who for centuries afterward was looked back to as the highest medical authority), and by *Ptolemy*, an Egyptian astronomer whose geography was the standard authority in Europe until the time of Columbus. (Unhappily, Ptolemy abandoned the truer teachings of Aristarchus and Eratosthenes that have been described on pages 191, 192, and taught instead that the heavens revolved about the earth for their center.) It was in this century, too, that the books of the Greek *New Testament* took their present form.

## V. MORALS

Some modern historians paint a black picture of Roman morals under the Empire. For the capital, and for the court of a Nero or a Commodus, the truth is black enough. At all times, many of the great nobles were sunk in coarse debauchery, and the rabble of the great cities was ignorant and cruel.

Moreover, the Empire as a whole did have certain evil customs that particularly shock a modern reader. To avoid the cost and trouble of rearing children, it was horribly common for the poorer classes to expose their infants to die. The growth of divorce alarmed good people, as in our own day. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world. At the gladiatorial sports, delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater. The

jaded spectators demanded ever new novelties, and the exhibitors sought out fantastic forms of combat. Thousands of men fought at once in hostile armies. Sea fights were imitated on artificial lakes. Distant regions were scoured for new varieties of beasts to slay and be slain. Women entered the arena as gladiators, and dwarfs engaged one another in deadly combat. The wealthy aristocrats laid wagers upon the skill of their favorite gladiators, as with us at the prize ring.

Yet it is certain that a picture made mainly from such materials is grossly misleading.<sup>1</sup> There was much good, though (as usual) it made less noise than the evil. Some rude virtues (page 221 f.) were going out of fashion; but new and gentler virtues were coming in. The unexhausted populations of North Italy and of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, as well as the large middle class all over the Empire, remained essentially sound in morals. Witty satirists or stern moralists, like Juvenal and Tacitus (page 323), from whose scattered remarks the black pictures are largely made up, are no more to be accepted as complete authority than racy wits and scolding preachers of our own time. They fail to show *all* the picture.

On the whole, even if we leave out of account the growth of Christianity and look only at pagan society, the first two centuries show a steady gain. The *Letters* of Pliny (page 323) reveal even in the court circle a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny himself rivals the finest gentleman of to-day in delicate feeling, sensitive honor, genial and thoughtful courtesy.<sup>2</sup> Marcus Aurelius and his father illustrate like qualities on the throne. The philosopher Epictetus (page 323) shows them in a slave. All these people are surrounded by friends whom they admire and love. One husband inscribed upon his wife's monument: "Only once did she cause me

<sup>1</sup> Capes' *Early Empire*, 223-227, has a wholesome statement.

<sup>2</sup> There is a charming essay, *A Roman Gentleman under the Empire* (Pliny), by Harriet Walters Preston, in *The Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1886. Thomas' *Roman Life*, chs. xi and xiv, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. v, present similar pictures. See also Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 69, 70, 74, 88, 106, 107.



sorrow — and that was by her death.” Another praises in his wife “purity, loyalty, affection, a sense of duty, a gentle nature, and whatever other qualities God would wish to give woman.” The tombstone of a poor physician declares that “to all the needy who came to him, he gave his services free of charge.” Over the grave of a little girl there is inscribed: “She rests here



“THE WAY OF TOMES” AT POMPEII. (Compare statements under the cut facing page 225.) The disorders of later centuries destroyed most of such monuments in Italy, but at Pompeii the volcanic covering preserved them almost intact. The funeral inscriptions quoted on this page came from these monuments.

in the soft cradle of the Earth . . . comely, charming, keen of mind, gay in her talk and play. If there be aught of compassion in the gods, bear her aloft to the stars and to the light.” In the *Thoughts*<sup>1</sup> of Marcus Aurelius the Emperor thanks the gods “for a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, and good friends,” and (stating his obligations to various associates), — “From my mother I learned piety, and to abstain not merely

<sup>1</sup> One of the world’s noblest books, closer to the spirit of Christ than any other pagan writing. Davis’ *Readings* gives some excellent extracts. If the volume itself is accessible, some student may well make a profitable ten-minute report to the class by reading other selections.



from evil deeds but from evil thoughts." Again a jotting in camp (on the borders of Germany) reads, — "When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee."

An interesting back-to-the-land movement showed that Roman gentlemen could value simple and wholesome delights above the artificial pleasures of the court. The poet Martial (150 A.D.) writes of country life with real enthusiasm — where a man can be "rich with the spoils of grove and field, unfold before the fire his well-filled hunting nets, lift the leaping fish from the quivering line, draw forth the yellow honey from the cask, while his own eggs are cooking over a fire that has not cost a penny. My wish [he concludes] is that the man who loves not me may not love this." And if we suspect that there was some literary pretense in this, the same suspicion cannot be held in the case of a certain Similis, an iron-handed soldier who had been commander of the praetorians in Hadrian's time. At sixty-nine he resigned his high office and spent his last seven years among green fields. On his tombstone he caused to be carved: "Here lies Similis, who existed seventy-six years, and lived seven."

### **Some specific gains need more detail.**

1. Woman became the equal of man in property rights, and his companion instead of his servant in the family. Plutarch and Seneca, for the first time in history, insisted that men be judged by the same moral standard as women, and Roman law adopted this principle in the decrees of Antoninus. Plutarch also urges the highest intellectual culture for women, and his precepts on marriage "fall little if at all below any of modern days," while his own family life afforded a beautiful ideal of domestic happiness. Says a great English historian (Lecky, in *European Morals*):

Intellectual culture was much diffused among them [women], and we meet with noble instances of large and accomplished minds united with all the gracefulness of intense womanhood and all the fidelity of the truest love. . . . When Paetus, a noble Roman, was ordered by Nero



THE APPIAN WAY.



to put himself to death, his friends knew that his wife Arria, with her love and her heroic fervor, would not survive him. Her son-in-law tried to dissuade her from suicide by saying: "If I am called upon to perish, would you wish your daughter to die with me?" She answered, "Yes, if she has then lived with you as long and happily as I with Paetus." Paetus for a moment hesitated to strike the fatal blow, but Arria, taking the dagger, plunged it deeply into her breast, and, dying, handed it to her husband, exclaiming, "My Paetus, it does not pain!"

Women could become physicians, — though their practice was restricted to other women, — and they entered various trades. As in our day, too, they seem to have had more time or more taste for books than their husbands had. The railing Juvenal scolds, — "I hate a woman who constantly brings up grammatical rules and who recalls verses *unknown to me!*"

2. *There was a vast amount of public and private charity.* Homes for poor children and orphan girls were established. Wealthy men loaned money below the regular rate of interest, and provided free medicine for the poor. Tacitus tells how, after a great accident near Rome, the rich opened their houses and gave their wealth to relieve the sufferers. Every city, large or small, received large gifts of money from its wealthy sons — not only to build temples and libraries and town halls, and to set up noble statues, but also to repair pavements and build sewers (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 77).

True, there was a dark side to this sort of generosity. The people did less and less for themselves, and fell more and more completely under the control of great riches. They came to choose only wealthy men for public office, because such officials were likely to use their wealth freely to benefit or amuse the masses. Ever louder grew the cry for "bread and games."

3. *Slavery grew milder.* Emancipation became so common that faithful household slaves were freed commonly after six years' service. The horrible story of Pollio (a noble who threw a slave alive to the eels in a fish pond for carelessly breaking a precious vase) is often told; but that crime was in no way typical of the way slaves were treated. The event occurred at

the very beginning of the Empire, while there was yet no check *in law* upon a master; but even then, by a stretch of humane despotism, Augustus ordered all the tableware in Pollio's house to be broken and his fish ponds to be filled up. During the reign of Nero, a special judge was appointed to hear the complaints of slaves and to punish cruelties to them, and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were jeered in the streets. The same philosopher exclaims — "Is not the slave of the same stuff as you, his master!" (See also Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 98.)

4. *Sympathies broadened.* The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for the feeling that all men are brothers. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As Emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." The audience in the Roman theater always applauded the line of Terence: "I am a man: every calamity that affects men concerns *me*!" The age prided itself justly upon its enlightened humanity, much as our own does. Trajan once directed a provincial governor not to act upon *anonymous* accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

5. *This broad humanity was reflected in imperial law.* The older harsh law became humane and extended its protection to women and children and even to the slave. The rights of the accused to a fair trial and to good treatment were better recognized. From this period dates *our* maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men are equal by the law of nature" became another maxim of Roman law. Slavery, argued Ulpian (a famous jurist of the third century A.D.) had been created only by the inferior law enacted by men. Therefore, if a man claimed another as a slave, the benefit of every possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed. (It is a strange fact that this humane principle was ignored, and that the rule was just reversed, in all Christian lands through the long centuries of the Middle Ages and even in America under our Fugitive Slave laws down to the Civil War.)

**Two dark shadows** there were that brooded over this happy Roman world. (1) Although the Empire during the first two



centuries was contented, prosperous, and well-governed, still *the people had no political liberty*. Even their virtues were somewhat like those of good slaves. (2) More in the background hovered the second evil — *a growing concentration of wealth in the hands of a very small part of the people*. Toward the close of this period, throughout the provinces (as in Italy much earlier) great landlords were beginning to crowd the small farmers off the land — so that in the “Later” Empire the yeomen class were to give way to slave or serf tillers of the soil.

The two happy centuries, therefore, were to be followed by two of swift decline. But before entering upon that story **we have left to consider the new religious movement** which was inspiring multitudes of men and women daily to better living — although during these two centuries of the Early Empire its influence was felt almost exclusively by the “lower” classes, and by only a small fraction of those classes.

## VI. RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Jesus of Nazareth was born, probably in 4 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> at Bethlehem, a hamlet of Judea. He grew to manhood as the son of a humble carpenter, but at the age of thirty he began to teach a new religion throughout Judea. His quiet disregard of old religious ceremonies angered the priests and the ruling classes, but the poor heard him gladly.

Judea had been reduced to a Roman province only a short time before, and it was still seething with discontent towards its conquerors. The masses had been looking for a miraculous Messiah to lead them in a glorious war of independence and to restore the Jewish empire of David and Solomon. Many in the crowds that gathered about Jesus believed that he meant to do these things — although he declared to them, “My kingdom is not of this world” — and this popular expectation gave a handle to his enemies. The court of the Jewish priests con-

<sup>1</sup> Several hundred years afterward the date of Christ's birth was computed by a monk, who, it is now agreed, put the date at least four years too late.

demned him to death for "blasphemy" (because of his new religious teachings), but could not carry out such a sentence without the approval of the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate. So, before that officer, the priests accused Jesus of stirring up rebellion against Rome and trying to make himself "King of the Jews." Pilate did not find the charge proven. But he did not wish to be reported to the Emperor Tiberius for having let a possible rebel escape, and he did wish to satisfy the troublesome and clamorous priests. So, with careless contempt, he delivered Jesus to them to be crucified.

The public preaching of Jesus had lasted only three years and had been confined to Palestine. After his death the most faithful of his old followers kept up their meetings — in spite of savage persecutions by the priests — but they thought of the new religion as designed only for their own "chosen" Jewish people — among whom, in reality, it was never to spread far.

Soon, however, there arose an apostle with more fruitful vision. There were colonies of Jews in various cities of the East. To one of the Hebrew families in Tarsus in Cilicia ("no mean city") there had been born a boy to whom was given the old Hebrew name of Saul (changed after his conversion to *Paul*). This youth was brought up, he tells us, in the strictest sect of the Jewish religion, but he seems to have received some training in the famous Greek schools of Tarsus. In early manhood he had come to Jerusalem, and there he took a zealous part in helping the priests break up the little congregations of Christian "heretics." But, after witnessing the glorious martyrdom of Stephen, Paul was himself converted to the truth he had been persecuting. Moreover, his early life and education had given him a wider acquaintance with the world than other disciples had, and he felt that Christianity ought to become the religion of all peoples.

The rest of his life Paul gave to preaching in Asia and Europe, supporting himself meanwhile by his trade of tent-making. He founded churches in Antioch and in other cities throughout Syria and Cilicia, and crossed over to Macedonia and Greece,

preaching especially in Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. On a return to Jerusalem, he was arrested by the Jewish priests. The Roman governor was about to condemn him to death; but, asserting that he was a Roman citizen,<sup>1</sup> Paul "appealed to Caesar," as a Roman citizen had the privilege of doing. Accordingly, after a weary imprisonment, he was sent to Rome, where he seems to have lived for some years under arrest but with a good deal of freedom of action, preaching to Christian congregations there and writing letters (*Epistles*) to his converts in other cities. He perished in Nero's persecution after the great fire.

At the death of Paul, some thirty years after the death of Christ, there were Christian congregations, we know from the *Book of Acts*, in all the large cities of the eastern part of the Empire. These congregations were still made up almost solely of the very poor. Women were particularly numerous and influential among them. The religion of mercy and gentleness and hope appealed especially to the weak and downtrodden. So far, it got little hearing from the rich and powerful and happy. The first Roman historian to make any important mention of the Christians is the good Tacitus (page 323) in 115 A.D., and, it is plain, he had heard only misleading slander about them, for he refers to them only as "haters of the human race" and practicers of a "pernicious superstition." A hundred years later, Christianity had *begun* to have converts among the learned and noble in all parts of the Roman world.

**This rapid growth of the religion was due partly to the Empire.**

(1) The gentle spirit of the age and its idea of human brotherhood prepared the way for a religion of humility, self-sacrifice, and love. But (2) even so, Christianity could have made its way beyond Judea only by slow degrees, had it not been for the *unity* of the world under Rome. If Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy had remained split up in hundreds of petty states, with different languages and customs, how could Paul have made

<sup>1</sup> How Paul acquired citizenship is not known; but Augustus and Tiberius had conferred that boon upon several communities in Asia.

his way from city to city, or found his audiences, or have been able to speak to them? The political and social union of the Mediterranean world under Rome paved the way for its union under the Christian religion.

The *inner sources of power* in Christianity lay, of course, in its teachings of love, purity, and hope. The old gods had been vague and dread forces, to be worshiped so that they might not afflict men. This pagan feeling gave way now to a fervent trust in a tender Father. The old ideas of a future life, gloomy or at least shadowy, were replaced by a happy certainty of a blissful life beyond the grave. A few men of the pagan world, like Socrates and Marcus Aurelius, had thought of God and duty somewhat as Jesus did. But Christianity made these lofty speculations of a few lonely minds the common conviction of all men — “the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley.”

✓ The Empire had tolerated broadly the religions of all the nations she had conquered, except a few that fostered grossly immoral practices. **Why then were the Christians persecuted?**

The fiendish torments with which Nero amused his brutal court, it has been explained, were not properly a religious persecution; but true persecutions also have been mentioned. Some of them, indeed, took place under the best of the Emperors. *Four causes* help to explain this.

1. Rome tolerated, and supported, all religions; but she **expected all the inhabitants of the Empire, in return, to tolerate and support the religion of the Empire and the worship of the Emperors.** The Christians, alone, refused to do this, proclaiming loudly that all worship but their own was sinful and idolatrous. To the ignorant populace this seemed likely to bring down the wrath of the gods upon the whole community. To more enlightened men it indicated at least a dangerously stubborn and treasonable temper.

2. Secret societies were feared and forbidden by the government for political reasons. Even the broad-minded Trajan instructed Pliny to stop the organization of a firemen's company



in a large city of his province, because such associations were likely (said the Emperor) to become "factional assemblies." **The church of that day was a vast, highly organized, widely diffused, secret society.** As such it was illegal, and good rulers (knowing little else about it) feared it might become dangerous to the public safety.

3. **Christians kept away from most public amusements,** because the gatherings were connected with festivals to heathen gods — apart from such wicked matters as the gladiatorial games. But the people at large looked upon this stay-at-home policy as proving that Christians were "haters of the human race." Moreover the early Christians, as disciples of the great Apostle of Peace, **refused to join the legions, or to fight even if drafted to repel a barbarian invasion.** Some of these extreme "pacifists" and "conscientious objectors" irritated their neighbors further by refusing to illuminate their homes or garland their portals in honor of national triumphs that every one else was celebrating.

4. **To all this there was added a ready acceptance of gross slanders by the ignorant city mobs.** The Jews accused the Christians of all sorts of crimes, — especially of horrible orgies in the private communion suppers (or "love feasts"). If a child disappeared — lost, or kidnaped by slave hunters — the rumor was sure to spread that it had been eaten by the Christians in those secret feasts. Such accusations were believed the more readily because there really had been many horrible and licentious rites in some religions from the East that Rome had been compelled to crush out.

In real fact, of course, each early church was an association for mutual helpfulness in pure living. Every sin, if discovered, was punished before the congregation; and any member who was known to have worshiped pagan gods, or blasphemed, or borne false witness, was dismissed altogether from Christian fellowship. But pagan society, as a whole, knew nothing of this side of Christian organization.

**Only a brief outline can be given here of the persecutions.** *The first century* saw none at all until its very close, except for



the horrors in the city of Rome under Nero (page 300). In the year 95 there was a true persecution, but only for a few weeks.

Early in *the second century*, under Trajan, there were some spasmodic local persecutions arising from the hatred of the populace for Christians, but not instigated by the government.

The story of one of these is instructive. Pliny (page 324) was one of Trajan's provincial governors in Asia. In his province many persons were accused, sometimes anonymously, of being Christians and of committing crimes in connection with their religion. Pliny took pains to investigate, even using torture<sup>1</sup> upon two "deaconesses." He was impressed by the lack of evidence for anything criminal. "But," he wrote to Trajan, "when the accused men refuse to worship Roman gods, after three warnings, I order them away to prison. For I do not doubt, be their crime whatever it may, that their . . . inflexible obstinacy deserves punishment." The number of such offenders grew so rapidly, however, and they came forward so willingly to martyrdom, that the well-meaning governor became embarrassed and asked for special instructions. Trajan directed him not to seek them out and to pay no attention to anonymous accusations (page 328), but added that if Christians were brought before him and then refused to sacrifice to the gods of the Empire, they must be punished.

There were similar popular outbreaks a little later under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, but those rulers tried to repress the violence. Aurelius permitted a persecution, in the latter part of his reign. On the whole, during the second century, the Christians were legally subject to punishment, but the law against them was rarely enforced. Still it is well to remember that even then many noble men and women died in

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<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the Empire, the law permitted officers to torture slaves and suspected criminals to obtain confessions; but that dangerous and cruel power was afterward severely limited. It began again, in horrible degree, in medieval law courts, and lasted (even in England) until after the colonization of America began.

torture rather than deny their faith. (Read the story of Saint Perpetua in Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 110, and see also Nos. 111 and 112.)



CHRISTIAN MARTYRS THROWN TO THE LIONS.

For the sake of a clear picture it is best to carry this topic on here into the next period. *The third century* was an age of anarchy and decay. The few able rulers strove strenuously to restore society to its ancient order. One great obstacle to this restoration seemed to them to be this new religion, with its secret meetings and its hostility to Roman patriotism. This century, accordingly, was an age of definitely planned persecution by the government.

But by this time Christianity was too strong. It had come to count nobles and rulers in its ranks. And even now the persecutions were not universal enough to crush out a vital faith. They did cause great numbers of heroic martyrdoms, which make a glorious page in human history; but the effect of these on Roman society justified the saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." The final victory of the new religion was now near at hand.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Several of the most desirable numbers of Davis' *Readings* have been referred to (in the text or in notes) as the topics concerned have been treated. They are (with some not before

noted): 62, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 88, 90, 99, 104, 105, 106, 107. These, with possibly parts of Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Antonines*, will be all that students will have time for.

### EXERCISES

1. Look back at the quotation that heads this chapter: can you show why it is a fitting introduction to the chapter?

2. Make a brief outline to show the steps in the expansion of Roman citizenship from the time of the early kings. How had that citizenship of the year 300 A.D. changed from that of the year 200 B.C. in other respects than in the number of people who possessed it?

3. Compare the power of the Roman Senate in the three periods indicated by the following dates: 400 B.C., 150 B.C., 200 A.D. Compare its varying make-up in those same periods.

4. Imagine yourself a young Roman of about 180 A.D. who has recently completed his studies at the university at Athens or at Alexandria, and then write an account of a journey that you are taking through the Roman world, illustrating it by a map.

5. Why should any one choose the first two centuries of the Empire as the best in human history? What two hundred years, taken as a whole, would *you* prefer to live through?

6. Look through this part of the book for illustrations of Roman architecture. Has your town any buildings that follow Roman styles?

7. Look through those parts of Davis' *Readings* that deal with this period of Roman history, and also with the closing part of Greek history, for selections taken from authors mentioned on pages 322-323. What quotations from those writers, or footnote references to them, can you find in this volume?

## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE LATER EMPIRE: DECLINE

#### I. "BARRACK EMPERORS" AND REORGANIZATION

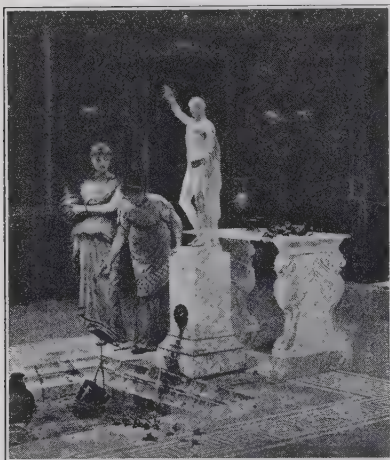
The misrule of Commodus (page 306) left the throne the sport of the soldiery. For a time, despotism had served as a strong medicine for anarchy, but now its poison began to show. The next ninety-two years (193-284) saw twenty-seven "Barrack Emperors." Once the praetorians auctioned off the imperial purple to the highest bidder among the Roman nobles (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 71). Many reigns were counted by days. All but four of these rulers were slain by revolting legions, and two of those four fell in disastrous battles against barbarians.

The torrent of barbarian invasion, which had been turned back by Julius Caesar nearly two centuries and a half before, began to beat again upon the ramparts of civilization in the days of the best of the Emperors, Marcus Aurelius, as we have noted. The Moorish tribes were on the move in Africa; the Parthians, whom Trajan had humbled, again menaced the Euphrates; and Tatars, Slavs, Finns, and Teutons burst upon the Danube. Aurelius gave most of his reign to campaigns on the frontier. Chapters of his *Thoughts* are dated "Among the Quadi" (German tribes in Bohemia), or "At Carnuntum" (on the Danube near modern Vienna), and he died of camp fever on the Save, a small tributary of the Danube. For his time, however, he kept the boundaries intact and repelled barbarism.

But from that date exhaustless swarms of new foes were always surging upon the barriers, and in the third century they began to break through — *though not yet for permanent possession.* In 250 A.D. the armies of a new Persian kingdom poured victoriously across the Euphrates and even captured Antioch.

Later, the Persian *Sapor* took captive a Roman Emperor (Valerian) and bridled and saddled him for a horse.

**New Teutonic tribes**, — the mightier foe, as events were to prove, — **appeared on the European frontier**. The *Alemanni* crossed the Rhine and maintained themselves in Gaul for two



A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WOMEN'S COURT  
IN A POMPEIAN HOUSE.

years (236-238). In the fifties, bands of *Franks* swept over Gaul and Spain. The *Goths* seized the province of Dacia (page 303), and raided the Balkan provinces almost at will for twenty years. In the sixties, their fleets, sometimes of five hundred sail, pouring forth from the Black Sea, ravaged the Mediterranean coasts, sacking Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 72).

**Moreover, population fell away.** In the year 166, a new Asiatic plague swept from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, carrying off, we are told, half the inhabitants of the Empire. For the next hundred years the pestilence returned at intervals, desolating wide regions and demoralizing industry.

This disaster was the more deadly because, even in ordinary times, *population had already ceased to increase*. The reasons for this are complex. A high standard of comfort and a dislike for large families, as in modern France, was one cause. Then the civil wars caused vast loss of life, and barbarian raids sometimes swept off almost the whole population of a province to die in bitter slavery in German forests. (Marcus Aurelius compelled the Quadi, a small German people, to restore 50,000 such Roman captives at one time.) Still more deadly

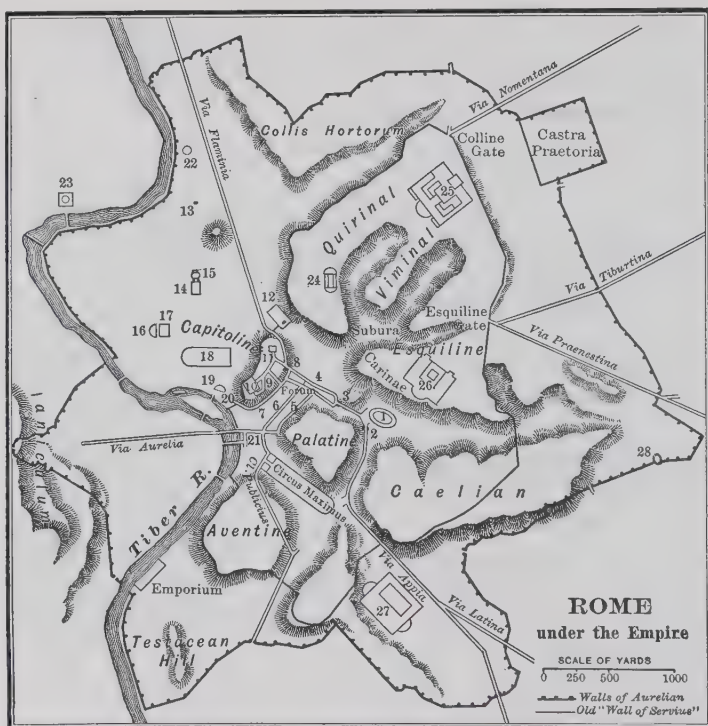


was Roman slavery itself *within* the Empire. Wealthy classes commonly do not have large families. Population grows from the large families of the working classes. But in the Roman world, the place of free workmen was taken largely by slaves, and slaves rarely left families. If they had children, the master "exposed" the infants, since it was easier and more convenient to buy a new slave (from the captives made by the legions on the frontiers) than to rear one. Besides, the competition of slave labor ground into the dust what free labor there was, — so that working people could not afford to rear a large family, and were driven to the cruel practice of "exposing" infants to die (page 323).

For all these causes, "year by year, the human harvest was bad," and the gaps left by the pestilence remained unfilled. *The fatal disease of the later Empire was lack of men.*

Fortunately the victory of barbarism over the weakening Roman world was checked for another century. In 270 A.D., weary of disorder, the army set a great ruler upon the throne. *Aurelian* was an Illyrian peasant who had risen from the ranks. He reigned only five years, but his achievements rival those of the first Caesar's five years. He reorganized the army and restored the broken boundaries against foes from without — except that he wisely abandoned Dacia (beyond the Danube) to the Goths. A stern stop was put also to internal disintegration. Aurelian recovered Gaul, which for some years had been an independent kingdom, and he brought captive to Rome the great queen, *Zenobia*, who had set up her capital at Palmyra, in Arabia, as a rival to Rome.

At one moment while he was so occupied, the Alemanni (page 338) crossed the Alps and penetrated in their march as far as the Po. Panic-stricken Italy had seen no hostile invasion for almost five hundred years — since Marius destroyed the Cimbri. Aurelian repelled the invaders; but then (somber symbol of a new age) he built new walls about Rome, which, in the six centuries since Hannibal rode up to her gates, had spread far beyond her ancient narrow ramparts.



- |                               |                                    |                              |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Coliseum.                  | 10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. | 19. Theater of Marcellus.    |
| 2. Arch of Constantine.       | 11. Arch.                          | 20. Forum Holitorium.        |
| 3. Arch of Titus.             | 12. Column of Trajan.              | 21. Forum Boarium.           |
| 4. Via Sacra.                 | 13. Column of Antoninus.           | 22. Mausoleum of Augustus.   |
| 5. Via Nova.                  | 14. Baths of Agrippa.              | 23. Mausoleum of Hadrian.    |
| 6. Vicus Tuscus.              | 15. Pantheon.                      | 24. Baths of Constantine.    |
| 7. Vicus Jugarius.            | 16. Theater of Pompey.             | 25. Baths of Diocletian.     |
| 8. Arch of Septimius Severus. | 17. Portico of Pompey.             | 26. Baths of Titus.          |
| 9. Clivus Capitolinus.        | 18. Circus Flaminius.              | 27. Baths of Caracalla.      |
|                               |                                    | 28. Amphitheatrum Castrense. |

Just as this great Emperor was ready to take up the work of reforming the Empire within, death snatched him away, but the task fell to a worthy successor.

The news of Aurelian's death was a signal for new outbreaks on every frontier. But **Diocletian**, another Illyrian soldier and the grandson of a slave, **seized the scepter with a strong hand** and promptly reestablished victorious peace. During his firm rule

of twenty-one years (284-305), he reformed the government in such ways that he became the last, as well as the greatest, of the "Barrack Emperors."

The anarchy of the third century had arisen mainly from three causes.

1. *The succession to the imperial power was not clearly marked out in advance.* The death of an Emperor, therefore, was often the signal for war between ambitious claimants.

2. *The Emperor had too much to do.* He could not ward off Persians on the Euphrates and Germans on the Rhine, and also supervise closely the government of forty provinces. The bulky correspondence between Trajan and Pliny (referred to above on pages 313, 328, 334) shows the minute oversight that industrious Emperors attempted. With average rulers, or in trying times, such a system was likely to break down.

3. *The provincial governor had too much power.* In great frontier provinces, especially, the governor was often a successful general also. Such a governor, with a devoted army at his back, might easily feel able to defy the Emperor. Some governor had rebelled in nearly every year of the century.

Diocletian met all these evils by his reforms :

He chose *Maximian*, a rough soldier but an able man and faithful friend, for a colleague, keeping the Eastern half of the Empire directly in his own hands and placing Maximian over the Western half. (Each Emperor, it was planned, should always associate with himself before his death a younger assistant designed to become his successor.)

This was *not* a partition of the Empire into two empires. It was only a way of dividing up the burden of government between two *joint* rulers. The two were equal in dignity. Each was *Imperator Caesar Augustus*. The power of each, in theory, reached over the whole Empire, and the edicts of each were published under their joint names.

*This division of duties and responsibilities was then carried further.* The whole Empire was divided into four prefectures,

each under its *prefect*; a prefecture was subdivided into dioceses (thirteen of these in all), each under its *vicar*; and each diocese was made up of a number of provinces,<sup>1</sup> of which there were now made about 120 in place of the old forty.

Thenceforth the provincial governor reported, not to the Emperor, but to the vicar of his diocese; the vicar, to the prefect of the prefecture; and the prefect, to the Emperor or his representative. Each officer in the series sifted all business that came up to him from those below him, and passed on to his superior only the more important matters.

There was one other new security in the new system. Military command in every province was taken from the governor and given to some other officer, who was responsible directly to the Emperor. As in the ancient Persian empire (page 65) the civil and military authorities checked and watched one another.

The early, loosely organized despotism had become a vast centralized despotism, a highly complex machine, which fixed responsibility precisely and distributed duties in a workable way, with all lines of control converging from below to the Emperor.

Moreover, despotism was now frankly avowed. Diocletian cast away the republican cloak and adopted even the forms of Oriental monarchy, to secure more reverence for the person of the Emperor. He wore a diadem of gems, and robes of silk and gold, and fenced himself from even his highest officials by many attendants and elaborate ceremonial. Subjects, if allowed to approach him at all, had to prostrate themselves slavishly at his feet.

<sup>1</sup> The following table shows the divisions as Diocletian left them. The divisions named on the map after 306 are practically the same as these later dioceses.

|          | Prefectures | Dioceses                                                 | Provinces |
|----------|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| THE EAST | East        | East (15); Egypt (6); Asia (11); Pontus (11); Thrace (6) | 49        |
|          | Illyricum,  | Macedonia and Greece (6); Dacia (5)                      | 11        |
| THE WEST | Italy,      | Italy (17); Africa (6); Illyria (7)                      | 30        |
|          | Gaul,       | Spain (7); The Gauls (17); Britain (5)                   | 29        |



And this change was in more than form. The Senate became merely a city council for Rome: its consent was no longer asked in law-making. *The Emperor hereafter made laws merely by publishing an edict to the world or by sending a rescript (a set of directions) to provincial governors.* The only other source of new laws lay in the *interpretation* of old law, in doubtful cases, by the great judges whom the Emperor appointed.

**Absolutism and Centralization.** — “Absolutism” refers to the *source of supreme power: i.e.* in a system of absolutism, supreme power is in the hands of one person. “Centralization” refers to the *kind of administration.* A centralized administration is one carried on by a body of officials of many grades, all *appointed from above.* *Absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together.* A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Turkey or in Russia before the World War.

Under a great genius, like Napoleon the First, a centralized government may for a time produce rapid benefits. But the system *does nothing to educate the people politically.* Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is *surer in the long run.*

**In 303, after long hesitation, Diocletian began the most terrible of all the persecutions of the Christians.** Two years later, while this was still going on, he laid down his power, to retire to private life, persuading his colleague Maximian to do likewise. Their two younger associates (page 341) were at once recognized as Emperors — *Galerius* in the East and *Constantius* in the West, and each appointed a new younger associate, as Diocletian had planned. But Constantius died almost at once, and **this misfortune plunged the Roman world into civil war for eight years between various claimants for the imperial power.**

During these disorders, Diocletian was urged to assume the government again, but he refused to consider the invita-



tion, writing from his rural retreat: "Could you come here and see the vegetables I raise with my own hands, you would no more talk to me of empire."

In a struggle of that sort it was desirable for each claimant to avoid the hostility of the growing Christian church. Galerius had been especially opposed to Christianity. Indeed, as Diocletian's associate in the East, he had been mainly responsible

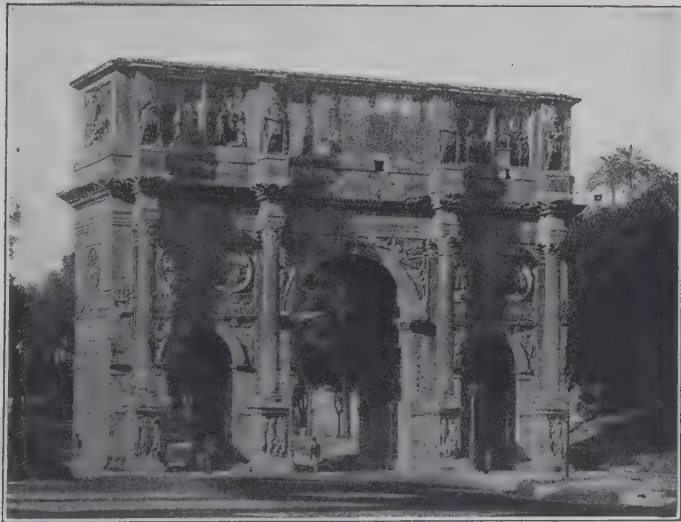


HALL OF A PUBLIC BATH BUILT BY DIOCLETIAN; now the *Church of St. Mary of the Angels*.

for the persecution then under way. But, as he found his position in peril, he published a grudging *Edict of Toleration* (311 A.D.). That document deplored the fact that the Christians would not "come back to reason," but asserted that, "with accustomed clemency," the Emperor now thought it best "to extend pardon even to these men," and to permit them to resume their own worship. The next year, however, decisive victory in the civil war fell, not to Galerius, but to *Constantine*, under whom Christianity was to be not merely tolerated but *avored* (see Division II below).

## II. VICTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

**Constantius**, whose early death is mentioned on page 343, had been noted for his favor to Christians while he was merely ruler of Britain, before he began his few weeks' career as Emperor. In that last office he had named his son **Constantine** as his associate and heir, and on his death, that choice was at once ratified by the legions of the army of the West.



TRIUMPHAL ARCH BUILT AT ROME BY CONSTANTINE IN 312 A.D., commemorating the victory of Milvian Bridge. An unusually well-preserved structure.

For several years Constantine wisely contented himself with his unchallenged rule in Britain and Gaul and Spain, putting things in good order and strengthening his army, while in Italy and the East the different claimants for power destroyed one another in swift succession. Then in 312 Constantine forced the passes of the Alps and won the mastery of the world in the *Battle of Milvian Bridge*, near Rome. Once more the West had won in conflict with the East, and this time *the fruits of victory fell especially to the new church.*

There is an interesting story concerning this battle. On the evening before the struggle, runs the tale (Davis'

*Readings*, II, No. 113), after praying for divine help, Constantine fell asleep. In his dreams, Christ appeared to him and told him to inscribe the Cross upon his standards, — declaring to him, “In this symbol you shall conquer” (“*In hoc signo vinces*”). Scholars question the truth of this legend, but it is certain that Constantine did adopt the symbol of the Cross.

**Constantine ruled from 312 to 337.** He preserved and perfected the reforms of Diocletian — so that the Empire withstood unbroken the storms of the following hundred and fifty years (so that, indeed, the Eastern part was to endure a thousand years longer still). But his chief fame comes from the fact that **he definitely put an end to the three-century conflict between the government and the most vital force within the Empire.**

The Christians still were less than one tenth of the population, but they were energetic and admirably organized for united action. It is not likely that Constantine gave much thought to the truth of Christian doctrine, and certainly he did not practice Christian virtues. He was unscrupulous and cruel. He had one of his rivals assassinated, and he put to death his own wife and a son. But he was wise enough to recognize the folly of trying to restore the old pagan world, and he saw the need of establishing harmony between the government and the new power of the Christian church. So, in 313, a few months after Milvian Bridge, he issued the famous decree known as the *Edict of Milan*: “We grant to the Christians and to all others free choice to follow the mode of worship they may wish, in order that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist may be propitious to us and to all who live under our government.”

This edict established *religious toleration* in a less grudging way than the Edict of Galerius, and put an end forever to pagan persecution of the Christians. At a later time Constantine showed many favors to the church, granting money for its buildings and exempting the clergy from taxation, as was done with teachers in the schools (page 321). But it is not correct to say

that he made Christianity *the* religion of the Empire: at the most he seems to have given it an especially favored place among the many religions of the Empire. Constantine himself, as Pontifex Maximus, continued to make public sacrifices to the pagan gods.

In the beginning of his reign, Constantine followed the example of Diocletian in dividing up the burden of government even in the matter of appointing a joint Emperor with himself. He kept the West; and Licinius, an ally in the civil war, became Emperor in the East. But after ten years there came a struggle between Constantine and Licinius for sole power.

This was also the final conflict between Christianity and paganism. The followers of the old faiths rallied around Licinius, and before the decisive battle that general is said to have addressed his soldiers with these words:

These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remote ancestors. But he who leads the army opposed to us has proven false to the religion of his fathers . . . honoring, in his infatuation, some strange and unheard-of deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces the army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms . . . not so much against us as against the gods he has forsaken. *However, the present occasion shall decide . . . between our gods and those our adversaries profess to honor.*

Constantine won a complete victory, and for the remaining fourteen years of his life he ruled as *sole* Emperor. The most important event of those years was the removal of the chief capital of the Empire from Rome to *Byzantium*. This city Constantine rebuilt with great magnificence, and from him it took its new name, — *Constantinople*, "Constantine's city."

For this removal there were several wise reasons. (1) The turbulent Roman populace still clung to the *name* of the old Republic: an Eastern city would afford a more peaceful home for the new Oriental monarchy. (2) Lying between the Danube and the Euphrates, Constantinople was a more convenient center than Rome from which to look to the protection of the frontiers. (3) Constantinople was admirably situated to become a great center of commerce. (4) It is often said also



that Constantine wished a capital which he could make Christian more easily than was possible with Rome, attached as the Roman people were to the old gods connected with the glories of the city.

Constantine's three sons ruled after him, for some twenty-four years, with Oriental inefficiency and cruelty, and with frequent murders of relatives whom they feared. Finally the Alemanni once more broke into Gaul. This peril called *Julian*, a nephew of Constantine, from his studies at Athens to the command of the imperial armies. The young philosopher defeated the invaders decisively in a great battle, and, against his will, his enthusiastic army then hailed him Emperor.

*Julian* made a strong ruler, but he spent his energies, during his brief two years (361-363), in conflict with two forces both of which were to prove victorious — the barbarians and the church. He made the last official attempt to restore paganism. He had been brought up in the Christian faith, but his studies had given him a deep love for the old Greek philosophy, and he was filled with disgust at the crimes and vices of his cousins' "Christian" court. So he rebuilt the ruined temples and re-established the worship of the old gods as the official religion of the Empire. *He did not, however, use violence in any way against the Christians*, and very soon he met his death — in a victorious battle against Persian invaders. According to legend, when he felt the arrow that mortally wounded him, he cried out (addressing Christ), "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" His successor at once restored Christianity to its position as a specially favored religion.

Before the end of another generation, Christianity became the *only* state religion. Theodosius the Great, who became Emperor in 379, prohibited all pagan worship, on pain of death, and even closed the ancient Olympic Games, because of their connection with a festival to Zeus.

One chief factor in the victory of Christianity, it has been noted, was its admirable organization. That was based largely

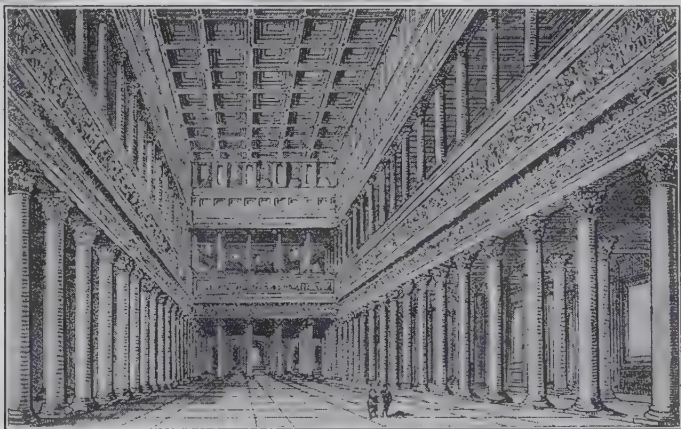




EMPEROR THEODOSIUS REBUKED BY BISHOP AMBROSE. — A painting by the Dutch artist Van Dyck (17th century) to celebrate the power of the church. Angered because the citizens of a Roman town had slain a number of his Teutonic soldiers in a riot, Theodosius had ordered the massacre of thousands of citizens. When he next appeared at church (at the Cathedral of Milan), the bishop refused to let him take part in the worship — despite his great favors to the church — until he had confessed his sin and done penance in sackcloth and ashes. This painting is now in the National Gallery in London. The artist seems to have been greatly influenced by a somewhat earlier painting on the same theme by Rubens.

upon the organization of the Empire, and it calls for brief attention here.

The early Christian missionaries to a province naturally went first to its chief city. Thus the capital of the province became the seat of the first church in it. From this mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from



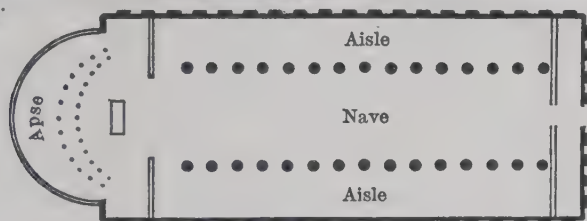
INTERIOR OF THE BASILICA OF TRAJAN, as reconstructed by Canina. The *basilica* (from a Greek word meaning the king's judgment hall) became the favorite Roman form of building for law courts a little before the Empire. (Cf. explanation of the Forum, page 291.) The Christians, when they came to power, adopted this kind of building for their worship, and, with little change of ground plan, it became the medieval cathedral.

each city there sprouted outlying parishes. At the head of each parish was a *priest*, assisted by deacons to care for the poor. The head of a city church was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the rural churches of the neighborhood. The bishop of the mother church in the capital city had great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop*, or *metropolitan*, and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops at times to a central council.

Commonly, one of these metropolitans in a civil diocese (page 342) came to have leadership over the others. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan of the chief city of the diocese.

Thus over much of the Empire, the diocese became an ecclesiastical unit, and its chief metropolitan was known as a *patriarch*.

By degrees, the patriarchs of a few great cities were exalted above the others. Finally all the East became divided among the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople, while all the West, where there was only one great city, came under the authority of the bishop of Rome. *This unity of organization helped to develop the idea of a single "Catholic" (all-embracing) church, which should rule the whole world.*



GENERAL PLAN OF BASILICAS — and so of the main part of most Christian churches in the Middle Ages (see explanation under cut opposite).

After the decree of Theodosius against pagan worship, the **Christian church**, which had itself suffered so sorely from persecution, **began to stamp out other religions by violence**. In some out-of-the-way corners of the Empire, paganism<sup>1</sup> lived on a century longer, but in the well-settled districts the worshipers of Christ destroyed the old temples, broke up the old philosophical schools, and sometimes put to death those men and women who clung to the old worship.

Almost at once, too, the Christians began to use force to prevent differences of opinion among themselves. When the leaders tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the *orthodox doctrine*, and the views of the minority became *heresy* — to be crushed out in blood, if need were.

<sup>1</sup> *Pagan* is from a Latin word meaning "a rustic," or a countryman. So, at a later time, the Christianized Germans called those who adhered to the older German worship *heathens*, or "heath-dwellers."

Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ. Thus, back in Constantine's time, *Arius*, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. *Athanasius*, of the same city, asserted not only that Christ was divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal in all respects, — "of the same substance" and "co-eternal." The struggle waxed fierce, and divided Christendom into opposing camps. But Constantine desired union in the church. (If it split into hostile fragments, his political reasons for favoring it would be gone.) Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the Empire to the first great council of the whole church, at Nicaea in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement. Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius. His doctrine, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom; and Arius and his followers (unless they recanted) were put to death or driven to seek refuge with the barbarians — many of whom they then converted to Arian Christianity.

Like every great change in human society, the victory of Christianity was in part a compromise. The pagan Empire became Christian, but multitudes of pagan converts remained half pagan, and the church itself became, in part, pagan and imperial in character. There took place an inevitable change from the earlier Christianity.

Still the victory brought an enormous balance of good. Christianity made slavery milder and gradually abolished its worst forms. It built up a vast system of needed charity. It put a stop to the open exposure of infants. It even abolished the gladiatorial games. And it purified and strengthened the souls of hosts of men and women in all classes of society.

One more specific gain may be recorded. The greatest pagans had looked upon suicide as always permissible and often praiseworthy. The practice had been becoming alarmingly common. But the church discouraged and lessened it by treating it as one of the worst of crimes.



## III. THE GROWING WEAKNESS OF THE EMPIRE

Even in intellectual matters the "Later Empire" was a period of decline. After the second century there were no new poets, no great historians, no important names in science. Almost the only literature was a dreary mass of controversy about church doctrine. The following four names, however, call for remembrance.

*Augustine* (Saint), bishop of Hippo (in Africa), author of *The City of God*.

*John Chrysostom* ("John of the Golden Mouth"), a famous orator of the church, who, with Augustine, vigorously protested against the policy of persecution by the church.

*Jerome* (Saint), a hermit in Syria, who translated the Bible into Latin — the *Vulgate* version.

*Ulfilas*, a Gothic hostage, who, on his return to his people, converted them to the Arian form of Christianity. He made an alphabet for the Gothic language and translated the Bible into Gothic. This is the oldest Bible in any Teutonic language. A copy in silver letters upon scarlet parchment is preserved in the library of Upsala University.

During these centuries of intellectual decay, even the old literature and science were neglected and largely forgotten. This was due, in no small part, to an unfortunate attitude of the Christians, many of whom were bitterly hostile to all pagan literature and learning.

For the neglect of pagan poetry, there was perhaps some excuse. Beautiful as it was, that poetry did contain many immoral stories of the old gods. The Christians feared contamination from it, much as the Puritans who colonized New England did from Shakespeare's plays.

The contempt for pagan science had less reason and probably was even more disastrous. To give one illustration: That the earth was round was well known to the Greeks (page 191 f.), but the early Christians abolished the idea (for many centuries) by arguments based on their misunderstanding of the Bible. "It is impossible," said even St. Augustine, "that



there should be *inhabitants* on the other side of the earth, since no such race is recorded in Scripture among the descendants of Adam." And, said others, "if the earth were round, how could all men see Christ at his coming"! The church was soon to become the mother and sole protector of a new learning, but it bears part of the blame for the loss of the old.<sup>1</sup> In 398 a church council cautioned bishops against reading *any* books except religious ones, and the prevalent feeling toward pagan learning was forcefully expressed in a writing known as the "Apostolical Constitutions" (350 A.D.):

Refrain from all the writings of the heathens. . . . For if thou wilt explore history, thou hast the Books of the Kings; or seekest thou for words of wisdom and eloquence, thou hast the Prophets, Job, and the Book of Proverbs. . . . Or dost thou long for tuneful strains, thou hast the Psalms; or to explore the origin of things, thou hast the Book of Genesis. . . . Wherefore abstain scrupulously from all strange and devilish books.

**Quite as decided was the decline on the material side.** During the long era of Barrack Emperors (most of the third century), industry and business had been ruined over wide areas by civil wars and barbarian invasions. After the reforms of Diocletian those evils soon came to an end (except for brief and isolated exceptions), and most of the fourth century was marked by an appearance of renewed business prosperity. But that appearance was deceptive. It concerned only a small part of the whole people. Early in the following century (the fifth) the Empire was to crumble under barbarian attacks. But it is plain that *those inroads were far less formidable than many which had been rebuffed in earlier times* (pages 275, 282, 337 f.). The barbarians, then, were not the main cause of the "Fall" of Rome. The causes were internal. **The Empire was overthrown from without by an ordinary attack, because it had grown weak within.**

This weakness was not due to decline in military morale. The army kept its superb organization, and, to the last, it was

<sup>1</sup> Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 1-47, gives an interesting account of early Christian culture somewhat different from the above.

ready; in its discipline and pride, to meet any odds unflinchingly. But more and more it became hard to find men enough to fill the legions, or money enough to pay them. **Dearth of men and dearth of money** caused the fall of the state. The Empire had become a shell. The falling away in population has already been treated in part (page 338 f.). The lack of money must now be briefly explained.



TEUTONIC SOLDIERS IN ROMAN SERVICE.—From the column of Marcus Aurelius.

The Empire did not have enough gold and silver for the demands of its business. From those mines that could be worked at all, men did not know how to extract as much of the ore as we can now. Moreover, what money there was had been drained away steadily to India and the distant Orient. Those lands did not wish to buy many of the products of the West, and so their own products had to be paid for mainly in money. By the fourth century, hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of gold and silver coin had vanished from Europe and Western Asia, to swell the treasuries of Oriental potentates.

The result was that in Europe trade began to turn back toward primitive barter. Even the officers of the Emperor had to take part of their salaries in produce — robes, horses, grain. And of course it became more and more difficult to collect taxes.

The Empire had become "a great tax-gathering and barbarian-fighting machine." It had to collect taxes in order to fight the barbarians. But the time came when the citizens

dreaded the tax collector more than they feared the barbarians. They had less and less money wherewith to pay, *and the complex machinery of government cost more and more.*

This last point, the student should note, does not refer to the cost of the army but to that of the machinery of government after Diocletian. That machinery did its work, but it called for an enormous number of workers. It was so costly that it crushed those whom it was designed to protect. It should be understood, too, that, in its need of money, the government had increased the rates of the old taxes described on page 310 and that it was constantly inventing new kinds of taxes.

These two evils (lack of money and decline in population) were closely connected with a third evil. **Enterprise and energy were discouraged**, *because the classes of society were becoming hopelessly fixed, each class with its own crushing burden of duties.*

1. Each city of consequence had a local nobility, a senatorial class of its own, known as *curials*. Their position had formerly been enviable. They could not be drafted into the army or subjected to corporal punishment. But this class was now compelled to supply the city poor with grain. They were held *responsible* also for any deficit in the amount of the *imperial* taxes levied on their municipium. And those who were chosen for consuls or other magistracies had to bear costly burdens from their private fortunes in providing local festivals and shows.

These burdens finally became so crushing that many curials tried desperately to evade them — even by sinking into a lower class or by flight to the barbarians. Then, to make safe the revenue, **the Emperors made them a hereditary class.** They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to remove from one city to another; and they could not even travel without permission. A place in the senate of his city had once been the highest ambition of a wealthy middle-class citizen, but in the fourth century it had become

almost an act of heroism to assume the duty. A story is told that in a Spanish municipality a public-spirited man voluntarily offered himself for a vacancy in the senate, and that his fellow citizens erected a statue in his honor.

2. The large *middle class* of the Early Empire (page 315) was rapidly disappearing. Some were compelled by law to become curials; more, in the financial ruin of the times, sank into the working class.

3. The *artisans* were grouped in guilds, as before (page 314); but each artisan was now bound to his guild by law, as the curial was bound to his office. The condition of artisans had become desperate. An edict of Diocletian's regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received less than one twelfth the wages of an American workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least a fourth as much as in our time. That is, he was less than a third as well off. His family rarely knew the taste of eggs or fresh meat. And now the law forbade him to change his trade.

4. The yeomen class had largely disappeared, and its place was being taken by a new class (*serfs*), bound to labor on the soil and changing masters with the land. The system of great estates, tilled by slaves, had spread over all the provinces before the fourth century. As in Italy much earlier (page 262 f.), the free small-farmers could not compete successfully with that kind of farming, and so drifted from the land to form worthless city mobs. But soon, as population fell away over the whole Empire, the great landlords began to find it hard to get slaves enough, and much land ceased to be tilled.

To help remedy this state of affairs, and to keep up the food supply, the Emperors introduced a new class of *hereditary* farm laborers. After successful wars, they gave large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as serfs.<sup>1</sup> These were not personal property,

<sup>1</sup> At first the Emperors settled groups of those captives in "colonies" on vacant *public* lands, which were then tilled under the charge of public officials. Accordingly, the settlers were called "coloni," the Roman name



as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it.

They had some rights that slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

The growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to hold his place. That class more and more sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfdom, until nearly all men who did farm work belonged to this class.



SERFS IN ROMAN GAUL.—  
From an ancient manuscript.  
Note the awkward handles and  
clumsy blades of the scythes.

Thus society was crystallizing into castes. The farm worker was bound to the soil, the artisan to his hereditary gild, the curial to his hereditary class and city. Liberty of movement was gone.

In industry and in social relations, as in government, the Empire was becoming Oriental.

It is possible that this evil condition, and also the decline in population, might have been checked if the Emperors had striven continuously and earnestly to turn the unemployed city mobs into free yeomen, as the Gracchi and Julius Caesar had done. But the influence of wealth upon the government became too strong to let that work go on. We noted the pernicious alliance between the money power and the government in the closing days of the Republic. A like state of affairs continued under the Empire. The noble landlords who had been permitted to take for their private property the wide domains of public lands in Africa, Gaul, and Spain, were glad enough to receive further free gifts of thousands of barbarian prisoners

for all colonists; and that name continued to be used for laborers of this kind even after it became the custom to put them on land belonging to private landlords. It seems best, however, to use here the name by which such laborers were known in later centuries in Europe.



for serfs, but they would have fought fiercely any attempt by the government to take back any part of their lands to make homes for free settlers.

Diocletian was the one Emperor at once far-sighted enough and courageous enough to defy the money power — and he clashed only with the merchant class of the towns, not with the landed nobility of the Empire. He was greatly disturbed by a rapid rise in the cost of living in his day, and he charged that evil to the “raging avarice” of the great merchant companies (page 255). To check the evil he fixed the highest price (by edict) which it should be lawful to ask for each one of some eight hundred different articles of common use,—wheat, leather, various kinds of cloth, butter, eggs,



SERFS IN ROMAN GAUL MAKING BREAD.  
—From Lacroix. Cf. page 258 on the villa.

pork, beef, and so on. Such an effort in that day was doomed to fail. But it is interesting as almost the only case, after Caesar's day, in which the government tried to interfere on the side of the poor.

There was another condition, however, which perhaps would have ruined any attempt to re-create a free farmer class in the Later Empire. In the days of Gracchus and of Caesar, the city mob was made up, in good part, of ex-farmers, or their sons, who had *recently* been driven from the land *against their will*. But long before Diocletian's day, the rabble of Rome or Alexan-

dria had *lost all touch with country life*. Sure of free doles of grain, sleeping in gateways, perhaps, but spending their days in the splendid free public baths or in the terrible fascination of gladiatorial games or of the chariot races, they could no longer be drawn to the simple life and hard labor of the farm — even if farming had continued profitable. We know that to-day, in America, hundreds of thousands of stalwart men prefer want and misery on the crowded sidewalks and under the white blaze of city lights, with a chance to squander a rare coin on the movies, to the monotony and loneliness of a comfortable living in the country. So in the Later Empire it was perhaps too late to wean the mob from its city life.

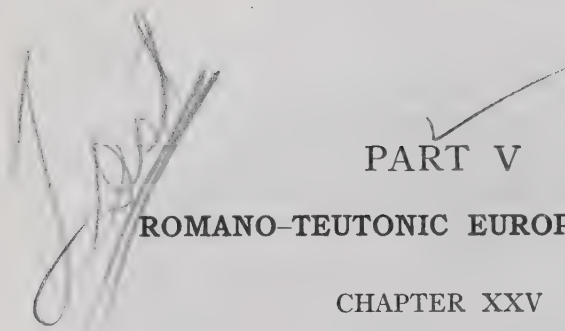
**The only measure the government did adopt to fill up the gaps in population was the admission of barbarians.** Not only were Roman soldiers and serfs mostly Germans: whole provinces were settled by Germans peacefully *before their kinsmen* from without, in the fifth century, began in earnest to break over the Rhine. Conquered barbarians had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier provinces, and friendly tribes had been admitted in some cases, to make their homes in depopulated districts. As slaves, serfs, soldiers, and as free subjects, the German world had been filtering into the Roman world, *until a large part of the Empire was peacefully Germanized*.

These Germans within the Empire, in large measure, took on Roman civilization and customs, but at the same time they kept some of their old customs and ideas and a friendly feeling for their kinsmen in the German forests. The infusion of new blood helped to renew the decaying population, but it tended also to break down *the barrier between the Empire and its assailants*.

For five hundred years wild barbarians had been hurling their hosts against the walls of the civilized world. Sometimes they had broken in for a moment, but always to be destroyed by some Marius, Caesar, Aurelius, Aurelian, or Julian. In the fifth century they broke in to stay.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Add the dates 180 A.D., 284, 313, 378, to the list for drill.
2. Extend lists of terms and names for fact drill.
3. Memorize characterization of the centuries of the Empire; *i.e.* —  
First and second centuries: good government, peace and prosperity.  
Third century: decline, — material, political, and intellectual.  
Fourth century: revival of imperial power; victory of Christianity;  
social and intellectual decline.  
Fifth and sixth centuries (in advance): barbarian conquest.
4. From the statements and note on page 342, can you make a diagram showing the divisions and subdivisions of the Empire under Diocletian and bringing out the centralization of government?
5. Contrast life at the court of Diocletian with that in the circle of officials and friends about Augustus three centuries before.
6. Make an outline summary of Parts III and IV, like that given at the close of Part II. (If the teacher prefers, an entire class exercise may be given to a discussion of such an outline, or of two or more of them that committees of the class have presented.)
7. Make a brief summary of gains for civilization from the Roman period.
8. Write a theme of from 150 to 300 words to tell how new laws were made in each of the different stages of Roman history.



## PART V

### ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE, 400-1500

#### CHAPTER XXV

##### FOUR CENTURIES OF FUSION, 378-800 A.D.

###### I. THE TEUTONS IN THEIR GERMAN HOME

East of the Rhine there had long roamed many "forest peoples," whom the Romans called Germans, or Teutons. These barbarians were tall, huge of limb, white-skinned, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes. To the short, dark-skinned races of Roman Europe, they seemed tawny giants. The tribes nearest the Empire had taken on a little civilization, and had begun to unite in large combinations under the rule of kings. The more distant tribes were still savage and unorganized. In general, they were not far above the level of the better North American Indians in our colonial period.

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and what little agriculture they had was carried on by women and slaves. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests helped to make them drunkards and gluttonous eaters. Like most savages, they were desperate gamblers, so that, when he had lost all else, a warrior often would stake his liberty on one throw of the dice.

At the same time, they were truthful and faithful to the word they had pledged. Their grim joy in battle rose at times to a "berserk" rage that led a warrior to cast away armor and fight insensible to wounds, like an infuriated bear. In particular, they had a proud spirit of individual liberty, "a high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man" — a spirit that had



EARLY TEUTONIC SMITHS WORKING IRON. — A wall painting in the Milwaukee Public Museum.



AN EARLY TEUTONIC VILLAGE — as reconstructed by Parmentier (a famous French scholar). Notice the three men gambling.





BATTLE BETWEEN TEUTONIC GODS AND EVIL MONSTERS. — A painting by Gehrts. You can recognize Thor by his hammer and Woden by his spear.



WODEN'S DAUGHTERS (*Valkyries*) carrying slain heroes across the Rainbow Bridge to Valhalla. — A painting by Gehrts.

largely died out in the Roman world. In the *Song of Beowulf* (an old poem which has come down to us from the pagan forests) the chieftain goes out to an almost hopeless encounter with a terrible monster that had been destroying his people. "Each man," exclaims the hero, "must abide the end of his life work; let him that may work, work his doomed deeds ere night come." And as he sits by the dragon mound, victorious but dying, he chants:

These fifty winters have I ruled  
this folk; no folk-king of folk-  
kings about me — not any one of  
them — dare in the war-strife wel-  
come my onset! Time's change  
and chances I have abided; held  
my own fairly; sought not to  
snare men; oath never sware I  
falsely against right. So, for all  
this, may I glad be at heart now,  
sick though I sit here, wounded  
with death-wounds!

In the old Teutonic religion *Woden*, the war god, held the highest place. From him the noble families all claimed descent. *Thor*, or *Donner*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms.

*Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness. (These three live still in our names for days — Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day.) Heroes who had fought a good fight on earth were to find reward hereafter in fighting beside these and the other gods of Light and Warmth against the giants of Cold and Darkness, but in the end, at the Twilight of the Gods, they were to perish before the powers of evil. Says John Richard Green (*History of the English People*), "life was built for them not on the hope of an hereafter, but on the proud self-consciousness of noble souls."



TEUTONIC CHIEF calling his followers. — From a painting by Herger (a modern German artist).

**The government** of the Teutons has been described for us by Tacitus (page 323). A tribe lived in palisaded villages scattered in the forest. The village was originally no doubt the home of a clan. Village and tribe each had its popular Assembly and its chief. The tribal chief, or king, consulted at times with his council of village chiefs. To quote Tacitus:

“On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community. . . . They assemble on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. . . . Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard, and gain attention rather from their ability to persuade than their authority to command. If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur. If it prove agreeable, they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms.”<sup>1</sup>

**Every great chief was surrounded by a band of “companions,”** who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side. To them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder. For their lord’s safety they were always ready to give their lives. To survive him in battle, leaving his body to the foe, meant lifelong disgrace. The old Romans had been noted for loyalty to the state; but this *loyalty to a person*, in so high a degree, was new.

## II. THE WANDERING OF THE PEOPLES

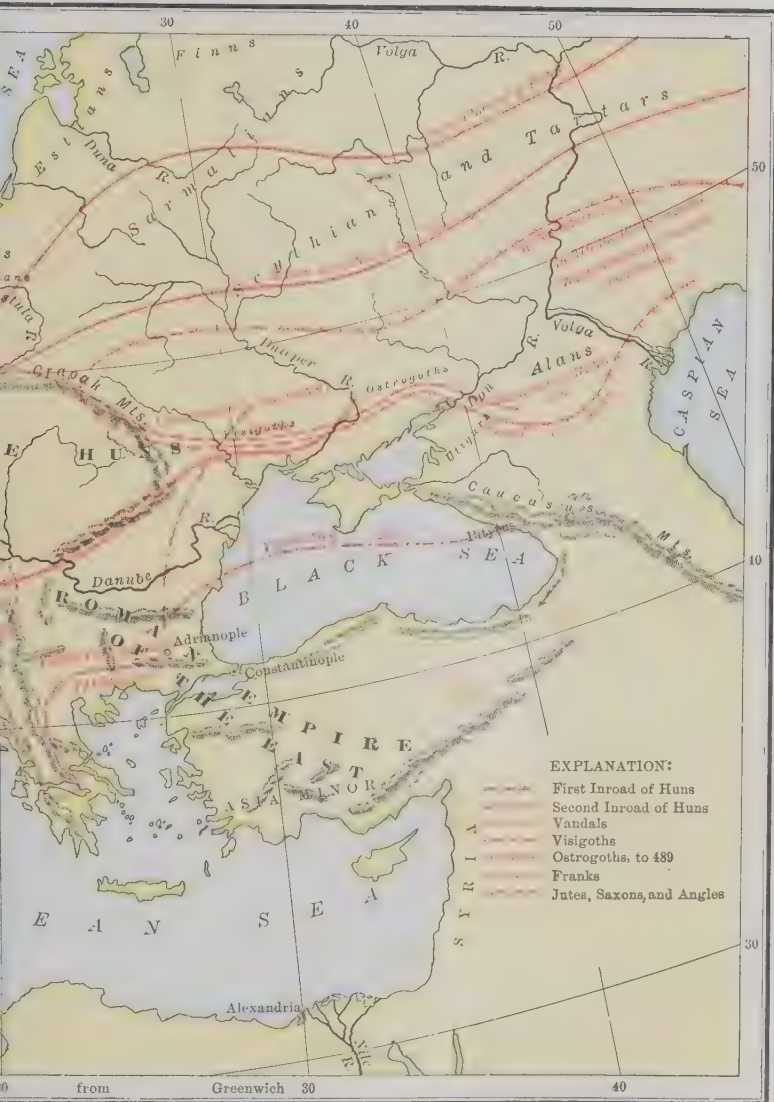
For five hundred years, ever since the days of Marius, Teutonic tribes had been trying to conquer new homes within the Empire. As the Roman population declined in the fourth century A.D., some of them had been admitted peaceably, as we have seen, to help fill the almost empty frontier provinces. *In 376 an act of that kind proved to be the first step in a Teutonic conquest.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare with the early Greek organization, 79 f., and see Davis’ *Readings*, II, No. 121, from Tacitus.







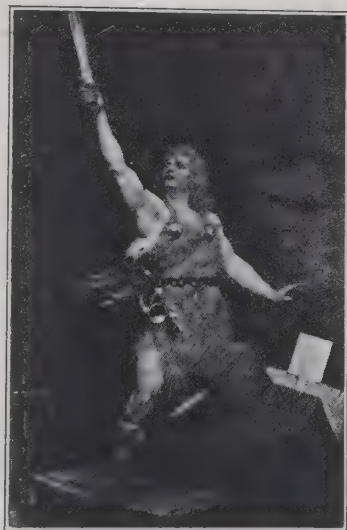




The whole people of the West Goths (Visigoths) appeared on the north bank of the Danube, with flocks and herds and with their women and children in long lines of wooden carts, fleeing from the terrible Huns — wild nomadic horsemen from Tatar. The Goths begged to cross the river into the protection of the Empire, and Valens, one of the shadow-emperors of that period, gave them lands south of the Danube. They were to surrender their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. But these agents embezzled the funds, furnishing only vile and insufficient food, while, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to keep their arms.<sup>1</sup>

In 378 the Goths rose. At *Adrianople* they defeated and killed Valens and then ravaged up to the walls of Constantinople. The new Emperor of the East, Theodosius the Great (page 349), finally pacified them, however, and they remained peaceful settlers in the Danubian provinces during his sixteen-year reign.

In 392, toward the close of his reign, Theodosius became master of the West also. This was the last time that all the old Roman world was united. When Theodosius died, three years later, the Empire was divided between his two weak sons, *Arcadius* taking the East and *Honorius* the West. This division was not a mere distribution of the



THE YOUNG SIEGFRIED at the forge where his sword has just smitten apart the iron anvil. — A modern painting of part of the *Nibelungenlied*, an early Teutonic legend.

<sup>1</sup> In like ways, corrupt "Indian agents" of the United States government provoked many of our Indian wars.

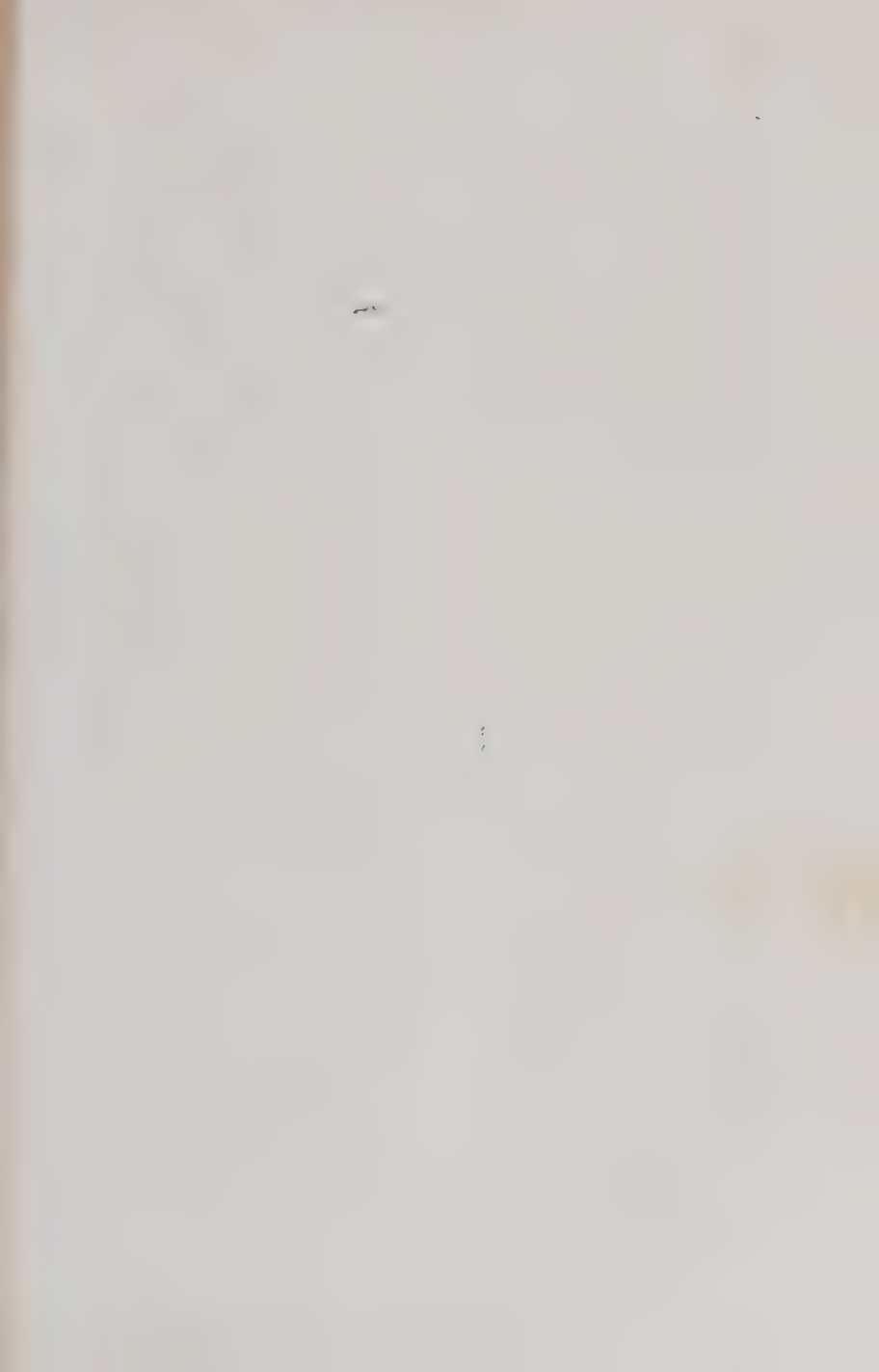
work of government, as with Diocletian and Maximian. After 395, whatever the theory, East and West *in fact* were separate and often hostile Empires, and the West was soon to be broken into fragments by Teutonic barbarians.

**The death of Theodosius encouraged the Goths to rise again** under an ambitious young chieftain, *Alaric*, whom they soon made their king. Alaric led his host south into Greece. For a rich ransom he spared Athens, but he sacked Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. For a time he was trapped hopelessly in the Peloponnesus by *Stilicho*, a gigantic Vandal who had become the general of the Roman armies in the West, but finally the Goth bought or maneuvered his way out.

Arcadius, the terrified Emperor of the East, then tried to bribe Alaric by appointing him "imperial lieutenant" in Illyria. The unhappy inhabitants of that province had to support the Gothic hordes while Alaric tarried for a while near the head of the Adriatic, uncertain whether to pounce upon Rome or Constantinople. In 402 he made up his mind for Rome, but was beaten off by Stilicho, "the Roman shield," and drew back into Illyria again.

That retreat gave Stilicho time to destroy another horde of wild Germans who had poured down across the Alps into Italy, as far as Florence. But now Honorius, Emperor of the West, suspected Stilicho of plotting to seize the throne and had him murdered. Then Alaric promptly marched into Italy once more. The cowardly Honorius hid himself in his impregnable fortress of Ravenna, defended by its marshes, and left the Goths unhindered. **Alaric captured Rome**, and for five days and nights that "Eternal City," as men had called it, was given up to sack (410 A.D.) — just 800 years after its ancient capture by the Gauls.

The consternation of the civilized world at the fall of Rome is portrayed in Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 122. See also No. 123 for the reverence for that ancient capital even after Alaric's sack.







After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in



ted to a small southern strip (Septimania)



Alaric then led his Goths toward the south of Italy, intending to cross to Africa by way of Sicily; but he died <sup>1</sup> on the way, and was succeeded by his brother *Ataulf* (Adolph). Alaric had not been a mere destructive barbarian. He had great respect for Roman civilization and the Roman name, and when he captured Rome he ordered (an order not altogether obeyed) that the lives of the citizens should be spared and the treasures of the temples be left untouched. **Ataulf felt even more strongly the spell of Roman civilization.** Said he:

It was at first my wish to destroy the Roman name, and erect in its place a Gothic empire, taking to myself the place and the powers of Caesar Augustus. But when experience taught me that the untamable barbarism of the Goths would not suffer them to live beneath the sway of law, . . . I chose the glory of renewing and maintaining by Gothic strength the fame of Rome, desiring to go down to posterity as the restorer of that Roman power which it was beyond my ability to replace.

Meantime other and wilder Teutons had broken across the Rhine (since Honorius had withdrawn many of the legions on that frontier to Italy in 408 to guard his court against the second invasion of Alaric). Ataulf now married a sister of Honorius and promised, as an imperial lieutenant, to conquer these new invaders. In 414 A.D., accordingly, he led his Goths out of Italy (which was what Honorius most wanted) and attacked the *Vandals*, a Teutonic nation which had seized south Gaul and Spain. The Vandals fled to Africa. **Then the West Goths set up in Spain the first firm and lasting Teutonic kingdom within the limits of the old Roman Empire.**

In like fashion, though usually with even more frightful destruction, **the rest of the Empire in the West was broken up into independent Teutonic kingdoms.** Of these it must be enough here to say that *Burgundians* established themselves in southeastern Gaul; *Franks* in northern Gaul; <sup>2</sup> *East Goths* (a little later) in Italy; and *Angles and Saxons* in Britain. This

<sup>1</sup> Special report upon Alaric's burial — from Davis' *Readings*.

<sup>2</sup> Imperial generals did maintain their control in northwestern Gaul for half a century more, but they too were practically independent kings.

"wandering of the peoples" went on through all the fifth century and much of the sixth.

After ten years of fighting, *the Vandals* set up a kingdom in North Africa, with its capital at Carthage. From that port their pirate fleets ravaged the Mediterranean coasts — until "Vandalism" became a synonym for wanton destruction. *In 455 they sacked Rome in a way that made Alaric's conquest seem merciful.* For fourteen days they killed and robbed, loading their ships with the spoils that Rome had plundered from all the world. Ancient Carthage was avenged, and Scipio's foreboding (page 249) had come true. To the loss of the later world, a great part of the art treasures in this plunder (along with vast amounts of silver and gold) was engulfed in the Mediterranean in a storm that shattered the Vandal fleet on its way back to Carthage. A century or so later the Vandal kingdom was overthrown, and Africa was joined for a time to the Eastern Empire, by generals of the *Emperor Justinian* (page 371).

At this point it is desirable to fix clearly certain race **relationships between the new peoples** of whom we are speaking. The better historians to-day agree that race has little or nothing to do with character or civilization, but the student will run across these names in his reading.

*The Gauls and Britons of the west of Europe were Celts. Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Franks, Angles, Saxons (and several other peoples yet to be mentioned) were all Teutons.* All branches of the Celts and Teutons spoke languages that were closely related to the Greek and Latin. So, too, did a third group of peoples to the East of the Teutons, — the *Slavs*, some branches of whom were soon to overrun southeastern Europe, to play there a part like that of the Teutons in the West. *Eastern Europe became, and still is, Slavic-Greek,<sup>1</sup> just as Western Europe became Romano-Teutonic.* But, until very recently, that Eastern Europe was to have little more to do

<sup>1</sup> Russians, Poles, Serbs, Bohemians, Croats, and some other peoples of to-day are Slavs.



with our Western World. The two halves of the old Empire fell apart, along the cleavage between Greek and Latin civilizations (page 320), and, in all the centuries since, progress has come mainly from Western Europe — Romano-Teutonic Europe — and its offshoots in new continents. (Turn back here to re-read the third paragraph on page 1.)

While the Teutons were setting up their kingdoms in the crumbling Empire, they and the Romans were threatened for a moment with common ruin. Shortly before the West Goths had first entered the Empire there had appeared from the steppes of Asia a confused mass of Tatars, Huns, Finns, and Avars,<sup>1</sup> rolling toward the Danube. (These peoples were much like the ancient Scythians; page 64 f. The student must not think of them as Slavs any more than as Teutons.) Out of that mixture of nomadic tribes, Attila,<sup>2</sup> a king of the Huns, soon built up a mighty military power, reaching finally from central Asia to central Europe — so that he ruled over even some tributary Slav and Teutonic tribes. Then about 450 A.D. he led his almost resistless hordes into Gaul.

The peoples of the West laid aside all rivalries to meet this peril. Theodoric, hero-king of the Visigoths, brought up his host from Spain to fight under Roman leadership. From the corners of Gaul rallied Burgundian and Frank. And Aëtius, "Last of the Romans," marshaled against the Hunnish swarms all these allies together with his own forces — the last Roman army ever seen in the West.<sup>3</sup>

The fate of civilization hung trembling in the balance while the "battle of the nations" was fought out at Châlons (451 A.D.). United though they were, the forces of the West seemed insignificant before the Asiatic hosts. Theodoric fell gallantly, sword

<sup>1</sup> We call all this group of Asiatic peoples *Turanians*. Their languages had certain important likenesses to one another, but they were not like any of the earlier European languages.

<sup>2</sup> Davis' *Readings* (II, No. 125) gives an account of Attila by a Goth.

<sup>3</sup> Aëtius was one of those Roman commanders mentioned in the footnote on page 367. In spite of his Romanized name he was a Teuton in blood.

in hand. But at last the victory was won by the generalship of Aëtius (*Davis' Readings*, II, No. 126), and, with spent force, Attila's hordes rolled away to the east. Says a great historian (Bury, *Later Roman Empire*):

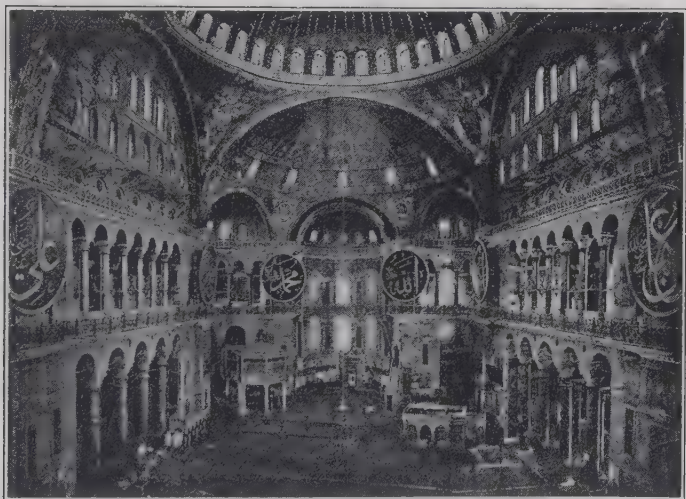
Aëtius was the man who now stood in the breach and sounded the Roman trumpet to call the nations to do battle for the hopes of humanity. . . . The menace of that monstrous host which was preparing to pass the Rhine was to exterminate the civilization that had grown up for centuries and to *paralyze the beginnings of Teutonic life*. . . . The interests of the Teutons were more vitally concerned at this crisis than [even] the interests of the Empire. . . . *They would not have been able to learn longer at the feet of Rome the arts of peace.*

Attila turned upon Rome; but Pope Leo journeyed to the camp, and by his intercession turned the Hun from his prey. There were other causes to assist Leo. Attila's army was wasting under Italian fever, and no doubt it was harassed by the forces of Aëtius hanging upon its rear. At all events, Attila withdrew from Italy, and soon died. His empire fell to pieces, and the Teutons and Slavs of Central and Eastern Europe regained their freedom.

One curious result followed Attila's invasion of Italy. To escape the Huns, some of the ancient Veneti (page 199) of northeast Italy took refuge among swampy islands at the head of the Adriatic, and so began a settlement (or gave new strength to an old one) destined to grow into the great republic of Venice.

**The Empire of the West lived longest in Italy.** Amid the impenetrable swamps about Ravenna, the Emperors still kept their courts, though the real power was held by their generals (usually Teutons), like Stilicho and Aëtius. Soon such generals began to set up and depose puppet Emperors at will. One of them ventured finally to set upon the throne his own son under the name *Romulus Augustulus*. Then, in 476, another successful general, *Odovaker*, dethroned this boy, and ruled Italy himself, claiming to be the lieutenant of the Emperor Zeno at distant Constantinople.

Thus, in name, Italy became a province of the Greek "Empire in the East." *After 476, there was no Emperor actually present in the West for more than three hundred years.* Odovaker was soon overthrown by an invasion of East Goths (page 367), who made Italy, for a time, a Teutonic kingdom.



CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, built by Justinian upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. The whole interior is lined with costly, many-colored marbles. This view shows only a part of the vast dome, with eighteen of the forty windows which run about its circumference of some 340 feet. Compare with the basilica plan, pages 350, 351. (In 1453 this church became a Mohammedan mosque; see page 548.)

The Empire east of the Adriatic, separated now from the Latin West, grew more Greek and Oriental. It still called itself Roman; but after 500 A.D. we commonly speak of it as the Greek Empire or the Byzantine Empire. Early in the sixth century, after a long line of weak rulers, the Greek Empire fell for a time to Justinian the Great. This Emperor reduced the Slavs in the Balkans to obedience, saved Europe from a threatened Persian conquest, and then turned to restore the imperial power in the West. He recovered Africa from the Vandals (page 368), and the Mediterranean islands, with part of Spain,

and after twenty years of devastating war he even regained Italy and the ancient world-capital.

But this rule of the Empire did not last long in Western Europe. On the death of Justinian the Lombards, a new Teutonic people, swarmed into Italy and soon occupied much of it. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley, which we still



APPEAL TO A ROMAN EMPEROR FOR JUSTICE by a legionary, or common soldier. This painting on the wall of the Supreme Court room in the Wisconsin Capitol is designed to suggest the influence of Roman law in our history.

call Lombardy; but Lombard "dukedom" were scattered also in other parts. The Empire kept (1) the Exarchate of Ravenna on the Adriatic, (2) Rome, with a little surrounding territory on the west coast, and (3) the extreme south. *Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled so long, was at last divided between them and shattered into fragments in the process.*

The most important achievement of Justinian was "the Justinian code." In the course of centuries the Roman law had become an intolerable maze. Julius Caesar had planned to codify it, and since his time the need had grown vastly more pressing. Under Justinian a commission of



able lawyers put the whole body of law into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly.

But that code would probably have had little to do with our Western civilization except for Justinian's brief reconquest of Italy. That event established the code in Italy. Thence, in later centuries, it spread over other parts of the West, to become the basis of all modern continental European codes, and (through France) the basis even of the law of our own Louisiana.

### III. MERGING OF ROMAN AND TEUTON, 600-800 A.D.

The invasions brought overwhelming destruction upon Western Europe — the most complete catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. True, civilization had already been declining; but the invasions accelerated that process tremendously and prevented any revival for several centuries.

And when the invader had entered into possession, and so ceased to destroy, **two new causes of decline appeared:**

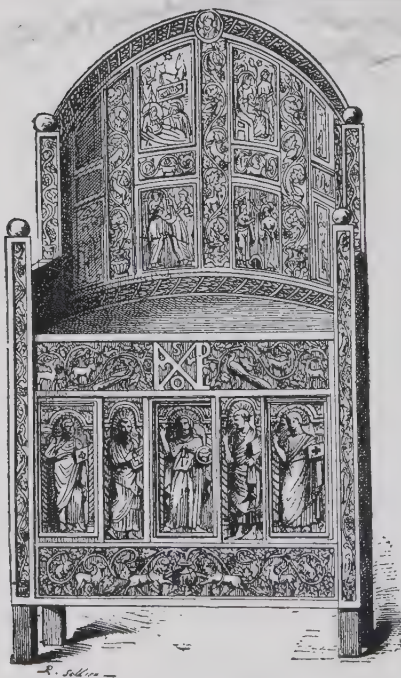
1. *The new ruling classes were grossly ignorant.* Few, even of their nobles, could read, or write their names, and they let much of the old civilization decay because they did not understand its use.

2. *The language of everyday speech grew away from the literary language* in which the remains of the old knowledge were preserved. The conquerors paid little attention to inflections when they used the speech of their subjects; they changed words by mispronouncing them; and they added a mass of new Teutonic words. Many different dialects were springing up in the different parts of Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Italy, and were finally to grow into French, Spanish, and Italian. (These languages — mingled of Teutonic and Roman elements — are called *Romance languages*.) But meantime the language of learning became "dead." It was known only by the clergy, and, even by them, very imperfectly.

The fifth and sixth centuries brought the Teuton into the Roman world: **the seventh and eighth fused Roman and**



**Teutonic elements into a new "Western Europe."** For the whole four hundred years of these "Dark Ages" (400-800) Europe remained a dreary scene of violence, lawlessness, and



CHAIR made at Ravenna (page 372) in the 6th century, with beautiful and delicate wood carving, showing how the old Roman craftsmen kept on working in some cities of southern Europe during much of the Dark Ages.

Much, of course, they did destroy unintentionally. Part they ruined in the wanton mood of children — as in the story of the warrior who dashed his battle-ax at a beautiful mosaic floor "to see whether the swans swimming there were alive." But much survived; and much which at the time seemed ruined was sooner or later recovered.

The conquests were made by small numbers, and were accom-

ignorance. The old Roman schools disappeared, and classical literature seemed to be extinct. There was no tranquil leisure, and therefore no study. There was little security, and therefore little work. The Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons gained.

But after all, the invasions did not uproot civilization. The barbarians were awed by the marvelous devices and the stately pomp of the Empire which they had conquered. They did not wish to destroy all this: they wished rather to possess it.

plished with little fighting. Outside Britain and Italy, they did not greatly change the character of the population. In some provinces the people were already largely Teutonic (page 360). Almost everywhere the conquerors settled among ten or fifty times their own numbers. At first they were the rulers, and almost the only large landowners. But *the towns*, so far as they survived, *remained Roman*, and, almost unnoticed by the ruling classes, they preserved some parts of the old culture and handicrafts. *The old population, too, for a long time furnished all the clergy.* From this class — the only men who could write or keep records — the Teutonic lords had to draw secretaries and confidential officers; and by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization.

Among the subject Roman population in the new Teutonic kingdoms there were many disputes about property. Often there was no law in the Teutonic codes to apply to those complicated questions, but usually there was some old Roman law that did apply. Moreover, at first, the Teutonic conquerors felt that Teutonic law was only for Teutons and that it was right for the subject Romans to be judged by their own law. The only people, however, who now knew much about that law were the clergy. This was another and very important reason why Teutonic kings and nobles had to choose advisers largely from the clergy.

**Most important of all, the church itself lived on.** True, the barbarian converts to Christianity understood its teachings of love and purity very imperfectly. Christianity raised the new nations, but it was dragged down part way to their level. More emphasis was placed on ceremonies and forms; but in the darkest of the Dark Ages there were great numbers of priests and monks inspired with zeal for righteousness and love for man. The church protected the weak and stood for peace, industry, and right living. It was the salt that kept the world sweet for later times, and the chief force that made life bearable for myriads of men and women (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 135).

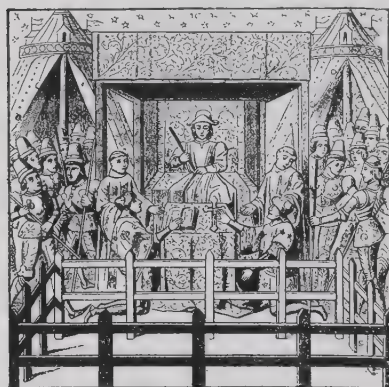
When the Teutons came into the Empire, their law was **unwritten custom**. Much of it remained so, especially in Britain; but, under Roman influence, the conquerors on the continent soon put *parts* of their law into *written codes* (Davis'

*Readings*, II, No. 133).

Two features of these codes throw interesting sidelights upon the times. *Bygone days*

1. *Offenses were atoned for by money-payments*, varying from a small amount for cutting off the first joint of the little finger to the *wergeld* (man-money), or payment for taking a man's life. The *wergeld* varied, too, with the rank of the killed.

2. When a man wished to prove himself innocent, or to prove another man guilty of some charge, he

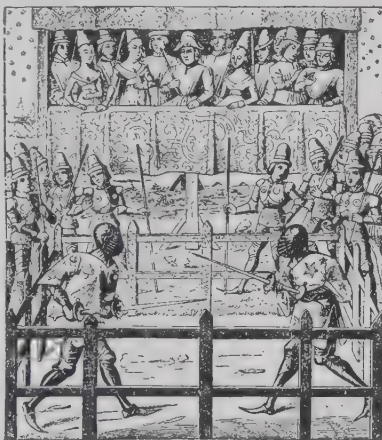


RELIGIOUS CEREMONY BEFORE A JUDICIAL COMBAT. Each party is swearing (on Bible and Cross) that his cause is just. — From a fifteenth-century manuscript reproduced in Lacroix's *Chevalerie*.

did not try to bring evidence, as we do. *Proof consisted in an appeal to God to show the right.*

Thus in *trial by compurgation* the accused and accuser each swore solemnly to their statements, and each was backed by *compurgators*, — not witnesses but persons who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth. To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance, as in the boyish survival — “Cross my heart and hope to die”; and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips. So in *trial by ordeal*, the accused tried to clear himself perhaps by being thrown bound into water. (If he sank, he was innocent, since the “pure element,” it was believed, would not receive a criminal.) Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance; and if his flesh was uninjured when examined some days later, he was declared innocent. (All

these ordeals were under the charge of the clergy and were preceded by sacred exercises. Such tests could be made, too, by deputy: hence our phrase to "go through fire and water" for a friend.) Among the fighting class a third kind of ordeal became the favorite one, — the *trial by combat*, or "wager of battle." This was a judicial duel in which God was expected to "show the right." Here, too, a woman or a child might be represented in the combat by a champion.<sup>1</sup>



TRIAL BY COMBAT ("In the Lists") — a companion piece to the preceding picture.

The simple government of the Teutons (page 364) was changed in many ways as a result of the conquests. Three changes call for special attention here.

1. *The kings became more powerful.* In Germany they had been little more than honored chiefs, and their influence had depended mainly on their popularity with the rude democracies over which they presided. But the large share of land and other plunder that fell to them in the conquests made it easy for them to build up a strong body of personal followers ready to back them up in any move they made. Their authority grew by custom, too, since in the confusion of the times all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decisions. Moreover, the Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence. A favorite maxim of Roman law was, — *What the prince wills has the force of law.* It did not take Teutonic kings long to appreciate this principle.

<sup>1</sup> Scott's *Ivanhoe* contains a detailed and impressive account of a trial by combat. Bailey's *The Fool* shows a way by which the ordeal by fire might be taken triumphantly.



2. *A new nobility appeared.* The king rewarded his most faithful and trusted followers with grants of lands, and made them rulers (counts and dukes) over large districts.

3. *The Assemblies of freemen became less important.* They survived in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields"; but even these meetings, for the most part, shrank into gatherings of nobles and officials assembled to hear the king's will.

**Everyday life in the seventh century was harsh and mean.** The Teutonic conquerors disliked the close streets of a Roman town. The villa, the residence of a Roman country gentleman, was the Roman institution which they could most nearly appreciate. The new Teutonic kings (and their nobles also) lived not in town palaces, but in rude but spacious wooden "villas" (fortified by a wall of stakes driven into the ground) on extensive farmsteads in the midst of forests. (See cut on page 394.)

**Population had shrunk terribly** since the times of the early Roman Empire. In the north, during the invasions and the following disorder, most towns had been destroyed. If they were rebuilt at all, it was upon a small scale, and from wood or from the ruins of the old dwellings. The occupations of town-dwellers had mostly vanished. Roads and bridges were no longer kept in repair, and so there was little trade or travel. Therefore the skilled artisans who had formerly made beautiful and useful articles to sell had now disappeared. The town was valued chiefly for a refuge, and for its convenient nearness to the church or cathedral.

*In the south, it is true, the old cities lived on, with a considerable degree of the old Roman city life. They kept up, too, some commerce with the East, and sometimes colonies of Greek merchants dwelt in them.*

**In most of Western Europe the only industry left was farming,** and even that was carried on now in a much poorer way than in the days of the Empire. Hundreds of thousands of acres which for centuries had been rich each year with crops grew up now



to brush and briars and finally to forest. Much land, too, went back to dismal swamps, since the old drains were not kept up.

**Most of the work on the farms was still done by the serfs.** All the centuries of strife and confusion had made little difference in the way that kind of people lived. Many of them, of course, had been killed, or had starved when Teutonic raiders had carried away the crops. Some of the bolder and stronger



FEAST IN THE HALL OF A FRANKISH CHIEFTAIN, as pictured in a medieval manuscript.

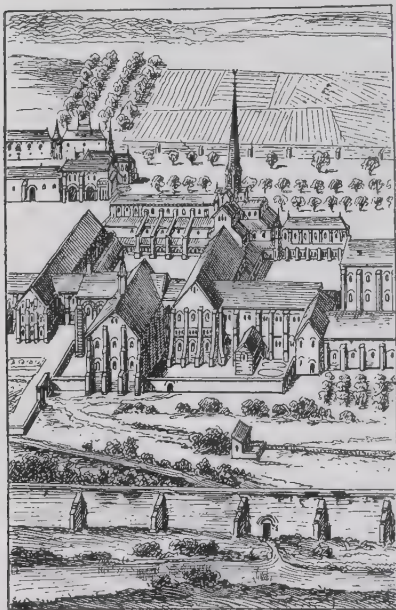
ones, too, had fled to the forests, to get their living as robbers and thieves. But a good many of them remained in their little farming villages; only now they tilled the land for a Teutonic master instead of for a Roman lord.

These poor folk made the great majority of the population. They lived in mud hovels, or in cabins of rough wood, without floors and with roofs covered with reeds or straw. At the best, little more of their produce remained to them than barely enough to support life; they were constantly subject to the arbitrary will of rough masters; and at frequent intervals they suffered terribly from pestilence and famine.

This picture of ordinary life in the seventh century helps us to understand why **monastic life became popular.**

In the old East, holiness was believed to be related to withdrawal from the world and to disregard for pleasure and for natural instincts, even love for mother, wife, and child. This

unnatural tendency invaded Eastern Christianity, and, in the Egyptian and Syrian deserts, there arose a class of tens of thousands of Christian *hermits*, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body. (See Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 236.)



ABBAY<sup>1</sup> OF CÎTEAUX. — From a monkish painting in a manuscript of the 12th century, as reproduced in Parmentier's *Album*. Notice the fields of grain cultivated in narrow strips, as explained on pages 444-445.

In some cases these fugitives from society united into small societies with common rules of life. In the latter part of the fourth century the idea of *religious communities* (in the form of groups of *monks*) had been transplanted to the West. And soon the anarchy that followed the Teutonic invasions made such a life peculiarly inviting. European monasticism differed widely, however, from its model in the East. The monks of the West, within their quiet walls, wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness, but in active and incessant work. Their motto was, "To work is to pray."

The growth of many a rich monastery was a romantic story of humble and heroic beginnings. A body of earnest enthusiasts, uniting themselves for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential swamp or in a wilderness, where no landlord would care to interfere. Gradually their numbers grew. By

<sup>1</sup> A *large* monastery was an *abbey*, and its elected head was an *abbot* (from a Syrian word *abba*, meaning *father*). An ordinary monastery called its head a *prior*, — "the *first* in place."

their toil, the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden. The first simple structures gave way to massive and stately towers. Lords gave lands; fugitive serfs tilled them; villages, and perhaps wealthy towns, sprang up upon them under the rule of the abbot. Similar institutions (convents) for women offered a much-needed refuge for that sex in that rough age. During the seventh century, the majority of cultivated and refined men and women in Western Europe lived within monastic walls. More than one king voluntarily laid aside his crown to seek peace there from the horrible confusion of the world.

The monastery church, where all the monks met for worship several times each day, was usually one side of a square. The buildings in which the monks lived made the other three sides. (One was taken up by the rows of narrow cells in which they slept. On another was the long dining hall. On the fourth were the library and writing rooms.) The inclosed space, or "cloister," open to the sky, usually was a burying ground. Around the four sides, next that space, ran covered porches, where the monks came, by ones or twos or threes, for quiet walks when the day's work was done. Somewhere near by, but outside the cloister, were various buildings for the industries that supplied the material needs of the community, — blacksmith shops, bake-ovens, shops for spinning, weaving, and dyeing, and for tanning and working in leather.

All these monastery buildings were inclosed within a high stone wall, but one other important structure usually had to be left outside. This was the monastery *mill* for grinding grain into meal. Late in Roman times, men had learned to use *water power* to turn millstones — instead of the power pictured on page 231. So the mill had to be built where there was a stream of running water. Outside the wall, too, lay the monastery fields for grain and the woodlands and the meadows for the herds of cattle and swine. For centuries the monks carried on by themselves, or at least took part in, all these industries.

The monks also copied and illustrated manuscripts with loving care, and they themselves produced whatever *new literature* Europe had for many centuries. They taught gladly all that they knew to any youth of the countryside who would come



MONK AND STUDENT—a dictation exercise.  
—From a medieval manuscript.

to their instruction, so fitting many a poor peasant boy to become a powerful churchman, the master of lords and kings. Monks did not go out into the world to save souls; but their doors were always open to all who would come to them for help. In particular they cared for the poor and suffering. Their lives of quiet industry and devotion, their abstinence and self-sacrifice, seemed more than human to other men during those evil ages of violence and brutality. For centuries the thousands of monasteries that dotted Western Europe were its only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools, and *the sole refuge of learning*. (Davis' *Readings*, II, 137, gives the monastic rules.)

Gradually the Teutons who had conquered the Roman world began to intermarry with their subjects, and in time all the people of any given district came to think of themselves as *one* people. So grew up slowly (in ways that we shall trace in part farther on) *new nations*—*English, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Swiss, Belgian*. These were all mingled of Roman and Teutonic elements, even in blood.

Besides these, it is true, there were to arise other nations in Western Europe (a little more to the east and north) out of Teutonic peoples who had never settled within the limits of the old Empire or mixed with Roman populations—*German,*

*Danish, Norwegian, Swedish.* But this second group of peoples remained barbarians, for the most part, until they were civilized through intercourse with the first group.

Thus all this Western Europe, even those parts that *in blood* remained purely Teutonic, became Romano-Teutonic in civilization. **We can now sum up the inheritance with which the new peoples of Western Europe began.**

*Through Rome* the Western peoples were the heirs of *Greek mind* and *Oriental hand*, including most of those mechanical arts which had been built up in dim centuries by Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phœnician. (Much of this inheritance, both intellectual and material, was forgotten or neglected for hundreds of years, but most of it was finally to be recovered.) Rome also passed on *Christianity* and the organization of the church.

*Rome herself* had contributed (1) a universal language, which was to serve as a common medium of learning and intercourse for all the peoples of Western Europe; (2) Roman law; (3) municipal institutions, in southern Europe; (4) the imperial idea, — the conception of one, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the world owed obedience.

The fresh blood of the Teutons reinvigorated the old races, and so provided the men who for centuries were to do the world's work. *The Teutons* contributed, too, certain definite ideas and institutions, — (1) a new sense of personal independence; (2) a bond of personal loyalty between chieftain and follower, in contrast with the old Roman loyalty to the state; (3) a new *chance* for democracy (especially in the *local* popular assemblies in England, as we shall see); and (4) a new and *growing* system of law.

Out of the *mixture* of Roman and Teutonic elements there had already developed the serf system for farm work (in place of slave labor); a new class of nobles; a new kingship; and soon there was to grow out of those same elements a new feudalism (ch. xxviii), which for many centuries thereafter remained the main system in government and in society.



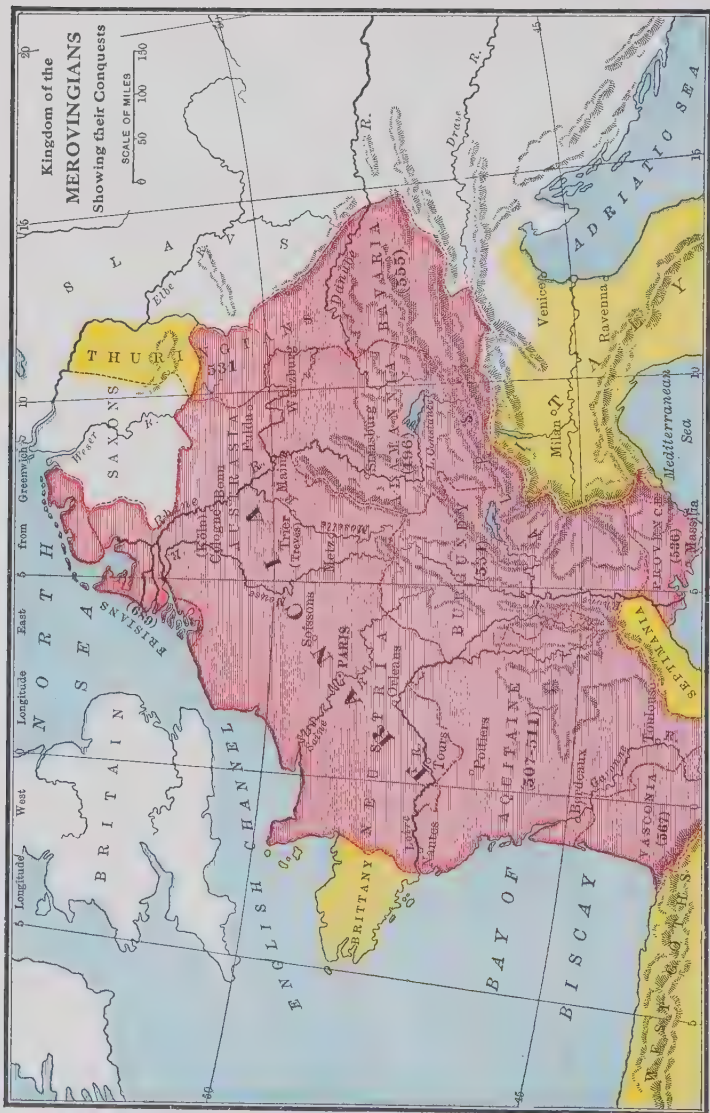
## EXERCISES

1. List the different kinds of service to civilization performed by the church during the Dark Ages.
2. In what position or office would you have preferred to live if you had lived in the Dark Ages, and why?
3. What seem to you the two most important dates in this chapter? the four most important names?
4. Fix the meaning of "Middle Ages." That name is used generally for the eleven centuries from about 400 to about 1500 A.D., or from the Teutonic invasions to the discovery of America. This "medieval period" intervenes, then, between the distinctly "ancient" and the distinctly "modern" period.
5. On a map of the Europe of to-day, point out the countries in which the Teutonic peoples settled. Which of them are within the boundaries of the old Roman Empire?



This picture was drawn by a monk of the fourteenth century to show himself at work in the monastery library—a very different room from the cold cells in which early monks usually toiled. By the fourteenth century, though books were still written by hand, they were made up by binding together large sheets of vellum or parchment (calf skin or sheep skin), and so they looked like large volumes of our time. Some papyrus rolls were still used. Notice the bottles of inks and paints.





best

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY

Before taking up the study of feudalism, we have to consider a remarkable attempt to reorganize Western Europe more on the Roman model—in the “Empire” of Charlemagne. And to study that, we must go back a little for some details in the history of the Franks. During the centuries of confusion and fusion, two forces grew up to organize Western Europe—the *Frankish state* and the *papacy*; and one great force, *Mohammedanism*, began to threaten it from outside.

#### I. RISE OF THE FRANKS

The founder of Frankish greatness was *Clovis*, a brutal and shrewd savage. In 481, he became king of one of several little tribes of Franks on the lower Rhine. Fifty years later, thanks to a continuous policy of war and perfidy, his sons ruled an empire comprising modern France, the Netherlands, and much of western Germany. Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries it was practically the only power in Western Europe. Gothic Spain was in decay; Italy was torn to shreds; Britain was a medley of small warring kingdoms (page 403); Germany, beyond the Frankish empire, held only savage, unorganized tribes.

The family of Clovis kept the throne for two centuries—a dismal story of greed, treachery, and murder, and, toward the end, of indolence. The last rulers of this line were mere phantom kings who earned the name of “*Do-nothings*.” All real power was exercised by a *mayor of the palace*. Originally this officer was the head of the royal household, but, one by one, he had drawn all powers of government into his hands and had even

made his office hereditary. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived on some obscure estate in swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.

About 650 this declining state seemed ready to fall to pieces. The Franks themselves had spread their homes hardly at all south of the Loire, and even this northern part of the empire was for a time divided into two kingdoms, while subject provinces (like Roman Aquitaine and German Bavaria) became practically independent under their own native dukes.

But, happily, about 700 A.D. there arose a great Frankish mayor, Charles, known from his deeds as Martel, or "the Hammer." By crushing blows, east, west, and south, Martel began to restore order and union. *And none too soon.* For the Mohammedans now attacked Europe. Except for Martel's work just before, there would have been no Christian power able to withstand their onset — and Englishmen and Americans to-day might be readers of the Mohammedan Koran instead of the Christian Bible.

## II. RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

A century after Clovis founded the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising material, built a mighty power in Arabia. Until that time, Arabia had had little to do with human progress. It was mainly desert, with strips of tillable land near the Red Sea, — where also there were a few small cities. Elsewhere the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's hair tents, living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors, and worshipping sticks and stones. During its six centuries the Christian church, which had long before converted all the old Roman-Greek world about them, had made no impression on those Arab nomads. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of Mohammed.



Mohammed was born at Mecca, the largest city of Arabia, about 570. He never learned to read; but his speech was ready and forceful, and his manner pleasing and stately. As a youth, he was modest, serious, and truthful, — so that as a hired camel-driver, he earned the surname “the Faithful.” He had always been given to occasional periods of religious enthusiasm, watching and praying alone in the desert for days at a time. When he was a respected merchant of forty years, God appeared to him (he said) during one of these vigils, revealing to him a higher religion and ordering him to preach it to his countrymen. At first, Mohammed seems to have doubted whether this vision were not a subtle temptation by the devil; but his wife convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his mighty task.

Mohammed really drew most of the best features of his new religion from Jewish and Christian teachings. The two central requirements were *faith* and *obedience*. A “true believer” must accept only the one God, *Allah*, and offer complete submission (*Islam*) to his will. The Koran,<sup>1</sup> the “sacred book” made up of Mohammed’s teachings, taught a higher morality than the Arabs had known, — not so very unlike that of the Ten Commandments — and it attracted converts largely by its sensuous appeals to future pleasures or pains. At the “Last Day,” all souls would be gathered to judgment. Then all sinful Mohammedans, together with all “Unbelievers,” would be cast into an everlasting hell of scalding water covered with thick clouds of smoke. True believers, on the other hand, were to enter the joys of an eternal Paradise, to recline, in the midst of lovely gardens, on couches of gold and jewels, where they would be served constantly by beautiful maidens (*houris*) with delicious foods and wines.

For twelve years the new faith grew hardly at all. A few friends accepted Mohammed at once as a prophet; but the bulk of his fellow townsfolk jeered at the claim, and when he continued to order them to put away their stone idols, they drove

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<sup>1</sup> See extracts in Ogg’s *Source Book*, No. 13.

him from Mecca. *This flight is "the Hegira" (622 A.D.), from which the Mohammedan world still reckons time.*

Then began a marvelously rapid growth for the new faith. Mohammed converted the tribes of the desert, and took up the sword. His fierce warriors proved themselves almost irresistible, conquering many a time against overwhelming odds.



SARACENIC WALLS OF JERUSALEM. — From a recent photo. Palestine was naturally one of the earliest Mohammedan conquests outside Arabia. The many slight minarets that top the battlements are characteristic of Saracenic architecture.

They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death, which he could neither delay nor hasten, and they rejoiced in death in battle as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise. Before his death, ten years after the Hegira, Mohammed was master of all Arabia. Eighty years later, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic, — rulers of a realm more extensive than that of Rome at its height. Within the span of one human life, the Mohammedan Arabs had won all the old Asiatic empire of Alexander the Great and all North Africa; and, drawing together the sweeping horns of their mighty crescent, they were already trying to

enter Europe from both east and west across the narrow straits of the Hellespont and Gibraltar.

The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away against the walls of the "City of Constantine," defended by its recently invented "Greek fire." In 672, having easily overrun Syria and Asia Minor, the Mohammedan hosts besieged Constantinople. But the hero-Emperor, Constantine IV, repulsed them — and so saved also the Western world; for at that period of Frankish degradation there was no other power in Europe to withstand the attack.

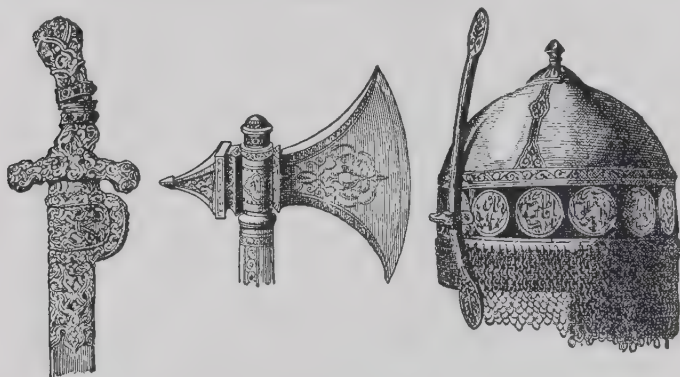
"Greek fire" (so named after the Greeks had learned to use it from the Arabs) was a combustible made, probably, by mixing naphtha, sulphur, and pitch. It could not be extinguished by water, and it was the most terrifying weapon of warfare until the invention of gunpowder. It was to be used, later, with tremendous effect by the Mohammedans themselves. As late as 1250, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: "Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday."

In 711 at the other extremity of the Christian world, the Arab conquerors of North Africa did enter Spain and were soon masters of the peninsula, except for remote mountain fastnesses. Then, pouring across the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire, and it "seemed that the crescent<sup>1</sup> was about to round to the full."

But the danger completed the reunion of the Frankish state. The duke of Aquitaine, long in revolt against Frankish rule, fled to the camp of Charles Martel for aid against the Mohammedans, and, in 732, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" with his close array of mailed Teutonic infantry met the Arab host. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday

<sup>1</sup> The crescent was the symbol of the Mohammedan world.

in October, the gallant, turbaned horsemen of the Saracens<sup>1</sup> hurled themselves in vain against the Franks' stern wall of iron. At night the surviving Arabs stole silently from their camp and fled back behind the shelter of the Pyrenees.



MOORISH ARMS AND HELMET, with gold inlay work on steel. In both East and West, the Saracens soon adopted the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, so far as concerned its material side, at least. See page 490.

The battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is *the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion*. A few years later, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph<sup>2</sup> of the East built, for his capital, the wonderful city of Bagdad on the Tigris. The Caliphate of the West fixed its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two Mohammedan empires were more or less hostile to each other, and so, for many centuries, the critical danger to Western civilization and to Christianity passed away. The repulses at Constantinople and Tours rank with Marathon and Salamis in the age-long struggle between Asia and Europe.

<sup>1</sup> This name is used properly for any division of the Mohammedan world ruled by the *Arabs*. It is best not to use it of the *Turks*. The Saracens in Spain are often also called *Moors*, because they were mixed with the Mauritians of North Africa.

<sup>2</sup> All successors of Mohammed took the title *Caliph*, which means "successor."

## III. RISE OF THE PAPACY

The Frankish empire had saved Europe from Africa. Next it allied itself to the papacy, whose rise we will now trace.

Students will remember that very early in the history of Christianity (page 351) the "patriarchs" of five great capitals — Alexandria, Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, and Rome — were recognized as having greater authority than any other clergy. Then, before 300 A.D., the Pope,<sup>1</sup> as the bishop of Rome came to be called, had put forth a vigorous claim to supremacy over all the Christian church. The argument ran somewhat as follows: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his church to Peter; Peter had founded the church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.<sup>2</sup>

Rome had advantages that helped to make good this claim. (1) Men inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital. (2) The Latin half of the Empire had no other church founded by an Apostle, nor did it contain any other great city: Rome's rivals were all east of the Adriatic. (3) The decline of the Empire in the West, after the barbarian invasions, left the bishops of Rome freer from imperial interference than Eastern bishops were.

A fourth support for the papal claim grew out of the character of the Popes themselves. A long succession of remarkably able Popes confirmed the headship of the Roman bishop in the West and brought about the selection of a Pope, more than once, as judge in disputes between Eastern patriarchs.

Even in the West, however, until about 700 A.D., most men looked upon the bishop of Rome only as one among other great

<sup>1</sup> "Pope," or "papa," was at first only a term of affection and respect ("father"). It did not become an *official* title until 1085.

<sup>2</sup> Robinson's *Readings*, I, 62-73, has a good statement, with extracts from several of the early Fathers; see especially the argument of Pope Leo.



patriarchs — though the most loved and trusted one. But the eighth century eliminated the other four patriarchs, so far as Western Christendom was concerned. In quick succession, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens, and,

soon afterward, *remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.*



POPE GREGORY THE GREAT (590-604), sending forth missionaries. — As pictured by a monk in an old book. What does the dove signify?

This "Great Schism" in Christendom followed the ancient lines of partition between the Latin and Greek cultures, but the occasion for actual separation was a dispute over the use of images — the "iconoclast," or image-breaking, question. An influential part of the clergy in the Greek Empire desired to abolish the use of images, which, they felt,

the ignorant were apt to degrade from symbols into idols. A great reforming Emperor, *Leo the Isaurian*, put himself at the head of the movement, and ordered all images removed from the churches. The West clung to their use as aids to worship. So the Popes Gregory II and III forbade obedience to the order of the Emperor and even excommunicated him.<sup>1</sup> The result was the separation of Christendom into two halves, never since united.

At this period the Popes were elected by the clergy and people of Rome, but until these happenings, they had always asked the Emperor to confirm the appointment — as other bishops had done since the time of Constantine. Henceforward, however,

<sup>1</sup> Excommunication is explained on page 435.

bishops of Rome took office without imperial sanction. **Fifty years later, Pope Adrian made the separation from the Greek Empire even more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the Emperors.** Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 in the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," — and so introduced our method of counting time. (But see page 329, note.)

In less than a century the Greek Church returned to the use of images, but *no real attempt was made to reunite the churches of East and West* — which seems to prove that the split came in fact from deeper causes than that temporary dispute. The churches of Russia, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and most of the Christians of Western Asia, still belong to the Greek communion.

In matters of religion this schism between East and West left the Pope undisputed head of Western Europe. **Moreover, even before, he had been growing into a temporal<sup>1</sup> sovereign** over a small state in Italy. In the break-up of that peninsula in the latter part of the sixth century (page 372), the imperial governor had kept his capital at Ravenna, safe amid the marshes of the Adriatic coast, but had been cut off, by Lombard states, from Rome (which then, with neighboring territory, still belonged to the Empire). Bishops always held considerable civil authority, and this new condition had left the bishop of Rome the *only* lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district. Soon the difficulty of communication with Constantinople (and the weakness of many Emperors) made him in practice *an independent ruler*. After the split between Greek and Latin churches, **this independence was openly avowed.**

#### IV. FRANKS AND PAPACY BECOME ALLIES

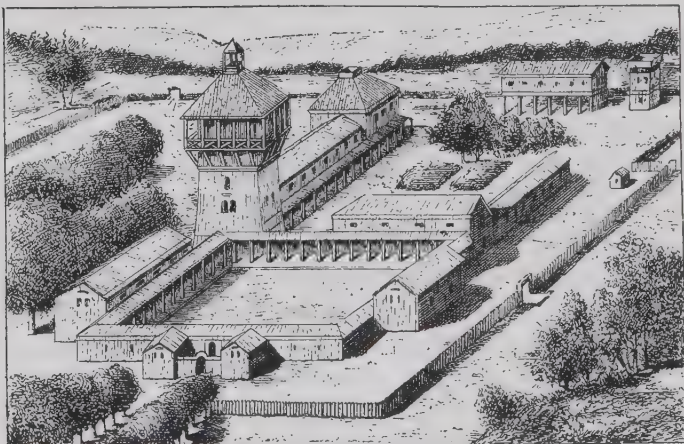
Soon this new papal state was threatened with conquest by the Lombards, who had already seized Ravenna. For aid

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<sup>1</sup> *Temporal*, in this sense, is used to apply to matters of *this* world, in contrast to the *spiritual* matters of the world *eternal*.

against the Lombard attack, the Popes appealed to the Franks. The Frankish mayors needed papal help for their own plans just then; and so the two organizing forces of Western Europe joined hands.

The Frankish mayor now was *Pippin the Short*, son of Charles Martel. This ruler felt that he bore the burdens of kingship, and he wished to take to himself also its name and dignity. Such



A SEVENTH-CENTURY WOODEN STRONGHOLD OF A GREAT NOBLE IN NORTHERN GAUL, as reconstructed by Parmentier. See facing page 362. The outer stockade was about nine feet high, with a loophole in almost every stake. Why were all the windows so small?

a step needed powerful sanction. So, in 750, Pippin sent an embassy to the Pope to ask whether this was "a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks." The Pope replied, "It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so." Thereupon Pippin shut up the last shadow-king of the house of Clovis in a monastery, and himself assumed the crown.

A little later, Pope Stephen visited the Frankish court and solemnly consecrated Pippin king. All earlier Teutonic kings had held their kingship by will of their people, but Stephen anointed Pippin, as the old Hebrew prophets did the Hebrew

kings. *This began for European monarchs their "sacred" character as "the Lord's anointed."*

On his part, Pippin made Lombardy a tributary state and gave to the Pope that territory which the Lombard king had recently seized from Ravenna. This "Donation of Pippin" created the modern principality of "the Papal States" — which lasted continuously until 1870 and which in 1929, after an interval of 59 years, was restored, in diminished extent, by Mussolini, the Fascist ruler of Italy.

These new allies, the Frankish powers and the papacy, were now to organize Western Europe.

## V. THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

*"A patch of light in the vast gloom."*

Pippin, King of the Franks, died in 768, and was succeeded by his son **Karl the Great**, known in his own day as Carolus Magnus, and best known to us by the French form *Charlemagne*. We must not think of Charlemagne, however, as French: he was pure Teuton in blood.<sup>1</sup>

Charlemagne was a statesman rather than a fighter; but he found his realm still threatened by barbarian Germans on the east and by Mohammedan Moors on the south, and **his long reign of a half century was filled with ceaseless border wars**. He thrust back the Saracens to the Ebro, redeeming a strip of Spain<sup>2</sup>; and, in a long pounding of thirty years, he subdued the heathen Saxons amid the marshes and trackless wilderness between the lower Rhine and the Elbe. (See map after 396.) All this district (which had long been a peril to the civilized world) was now colonized by Frankish pioneers and planted with Christian churches — and so became *the foundation for modern Germany*.

<sup>1</sup> Some student should read to the class the vivid pen-portrait of Charlemagne by his secretary and friend, Einhard (Davis' *Readings*, II).

<sup>2</sup> The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees, in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend embodied later in the *Song of Roland*, the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.



For a long time, other foes hindered the great king from giving time and energy to reconstruction. The vassal Lombard king attacked the Pope. After fruitless remonstrance, Charlemagne marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's "Donation," and at Pavia placed the Iron Crown of Lombardy upon his own head, as King of Italy. And when restless Bavaria once more rebelled, that district was at last thoroughly subdued.

Thus Visigoth in northern Spain, Burgund in southern Gaul, Lombard in Italy, and the more newly "civilized" Bavarian and Saxon in Germany, along with the dominant Frank — *all the surviving Teutonic peoples* except the Norsemen in the Scandinavian lands and the Angles and Saxons in Britain — *were fused in one Christian Romano-Teutonic state.*<sup>1</sup>

Beyond this "Western Europe," to the east, stretched away savage and heathen Avars and Slavs, still hurling themselves from time to time against the barriers of the civilized world. Charlemagne made no attempt to *embody* these inharmonious elements in his realm; but, toward the close, he did reduce the first line of peoples beyond the Elbe and the Danube into *tributary states* to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.

No mere "King of the Franks" could hold in lasting allegiance the minds of Visigoth, Lombard, Bavarian, and Saxon, and of the old Roman populations among whom they dwelt. And so Charlemagne now strengthened his authority by reviving in the West the dignity and magic name of the Roman Empire, ruling at once from the old world-capital, Rome on the Latin Tiber, and from his new capital, the German Aachen near the Rhine.

There was already a "Roman Emperor" at Constantinople, whose authority, *in theory*, extended over all Christendom; but just at this time, Irene, the empress-mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI, and seized the imperial power. To most minds, East and West, it seemed monstrous that a wicked

<sup>1</sup> The population was largely Roman but, — in Italy and South Gaul, as in Saxon-land, — *the rule*, for the most part, *was in Teutonic hands.*











woman should pretend to the scepter of the world; and, on Christmas Day, 800 A.D., as Charlemagne at Rome knelt in prayer at the altar, Pope Leo III placed upon his head a gold crown, saluting him "Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans." This deed was at once ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude without.

In theory, Rome had chosen a successor to Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople. In actual fact, however, **the deed of Leo and Charlemagne divided the Christian world into two rival empires**, each calling itself *the* Roman Empire. After a time men had to recognize this fact, — as they had to recognize that there were two branches of the Christian church; but to the men of the West, *their* Empire, like their church, remained the only legitimate one. In plain fact, neither Empire was really Roman. The Eastern grew more and more Oriental, and the Western more Teutonic. Charlemagne and his successors had to be crowned at Rome, but the German Rhine (not the Italian Tiber) was the real center of their state.

One other fact made the new "Roman Empire in the West" different from any earlier "Roman Empire." *It arose out of a union of the papacy and the imperial power.* In later times this union was expressed in a new name, **The Holy Roman Empire**. It had a spiritual as well as a temporal head. (Dissensions between these two heads made an important part of its later history.)

**The glory and prosperity of the old Empire had not been restored with its name.** To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. In 800 the West was ignorant and wretched. There was much barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen to ruin, and murderous brigands infested those that remained. There was little communication between one district and another. Money was little known and trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was rude farming by serfs. Even Charlemagne was always pinched for money. He could raise no "taxes." He did exact "service in person"



in war and peace, and the treasury received some fines, and occasional "gifts" from wealthy men; but its chief support came *from the royal farms* scattered through the kingdom.

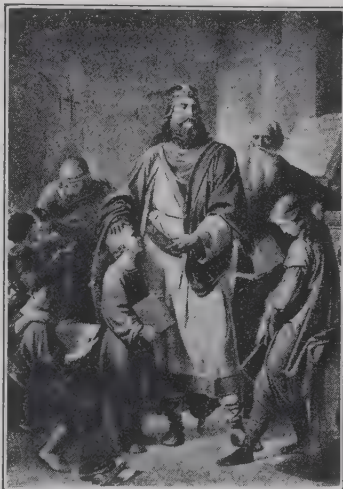
To make sure of this last revenue in the cheapest way (and at the same time to attend to the wants of his vast realms), the king and court constantly traveled from farm to farm, consuming the produce upon the spot. No commercial traveler of to-day is so constantly on the move, or encounters such hardship on the road. Charlemagne took the most minute care, too, that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay every egg due him (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 149).

To keep in touch with the feelings of his many peoples, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. Sometimes this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times, only the great nobles and churchmen came (page 378). To these gatherings were read the *capitularies*, or collections of laws decreed by the king; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. At the most, it could only mildly bring to bear upon the king the force of public opinion. A modern French historian (Fustel de Coulanges) pictures a Mayfield thus:

An immense multitude is gathered in a plain, under tents. It is divided into separate groups. The *chiefs* of these groups assemble about the king, to deliberate with him. Then each of them tells his own group what has been decided, perhaps consults them, but at any rate obtains their consent as easily as the king had obtained his; for these men are dependent on him, just as he is on the king. . . . The king's will decided everything: the nobles only advised.

**Charlemagne made brave attempts also to revive learning.** He never learned to write; but he spoke and read Latin, as well as his native German, and he understood some Greek. For the age, he was an educated man for a layman (a man outside the clergy), and he wished earnestly to make more learning possible for others. The difficulties were almost beyond our comprehension. *There seemed no place to begin.* Not only the nobles, but even many of the clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

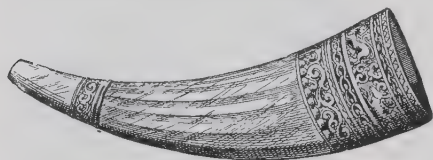
Still much was done. Charlemagne secured more learned men for the clergy. He set up schools in many of the monasteries and at the seats of bishops. For teachers, he brought learned men from Italy, where the Roman culture best survived. He also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the nobles of the court, and induced the scholar *Alcuin* to come from England to direct it. The Emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the youths, and delighted in taking part in the discussions of the scholars whom he had gathered about him. With great zeal, too, he strove to secure the true copying of valuable manuscripts. "Often," says one capitulary, "men desire to pray to God, but they pray badly because of incorrect books. Do not permit boys to corrupt them . . . let men of mature age do the writing diligently."



IMAGINARY SCENE IN THE SCHOOL OF THE PALACE. — The modern artist has given Charlemagne a full beard, but writers of his own time all say that he wore only a mustache. (See also the cut facing page 407.) The white-bearded man a little behind Charlemagne is Alcuin.

In the year 700, there were four great forces contending for Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the papacy. By the year 800, Charles Martel and Charles the Great had excluded the first two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire. For centuries more, this Roman Empire was to be one of the most important forces in Europe. Barbarism and anarchy did break in again after the death of the great Charles; but the imperial idea, to which he had given new life, was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against anarchy in behalf of order and progress.

**Charlemagne himself** towers above all other rulers from the fifth century to the fifteenth — easily the greatest ruler of a thousand years. He stands for five mighty movements. He widened the area of civilization, created one great Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire in the West for the outward form of this state, reorganized church and society, and began a revival of learning. He wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and of Teutonic society into a new



The two "Roman" Empires were jealous of each other. Each, therefore, was friendly with the Caliphate bordering its Christian rival. Many gifts were exchanged by Charlemagne and Haroun-al-Raschid (*Haroun the Just*), Caliph of Bagdad, of whom you hear often in the Arabian Nights. Among the gifts from Bagdad was this drinking horn, ornamented with gold inlay work. Other gifts from the Eastern ruler were a white elephant and (most amazing to the Franks) a water-clock that struck the hours. Cf. page 31.

civilization. In his Empire were fused the various streams of influence which the earlier world contributed to our modern world.

In 800 A.D. the world was divided among two Christian "Roman" Empires and two Mohammedan Caliphates (map after 396.) For centuries the Western Empire remained the

least polished, least wealthy, least civilized. Yet that rude state, with its Teutonic fringes in England and Scandinavia, was the only one of those great powers which was to make further progress.

**The scene of history** (so far as concerns the development of *our* civilization) **had shifted to the West once more.** This time, too, it had shrunk in size. Some Teutonic districts had been added; but vast areas of the old Roman world had gone, — the Euphrates, the Nile, the Eastern Mediterranean, Europe itself east of the Adriatic and south of the Pyrenees. The Mediterranean, the center of the Roman world, had now become an ill-guarded moat between Christian Europe and Mohammedan Africa, and its ancient place as the highway of civilization was taken by the Rhine and the North Sea.

FOR FURTHER READING. — The closing numbers of Davis' *Readings*, II, contain excellent source material on this period. See, too, Ogg's *Source Book*, especially for Mohammedanism. If time is found for other library work, the following books are among the most useful: Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, chs. i-vii; Hodgkin's *Theodoric the Goth* and especially his *Charles the Great*; Muir's *Mohammed*; Sargeant's *The Franks*; Masterman's *Dawn of Medieval Europe*; Munro and Sellery's *Medieval Civilization*; Eileen Powers' *Medieval People*, 1-23. Einhard's *Charlemagne* is in Harper's Half-Hour series.

## EXERCISES

1. Topical and catch-word reviews: (a) *The church*; (b) *The Franks*; (c) *The Empire*.

2. *Dates* to be added to earlier lists: 410, 476, 732, 800.

What events connected with the invasions can the student locate, in order, between 378 and 476? What events in the history of the Empire between 476 and 732?

3. On an outline map draw in the boundaries of each of the four "world powers" in 800 A.D. (This exercise may help also to remind the student, that, far to the east, in India and China, were other and older civilizations, quite apart in all ways from the "world" we have been studying, though, about a thousand years later, they were to begin to mingle with it. Cf. page 14.)

4. If we were studying North Africa and Asia, instead of Europe, would we think of Mohammedanism as an organizing or as a disorganizing force?



FAMOUS CHURCHMEN pictured in the margin of a medieval manuscript: a bishop with "shepherd's crook"; a Pope with crown and crosier; and the English scholar, Bede (page 406).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MAKING OF ENGLAND

From about 50 A.D. (page 299) to 400 A.D. Britain had been part of the old Roman Empire. The Teutonic invasions of the fifth century once more cut that island off almost completely from the rest of Europe. The time was drawing near, however, when *England* was to become a factor in the growth of European civilization. It is necessary, then, at this point, to go back to note how that England had been formed out of the older Britain.

In 408 the last Roman legion in Britain was withdrawn to meet the threatened invasion of Italy by Alaric's Goths (page 366). This left the dismayed Romanized Britons to protect themselves as best they could against the wild Celts of north Britain (who at once began to raid at will across the undefended Wall of Hadrian) and against the Teutonic Angles and Saxons from across the North Sea.

These last had been a dreaded scourge for even *Roman Britain*. Perhaps the most important Roman officer in the island had been "the Count of the Saxon Shore," whose duty it was to guard villas and rich farms of the eastern and southeastern coasts against the ceaseless raids of Saxon pirates by his patrols of warships and his garrisons distributed in frequent stations. The Saxons and Angles lived in the lower Danish peninsula and among the damp forests and gloomy marshes spreading out from its base, where Charlemagne was to find their kinsmen little changed several centuries later (page 395). Probably no other important branch of the Teutons who broke into the Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries had felt so little previous influence from Roman civilization and from Christianity.

Now, in 449 A.D., the unwarlike Britons called in a band of these Teutonic sea-rovers to drive back the invading Scots and



Picts<sup>1</sup> from the north, promising them rich lands for pay. So began the barbarian conquest of Britain. Those dangerous protectors fulfilled their bargain — but almost at once began to take more of the island for themselves. Bands of their kinsmen, too, swarmed across the North Sea to seize upon other districts along the eastern and southern coasts, spreading gradually inland and setting up numerous little Teutonic “kingdoms.”

This conquest of Britain, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. It took the Teutons a century and a half (till about 600) to master the *eastern half* of the island. Coming by sea, they came necessarily in small bands. They were still pagans; so they spread ruthless destruction and provoked desperate resistance. Moreover, Britain had been less completely Romanized than the continental provinces were: there was more forest and marsh, and fewer Roman roads, so that the natives found it easier to make frequent stands against the invader.

And because the conquest was slow, it was thorough. Eastern England became strictly a Teutonic land. Roman institutions and language vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven to the west, or enslaved. Gradually the many little Teutonic kingdoms were welded into a smaller number of larger states, of which the most important were: *Kent*, held by tribes of Jutes;<sup>2</sup> *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons); and *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*, holdings of the Angles, who in the end were to give their name to the whole (“Angle-land”). In all this eastern half of the island, too, the language was purely Teutonic.

The Latin elements in our English language came in, as we shall see, at a later date. Until the eleventh century, the only non-Teutonic elements were Roman place-names (like the words that have come to be pronounced London and

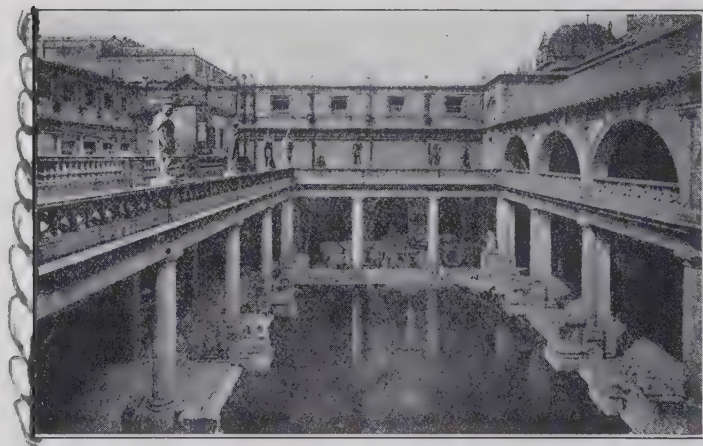
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<sup>1</sup> At first the Romans had called *all* Britons by this name of “painted men,” because of their use of war-paint. Later that practice had come to distinguish the wild Britons of the north from their civilized kinsmen. The *Scots* were Celts from Ireland, who had recently conquered part of northern Britain. See map on page 406 for all names.

<sup>2</sup> A small Teutonic people from Denmark.

Rochester) which the conquerors kept as we in America have kept Indian names for many lakes and rivers. Except for this, and for the crumbling walls of empty and ruined cities, there was little to show that Roman civilization had ever possessed the land.

During the two hundred years of incessant war, the still unconquered Britons in the west had lost what they had had of



ROMAN BATHS SURVIVING AT BATH, ENGLAND. (The buildings in the background are modern.) This picture illustrates the fact that some Roman civilization survived in the west of the island.

Roman civilization (and, except for two or three Roman cities, that civilization had never taken much hold on the west of Britain). They did keep their Christian worship — as did the Irish, who had been converted in Roman times by Saint Patrick. **But, for some two centuries, these Celtic churches were almost cut off from intercourse with the rest of Europe and from papal authority.** The Irish did send some missionaries to try to convert the new heathen in eastern Britain and even established a few monasteries north of the Humber. **But Christianity made little headway among the conquering Teutons until — a little before the year 600 — Pope Gregory the Great (page 392) sent the monk Augustine, with forty companions, to convert**

the King of Kent and his people. Even then it took sixty years, and many wars between Christian and heathen kings, before the Christian church was safely established in Teutonic England. Soon afterward, *in 664*, at a famous *Church Council at Whitby*, the Celtic churches reunited with the Roman,



MARBLE RELIEF OVER A DOORWAY OF AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE AT CANTERBURY, commemorating Augustine's conversion of the King of Kent. — By the English sculptor, William Burgos.

acknowledging the headship of the Pope and (under him) of the archbishop of Canterbury.

This union of all the island in one church helped, no doubt, to bring about a union in government; and certainly it had a part in making future wars between Teuton and Celt less barbarous. The Teutonic kings still tried to conquer the neighboring Britons, but were content now to make them tributaries: the people of a conquered district were no longer exterminated.

Moreover, there came now a rapid growth of learning.

The English scholar *Bede* wrote a notable history of England (in Latin), and his fame drew disciples from all parts of Europe to study at his feet. It was in an English monastery, too, that Charlemagne found the teacher *Alcuin* (page 399).

By 827 A.D., Egbert, king of the West Saxons, had brought all the Teutonic parts of the island under his authority, taking



ENGLAND, 600-1300 A.D., with some towns of a later period. The extent of Teutonic conquest down to about 800 is indicated by dark shading.





A SAXON TIMBERED CHURCH which lasted till modern times. From *Cutt's Parish Priests*. Notice the upright logs that form the wall.



ST. MARTIN'S, near Canterbury. On this site stood the first Christian church used by Augustine and his fellow missionaries. A church of the Roman period may have been surviving there. Otherwise the building must have resembled the one pictured at the top of this page. Parts of the present building are very old—including a tomb which is said to hold the dust of Queen Bertha, the Christian Frankish wife of the heathen King of Kent, through whom Augustine secured a hearing. About three miles distant, as this photo shows, rise now the towers of Canterbury Cathedral.





BAPTISM OF WITTEKIND, one of the Saxon leaders conquered by Charlemagne, who is shown leaning upon his sword at the right. — From a painting made in 1869 by Paul Thumann. Many of the Teutonic kings in Britain were "Christianized" in a like way.

a new title, "**King of the English.**" Egbert, however, was merely a head-king surrounded by jealous tributary kings who might break away at any moment from any but a strong ruler. Just at this moment, too, came a new series of invasions by heathen Teutons from Denmark. These at first shattered the new union, but in the end they helped it to grow more closely knit.

**The Danes** began their raids in the time of Egbert, and made their first attempt at permanent settlement in 850, when a band wintered on the southeastern coast. From that time their attempts grew more and more eager, until in **871**, after a series of great battles, in the last of which the king of Wessex was slain, they became for a time masters of Saxon England.

**The power of Wessex** soon revived, however, under *Alfred the Great*, brother of the slain king. Just after the Danish victory, Alfred had been driven into hiding in moors and fens, but from his secret retreats he made many a daring sally. Finally the Danes were defeated, and forced to accept Christian baptism. Then in 885, by the *Treaty of Wedmore*, they were shut off in the northeast beyond Watling Street, an old Roman road from London to Chester.

All the Saxon states of the south now gladly accepted the rule of Wessex for protection against the Dane, and **Alfred gave the rest of his splendid life to healing the wounds of his Saxon England.** He reorganized the army, created the first English navy, and reared many a strong fort on commanding heights. But, also, — more important — he rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers abroad. Alfred wrote later that when he began his work there was not a priest in the kingdom who understood the church service (Latin) that he mumbled by rote. Since there were no fit textbooks in English for the new schools, Alfred himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English (one of them Bede's *History of England*), with some comment of his own — adding thus to his other titles the well-

deserved one of "the father of English prose."<sup>1</sup> His own day knew him by the honorable name of "Alfred the Truthteller," and surely few kings have so well earned the title of "the Great." A famous historian has written of him, —



FROM AN ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPT of the eleventh century, now in the British Museum.

To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in gold-work, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . "So long as I have lived," said he as life was closing, "I have striven to live worthily": and again, "I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works."

The Danish king in the north of Britain was supposed to pay some vague obedience to the Saxon king, but, in fact, the *Danelagh*, or *Danelaw* (land of the Danes' law), was an independent state. A second period of warfare (900-950) went to the reconquest of this Danelagh by the great successors of Alfred, — Edward the Unconquered, Athelstane the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds — and under *Edgar the Peaceful*, Alfred's great-grandson, the island rested in union and prosperity. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far west came to Edgar's court to acknowledge his overlordship.

<sup>1</sup> There were a few ballads and one long poem in English (the Song of Beowulf, page 363), but no prose literature until these translations by Alfred.



# REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII

### THE RISE OF FEUDALISM

#### I. A NEW BARBARIAN ATTACK

*"From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us."* — PRAYER IN THE CHURCH SERVICE OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

Charlemagne died in 814, and his Empire did not long outlive him. His brilliant attempt to bring Western Europe into order and union was followed by a dismal period of reaction and turmoil, while his ignoble descendants sought only to see who could grab the largest slices of the realm.

The most important of these selfish contests closed in 843 with the Treaty of Verdun. This treaty begins the map of modern Europe. Lothair, Charlemagne's eldest grandson, held the title Emperor and so he was allowed to take North Italy and a narrow strip of land from Italy to the North Sea — that he might keep the two imperial capitals, Rome and Aachen. The rest of the Empire, lying east and west of this middle strip, was broken into two kingdoms for Lothair's two brothers.

The eastern kingdom, wholly Teutonic in blood, was the nucleus of the later kingdom of *Germany*. In the western kingdom, which was to grow into *France*, the Teutonic conquerors were being absorbed rapidly into the older Roman and Gallic populations. Lothair's unwieldy middle state proved the weakest of the three. Italy fell away at once. Then the northern portion, part French, part German, crumbled into "little states" that confused the map for centuries. Most of them were absorbed finally by their two powerful neighbors, east and west, but others survive — as Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland.

For a century after Verdun, political history remained a bloody tangle of treacherous family quarrels, while the descendants of

the Hammer and the Great won such surnames as the Simple, the Fat, the Lazy. And now distracted Europe was imperiled by a new danger from without. **Once more barbarian invasions threatened the Western world.** On the east, hordes of wild *Slavs* and of wilder *Hungarians* broke across the frontiers, ravaged Germany, and penetrated sometimes even to Rome or to Toulouse in southern France — burning, slaying, ravishing, carrying off prisoners and all movable booty. On the south, *Mohammedan Moors* from Africa attacked Italy and Sicily, establishing themselves firmly in many districts there and turning the Mediterranean into a Mohammedan lake. From the north, fierce *Norse* pirates harried every coast, and, swarming up the rivers, pierced the heart of the land.

Of all these ninth-century barbarians, **the Norsemen have left the most important marks upon our civilization.** They were a branch of the Teutons, and the fiercest and wildest of that



A VIKING SHIP discovered in modern times buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It was of unpainted oak, 79' 4" by 16½', and 6 feet deep in the middle.

race. They dwelt in the Scandinavian peninsulas, and were still heathen. They had taken no part in the earlier Teutonic invasions (except from the base of Denmark to Britain; page 403), but, in the ninth century, population was becoming too crowded for their bleak lands, and they were driven to seek new homes. Some of them colonized distant Iceland and set up a free republic there. But the greater number resorted to raiding richer countries. The Swedes conquered Finns and Slavs on the east, while Danish and Norse "Vik-ings" (Sons of the Fiords) set forth upon "the pathway of the swans," in fleets sometimes of hundreds of boats, to ravage Western Europe. "The blast," they sang, "aids our oars; the hurricane is our servant."

The raids upon Saxon Britain have been touched upon. The

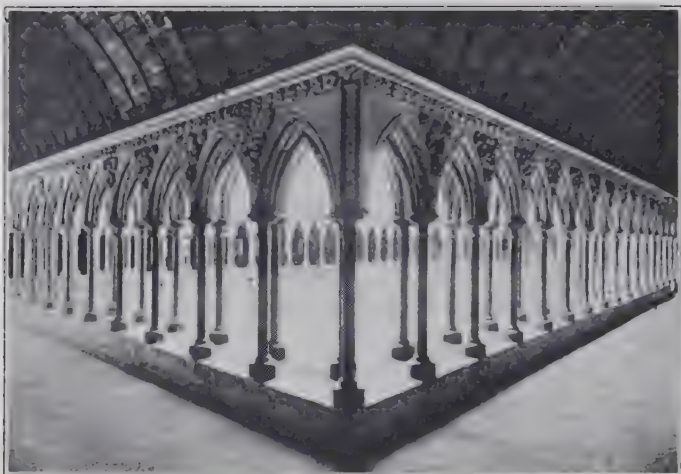


*A Wall Painting from the Milwaukee Public Museum*

VIKINGS burning the body of a dead comrade with his ship—the most honorable funeral among them. Note the Viking village on one side of this Norwegian fjord.



This boat (the *Leif Ericson*) was built in Norway in 1925, to be a copy of the Viking ship that discovered America in the year 1000. It is 42' by 13' and 6 feet deep (cf. figures on page 410), and at each end a small sleeping cabin is roofed over. In the stormy spring of 1926 a Norwegian crew crossed the Atlantic in this boat, from Bergen to Boston, by way of Iceland.



TWO VIEWS OF MONT SAINT-MICHEL, a famous French monastery. The lower shows the crypt (basement), the oldest part by far of the present structure, built at least as early as 1100. The upper picture shows the cloisters, which were built two hundred years later. The crypt shows the influence of the old Roman architecture; the cloisters, with their lighter, pointed arches, are in the Gothic style (page 526 f.).

attacks upon the continent had begun even earlier, in the day of Charlemagne, but that great ruler built a navy that made his coasts safe from them for his time. In the quarrels of his weak successors, however, the Norsemen found their opportunity. They drove their light boats far up the rivers of Western Europe. Then, seizing horses, they harried the open country at will and even sacked cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Tours, Cologne, stabling their horses once about the tomb of Charlemagne in the Cathedral of Aachen. According to popular stories, a characteristic sport of these raiders was to toss babes from spear-point to spear-point. Especially did they plunder churches and monasteries, slaying the churchmen at the altars and carrying away the richly woven altar cloths and the sacred vessels of gold and silver used in the services. The boldest outlaws of Christendom had trembled at the thought of violating those sanctuaries, but the scornful worshipers of Thor delighted in ravaging the temples of "the White Christ." In revenge for such injuries, the enraged Christians sometimes flayed a Norse captive alive and nailed his skin to a church door.

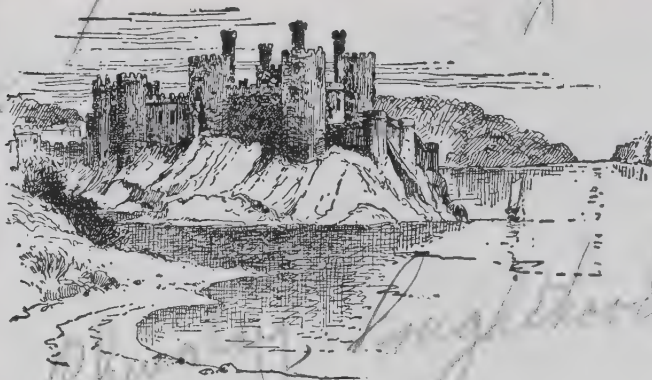
At last, like the earlier Teutonic invaders, **the Norsemen became conquerors** instead of mere raiders. They settled the Orkneys and Shetlands and patches on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and finally established themselves in the east of England, as we have seen, and in the north of France — named *Normandy* from them.

Unlike the invasions of the fifth century, those of the ninth century did not create a new society. But (1) they brought in new Teutonic stock to invigorate northern France and eastern England; (2) they helped along the political union of England; (3) they played a part in breaking up the Empire of Charlemagne; and (4) *they forced Europe to take on a new military organization for defense.*

This organization we call *feudalism*. It was to dominate most of Western Europe, almost without check, for five centuries — from a little after 800 until about 1300 — and it has left many traces in Europe to-day.

C.V.5.  
C.V.5.  
C.V.6.



CONWAY CASTLE. — From *Old England*.

## II. THE FEUDAL SYSTEM

*"A protest of barbarism against barbarism."* — TAINÉ.

After Charlemagne, the ninth century on the continent became a time of indescribable horror. The strong robbed the weak, and brigands worked their will in plunder and torture. **But out of this anarchy emerged a new social order.** Here and there, and in ever growing numbers, some petty chief — retired bandit, rude huntsman, or old officer of a king — planted himself firmly on a small domain, fortifying a stockaded house and gathering a troop of fighters under him to protect it. By so doing, he became the protector of others. The neighborhood turned gladly to any strong man as its defender and master. Weaker landlords surrendered ("commended") their lands to him, receiving them back as "fiefs." They became his *vassals*; he became their *lord*. The former "free peasants," on the lord's own lands and on the lands of his vassals, saw that they were no longer at the mercy of any chance marauder. They ventured again to plow and sow, and perhaps they were permitted in part to reap. On their part, they cultivated also the lord's crop, and paid him dues for house, for cattle, and for each sale or inheritance. Fugitive wretches, too, gathered on his lands to gain such mercy as he might grant, and usually sank into

the class of *serfs*, of whom there were already many on all estates.<sup>1</sup>

In return for the protection he gave, the lord assumed great privileges. He slew the wild beast — and came to have the sole right to hunt. As organizer of labor, he forced the peasants to build the mill (*his mill*), the oven, the ferry, the bridge, the highway; then he took toll for the use of each — and later he demolished mills that the peasants wished to build for themselves.

Finally each district was sprinkled with its *castles* (at some little distance from one another usually), and each castle was protected by its garrison of *men-at-arms*, — horsemen in iron armor. **Castles and mailed horsemen were the two outward marks of the new social order** — which we call **feudalism**.

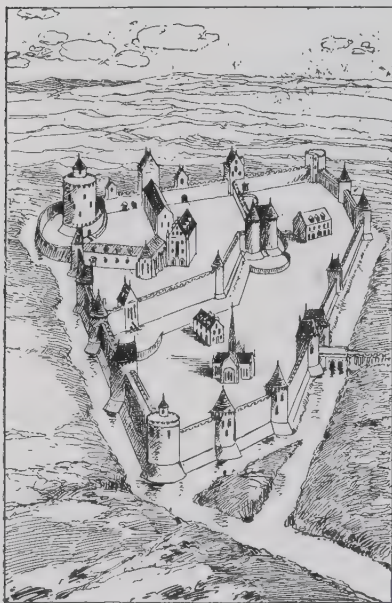
1. Castles rose at every ford and above each mountain pass and on every hill commanding a fertile plain. At first they were only wooden blockhouses surrounded by ditch and palisade; but as time went on, the forced labor of serfs turned these into enormous structures of massive stone, whose gray ruins still dot the landscape of most of Europe. Each castle was the home and the fort of some powerful lord. In its underground dungeons he kept his prisoners, loaded with rusty chains. In the halls above, almost as dark and gloomy, he lived with his family and his troops of armed followers and servants. From its gates he rode forth across the drawbridge, at the head of a band of ironclad men-at-arms, to drive off invaders or to capture the castle of some rival, or at least to raid an enemy's lands and slay his serfs.

The outer wall often inclosed many acres (twenty or more). Much of this was open space where the lord's serfs might take refuge with their cattle and their few other possessions if it was known in time that a hostile raid was on the way. The wall

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<sup>1</sup> After the Teutonic conquests during the fifth and sixth centuries most of the Teutonic freemen had become small farmers (yeomen). By these changes of the ninth century, this free class almost disappeared from France, though it still survived in England.

was perhaps twenty feet high and six or eight feet thick. The top was left level — so that people might walk around it; but the outer edge (the *battlements*) was raised, above this walk, about a man's height, and every little way in this raised



MEDIEVAL CASTLE of the larger sort, as "reconstructed" in Gautier's *La Chevalerie*. Why did the towers stand out farther than the rest of the wall? Compare with the picture of the earlier wooden stronghold on page 394, to see likeness in plan.

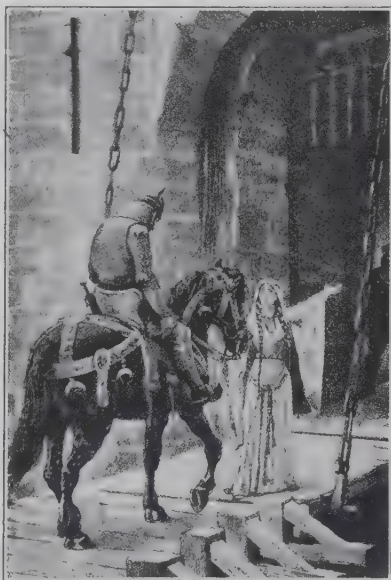
edge there were openings through which the garrison could shoot arrows at an attacking force, or hurl rocks or boiling pitch down upon them, if they tried to place ladders against the wall. At every corner, too, and elsewhere at frequent intervals, tall towers projected a little from the straight line of the wall, with slitlike windows from which archers could command every foot of frontage. Just outside the wall, moreover, ran usually a wide, deep ditch filled with water; and the bridge from the castle gate across this moat was a drawbridge, which could be drawn up quickly against the wall by chains running over pulleys. The gate itself was a mighty door, several inches thick, of solid oak sheeted with iron and held in place by iron bars, and behind it was a heavy iron grating (the *portcullis*) which could be dropped from above.

If some of an attacking force lived to make their way through all these defenses, they found that they were only in an *outer* courtyard which contained few buildings except the stables and the homes of some of the servants. Another wall, just as stub-

born, shut them from the *inner* court, where the important buildings and supplies were.

And if this wall, too, were passed, there remained the inner "keep," a mighty stone tower where the lord's family lived in times of danger. Its walls were enormously thick, and the upper stories could be reached only by a narrow, dimly lighted winding stairway, built sometimes in the wall. On this stairway, not more than two or three men could possibly fight at one time. Here the survivors of a defeated garrison could make a last stand, retreating slowly from story to story, until the last two or three wounded knights were flung over the battlements. Or possibly, when it was plain that the castle was going to be taken, a few fugitives might escape through a small *postern* gate or by an underground tunnel from the dungeons, running beneath the moat.

But castles were not often taken by assault. An enemy might destroy the crops outside and burn the miserable huts of the serfs; but the castle itself, until the days of gunpowder, could usually hold out against anything but surprise, or treachery in the garrison, or famine.



DRAWBRIDGE AND PORTCULLIS. — From Gautier's *La Chevalerie*. Compare with the description opposite.

2. In the early feudal period, down to 1100, **defensive armor** was an iron cap and a leather garment covered with iron scales. (See page 451.) Next came coats of "chain-mail," reaching



from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. About 1300 appeared the heavy "plate armor" and the helmet with visor, a suit weighing fifty pounds or more. In battle the warrior wore also a weighty shield, besides his long two-handed sword and his lance. The power-



KNIGHT IN PLATE ARMOR, visor up. Men to-day have larger bodies than six hundred years ago. The *average* modern can get inside only a few suits of armor that have come down to us — armor, too, that must have been worn by the largest men of its day.

The powerful war horse, too, had parts of his body protected by iron plates. (The student will enjoy "Mark Twain's" humorous conceit in *A Yankee at King Arthur's Court* as to the discomforts of medieval armor, and the difficulty of getting at a handkerchief!)

The supremacy of the noble over common men during the Middle Ages lay mainly in this equipment. He, or any one of his men-at-arms, could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen (*infant-ry*) at will. The armor of the common feudal soldier differed little in appearance from the noble's, but usually the steel was less perfectly tempered. The unarmored peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wielded only pikes or clubs or pitchforks.

Long before either castle or armor had grown to its true feudal form, the new organization, which we call feudalism, had put an end to the main evil that had made it necessary. Upon even the early "castles" the Norse invader spent his force in vain: while each such fortress was ready to pour forth its band of trained mailed horsemen to cut off stragglers and hold the fords. The raider's day was over —



but meanwhile the old Teutonic militia, in which every freeman had his place, had given way to an ironclad cavalry, the resistless weapon of a new feudal aristocracy.

Under this new feudal organization, **each petty district was practically independent of every other district.** The king had been expected to protect every corner of his realm. Actually he had protected only some central district. That was *why* feudalism grew up. Each little chieftain did prove able to protect his small corner, when he had seized the king's powers there. His territory was a little state. The great nobles coined money and made war like very kings. Indeed *a vassal* owed allegiance to his overlords two or more grades above him *only through the one overlord just above him.* He must follow his immediate lord to fight against them and even against his king.

**This decentralization was the result not only of military needs but also of economic needs** — of the lack of money and the lack of roads. The rich man's wealth was all in land; and he could make his land pay him only by renting it out for services or for produce. "Nobles" paid him for parts of it by fighting for him. Workers paid him for other parts by raising and harvesting his crops and by giving him part of their own.

In theory, **the holder of any piece of land was a tenant of some higher landlord.** The king was the supreme landlord. He let out most of the land of the kingdom, on terms of military service, to great vassals who swore fealty to him. Each of these parceled out most of what he received, on like terms, to smaller vassals; and so on, perhaps through six or seven steps, until the smallest division was reached that could support a mailed horseman for the noble's life of fighting.

*In practice, there was no such regularity.* The various grades were interlocked in a most confusing way. Except for the smallest knights, all landlords of the fighting class were "suzerains" (liege lords); and, except some of the kings, all were vassals. There was no great social distinction between lord and vassals. They lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. The

"vassal" was always a "noble," and his service was always "honorable," — never to be confounded with the "ignoble" service paid by peasants.

At first, a fief was granted only for the lifetime of the vassal, but, in the ninth century, fiefs became hereditary. In order the more easily to secure the services due them, the lords objected to a vassal's dividing a fief among his sons. This started the practice of "primogeniture" (inheritance of landed property by the eldest son only). On the continent, however, all the sons of a noble kept their noble rank, even if *landless*; and (unless they entered the clergy) it became their aim to win lands, by serving some great lord who might have fiefs to bestow. In England the term "noble" had a much narrower meaning: it applied only to the greatest lords, and to their *eldest* sons after them. (Their other sons were called "gentlemen"; page 466 f.)

**The receiving of a fief was accompanied by the solemn ceremony of *homage*.** This was a sort of "bargain" between lord and vassal. The future vassal, with head uncovered and sword ungirt, knelt before the lord, placed his folded hands between the lord's hands, and swore to be the lord's "man" (*homo*). The lord raised him from his knees, gave him the "kiss of peace," *invested* him with the fief, — usually by presenting him with a sword or a clod of earth as a symbol, — and promised to defend him in its possession. The vassal was to present himself at the call of his lord to serve in war, with followers according to the size of his fief, but only for short terms and usually not to go "out of the realm." He must also serve in the lord's "court" twice or thrice a year, to advise in matters of policy and to give judgment in disputes between vassals. (A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers, or equals. The lord was not the judge but only the presiding officer of the court.)

The vassal did not pay "taxes," in our sense, but on frequent occasions he did have to make to the lord certain financial contributions. Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or by inherit-

ance, he paid a sum called a *relief*, — usually a year's income. He made payments known as *aids* (1) to ransom the lord, if he were taken prisoner; (2) to help meet the cost of knighting the lord's eldest son; and (3) to pay part of the expense of the marriage of the lord's eldest daughter. Moreover, the vassal could not sell or sublet any part of his fief without getting the lord's consent — which usually required a payment in money. The lord also was the guardian of the widow and children of a vassal, and he could



A FEUDAL COURT, Lord and Vassals.—  
From an old German woodcut.

dispose of a female ward in marriage. This last power, especially, was often used to extort money. The English royal accounts contain entries like this: "Hawissa, who was wife to William Fitz-Roberts, gives [to the king] 130 marks [of silver] and four palfreys, that she may have peace from Peter of Borough to whom the king has given permission to marry her, and that she may not be compelled to marry."

Feudal theory, then, paid elaborate regard to rights; but *feudal practice was mainly a matter of force*. It was not easy to enforce the decisions of the crude courts against a noble offender who chose to resist, and in any case war was thought the most honorable way to settle disputes. Like the trial by combat, it was considered an appeal to the judgment of God. "**Private wars**," between noble and noble, became a chief evil of the age. They hindered the growth of industry, and commonly they hurt neutral parties more than belligerents. There was little actual suffering by the warring nobles, and very little heroism. The weaker party usually shut itself up in its castle. The stronger side ravaged the villages in the neighborhood, driving off the cattle and perhaps torturing the peasants for their small hidden treasures, and outraging the women. In the eleventh century

the church, unable to stop such strife, tried to regulate it by proclaiming the **Truce of God**, forbidding *private* war between Wednesday evening and the following Monday and during church festivals. This truce, however, was not well kept.

Feudalism seems to us a vicious system, but it had some virtues of its own. The fief, large or small, became an object of love and devotion to its inhabitants — even to the most downtrodden. The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society. Perhaps the system was more rough than paternal, but it was better than anarchy. A passage from Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* illustrates this better side of the feudal relation — *among the noble classes*. Joinville was a youthful French lord of the thirteenth century, about to set out on a Crusade. At Eastertide he summoned his vassals to his castle for a week of feasting in honor of his approaching departure:

And on the Friday I said to them: "Sirs, I am going beyond sea and know not whether I shall ever return; so draw near to me. If I have ever done you any wrong, I will redress it to one after another, as is my practice with all who have anything to ask of me." And I made amends to them, *according to the decisions of those dwelling on my lands; and, that I might not influence them*, I withdrew from their deliberations and carried out without dispute whatever they decided.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Excellent "source" material may be found in Ogg's *Source Book*, and in Lanier's *The Boy's Froissart*. A most useful book for the period is Davis' *Life on a Medieval Barony*.

*Historical fiction* upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, although they give a false glamour to the age. They should be corrected by "Mark Twain's" *Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court*. Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow* and Conan Doyle's *White Company*. Charlotte Yonge's *Little Duke* and Stockton's *Story of Viteau* are good for younger students and will be enjoyed by older ones. Martineau's *Prince and Peasant* pictures the abuses of feudalism at a later period. *Students may be called upon to find incidents in such literature illustrating various paragraphs in this chapter.*



## EXERCISES

1. Explain the quotation on page 412 under the main heading.
2. Explain a statement that is often made to the effect that the "privileges" of a feudal lord (page 413) were usually connected, in their origin, with some benefit conferred by him. If that statement is true, why should those privileges have become hateful later?
3. Compare a "vassal" with a modern "tenant" as to obligations and payments and benefits received.



BODIAM CASTLE, on Romney Marsh in southern Sussex. Unlike most castles, this structure stands on a low piece of ground. Possibly that fact helps explain its excellent preservation — since its lord would hardly venture to resist any formidable attack — especially after the invention of gunpowder.

In 1925 Marquess Curzon bequeathed this castle to the English National Trust. American students will be interested to know that another gift of the Marquess to the English nation is a castle in Lincolnshire which was once the home of the Lady Arbella who became an early immigrant to Massachusetts Bay and whom we read of in Hawthorne's *Grandfather's Chair*.



## CHAPTER XXIX

### LIFE IN A FEUDAL CASTLE

Life in the Feudal Age, even the life of the nobles and of their troops of followers, would seem to us to-day stupid and unattractive. The feudal fortress, after a century or so, did come to have pleasanter living quarters — in a building known as the



JUGGLERS IN SWORD DANCE.  
From a thirteenth-century  
manuscript.

“hall,” standing usually near the keep in the inner court. The hall was usually a spacious structure, high-ceilinged and much better lighted than the earlier living-rooms in the towers. Here (in time of peace) the lord commonly slept within a curtained and high-posted bed at one end of the long room. Here he received visiting vassals; here, indeed, he usually held his feudal courts, sitting himself perhaps upon his bed with curtains drawn back; and here his stewards

came to report to him on crops or buildings or about his dogs or falcons. Here, too, in some deep window or before a great fireplace, he played chess or backgammon with his priestly secretary — and won most of the games if the priest was wise.

In this same hall, the lord and his household and guests feasted. Meals were the gayest hours of the day, — especially the midday and the long evening meal. At one end of the hall stood the lord’s table on a slightly raised platform, or *dais*. There he sat with his family and his most honored guests. Down the length of the room other long tables were set out on movable trestles. At the farthest end sat the lowest servants

of the household. Between them and the lord's dais, according to rank, came officers and stewards and upper servants, and perhaps some traveling jugglers or minstrels, who would later pay for their meal by songs or acrobatic feats or sleight-of-hand tricks.

Serving men brought in a profuse variety of food, in many courses, from the kitchen—which was in a separate building near by. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boars' heads, were favorite roasts, and huge venison "pies" were a common dish. Mother Goose's "four and twenty blackbirds" had real models, too, in many a pasty, which, when opened, let live birds escape, to be hunted down among the rafters of the hall by falcons.

At each guest's place was a large spoon for broths, and usually between each two stood a long plate, or platter. There were no forks or napkins. Each guest used his own dagger or hunting knife to cut slices from the roasts near him, and dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbled up and rolled between the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables. Between the courses, servants passed much-needed basins of water, with towels.

These times of waiting were filled with story-telling and song and with rude jokes by the lord's "fool," or perhaps with news of far-off districts from some traveling guest. The upper end of the table had plenty of wine, and often the drinking continued late, after the ladies had left the room, until most of the company fell under the table with the dogs. At the lower tables the wine was usually weakened with water.



A COURT "FOOL."—From a medieval manuscript, where the picture is in brilliant reds and blues and yellows.

Castle folk did not often suffer for want of fresh meat — in the form of game. In nearly every district large parts of the land had become waste or forest (page 378 f.), and hunting was not only a noble's main sport but also an important business. The game in forest or stream belonged to the lord of the manor.



HUNTING with falcons and dogs. The lady has just "cast off" at a bird that has appeared in the sky. (This picture is reproduced in Parmentier's *Album* from a fourteenth-century manuscript.)

- Why do lady and attendant both wear long gloves on the left hand when they use none on the right?

Ladies as well as lords were fond of falconry. Even when making a long journey, a lady always rode with her pet falcon on her wrist, ready to "cast off" the moment a game bird rose beside the road.

For a common freeman to kill deer or hare or duck or trout was to lose hand or eyes or life.

Large animals — bear, deer, wild boars — the castle hunters chased with trained hounds to bring them to bay, and then slew with spear or sword. This sport (*the chase*) was often quite as dangerous as feudal war. Smaller game — herons, wild ducks, rabbits — were hunted with trained hawks. The second kind of hunting was called *falconry*. In every castle one of the most important servants was a falconer. This man's business was to catch young hawks, and train them to fly at game and bring it to the

None of the people in the castle had the fine pleasures of to-day — or even those of a Roman gentleman in Pliny's time. They had no beautiful statues or lovely pictures, and they could not have read books if they had had them. The ladies busied themselves over tapestries and embroideries in the upper rooms

of the castle, or practiced on some musical instrument. Pages in gay-colored velvets flitted through the gloomy passageways on some errand, or played at chess or backgammon in the deep windows, or at tennis in the castle courts—without fear of breaking windows, for the windows had no glass as yet. And in the outer courtyard lounged gruff men-at-arms, ready with blind obedience to follow the lord of the castle on any foray or even in an attack upon their king.



From an English 14th-century book.

By 1100 A.D. this rather grim and dull life had found some relief by developing a polite and gentle and romantic side called *chivalry*. (This word, from the French *cheval*, or horse, was at first merely a name for a group of nobles on horseback.) Every young noble was trained to become a knight. In this education there were two stages.

1. At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page*. Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough (at the age of nine or ten), he was trained daily by some old man-at-arms in riding and in the use of light arms. But his chief duty was to attend on some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to the church and to ladies.

2. At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. Now he kept his lord's armor clean and bright, and saw to it that his lord's horse was cared for properly. He went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field with special care for his safety. One of a lord's squires usually led a spare horse for him in battle, — for, if unhorsed, a noble in armor was helpless indeed.

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, the squire's education was complete. He was



now ready to become a knight. **Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial.** The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, confessed his sins to a priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer, "watching" his arms. The next morning came solemn church services and a sermon upon the duties of a blameless knight.



THE QUINTAIN — PART OF THE TRAINING OF BOYS OF NOBLE FAMILIES as pictured in a medieval manuscript. The boys ride in turn at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes. Near the tents stand the lord of the castle and some of his knights, looking on.

Then the household gathered in the castle yard, along with visiting knights and ladies and their attendants. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle and there took the vows to be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans. The ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. Then he knelt again before the lord, who struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of his sword, exclaiming "In the name of God, of



St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub you knight." (This gentle stroke was the *accolade*.) A fine horse, which some attendant had been holding ready, was then presented to him for his charger, and he was expected to leap into the saddle and give a show of his horsemanship by making the steed bound and gallop about the court. Games and friendly contests to show skill in arms followed, and feasting and exchange of gifts closed the ceremony.

It was considered still more honorable for a squire to "earn his spurs" on the field of battle by especially daring deeds and to receive the accolade there from some famous leader.

As this institution of knighthood grew up, the nobles came to have also a new and favorite sport — a sort of mock battle called a **tournament**. Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists at Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*. The news of such an event was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place, perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys. There were few inns, but the mixed group of travelers found ready welcome for meals and lodging at any castle. The contests took place in a space (the lists) shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs (like the grand stand of a football field), were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Lower down a mass of common men jostled one another for a better place for a view. Sometimes two days or more were given to the contests. Part of the time one group of knights "held the lists" against all comers, meeting any challengers in single battles, on horseback or even on foot. Sometimes

VI → Knight / Fat  
George

two mimic armies met in the *mêlée*. Perhaps even the yeomen were given a chance to compete with one another in archery and wrestling.

Chivalry was an attempt (not wholly successful) to fuse the ideals of the warrior and of the Christian. Its faults were two-fold. (1) *It was exclusive*. Its spirit was altogether a class spirit. It recognized no obligations except to nobles. Even the vow to protect women did not apply to any women but those of gentle birth. (2) *It carried some of its virtues (bravery and devotion to ladies) to such extremes as to make them fantastic, if not harmful*. Still, chivalry did help to soften manners and to humanize society. It has been called "the flower of feudalism." It elevated women, and it had much to do with creating the modern home and our idea of a gentleman. Toward the year 1400, the English poet Chaucer gives this picture of his ideal knight:

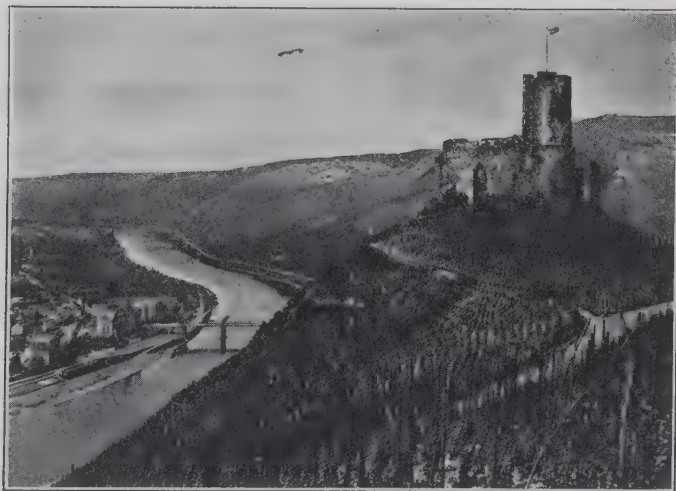
"A knight there was, and that a worthy man,  
That fro the time that he first began  
To riden out; he lovéd chivalry,  
Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy. . . .  
And tho that he was worthy, he was wise,  
And of his port as meek as is a maid.  
And never yet no villainy he said  
In all his life, unto no manner wight.  
He was a very perfect, gentle knight."

A still more "homelike" picture is given in Joinville's *St. Louis*, already quoted on page 420. Joinville's life almost exactly filled the thirteenth century. (He died at ninety-five while serving in a war in Flanders.) While still a youth he had followed King Louis IX of France on one of the Crusades (page 502) and had served for a time as steward in the king's household, on terms of friendship and intimacy with the monarch. Many years later, at the age of ninety, he dictated to a scribe his recollections of his beloved and sainted king, — dedicating the book to that monarch's great-grandson in blunt words, —

And because I see no one who ought to have [the book] so rightly as you, who are his heir, I send it to you, that you and your brothers and

others *who may hear it read* may take good example from it and put those examples into practice, so that God may be pleased with you.

Like many aged worthies of other times, Joinville is perhaps too fond of contrasting the manners of his later years with the better morals of the "good old days" of his youth; but it is



A MEDIEVAL CASTLE BY THE RHINE as it is to-day. The smooth-surfaced roads to it did not exist in feudal times.

plain that both he and his king were earnest and honorable men, trying faithfully, as best they could, to live decent and kindly and useful lives. King Louis, says Joinville,

loved truth to such a degree that even with the Saracens he would not draw back from what he had promised. As to his palate he was so indifferent that never did I hear him ask for any particular dish, as many men do, but he ate contentedly of whatever was served up to him. He was measured in his speech. Never in my life did I hear him speak ill of any one; nor did I ever hear him name the Devil, — a name widely spread in this realm (and it is a great disgrace to the kingdom of France, and to the king when he suffers it, that one can hardly speak without saying "the Devil take it," and it is a great sin to devote to the Devil a man given to God from the moment that he is baptized. In the Joinville household, whoso utters such a word receives a box on the ears or a slap on the mouth, and bad language is almost wholly suppressed. . . .

He asked me once whether I wished to be honored and to enter Paradise through death? Keep yourself then from doing or saying aught which, if all the world knew, you could not avow and say, "I did this," "I said that." He told me to refrain from contradicting anything said in my presence, provided there was no sin in remaining silent, because hard words engender strife. . . . He used to say that a man should so equip his person that the grey-beards of the day should not be able to say that it was over done, nor the young men that there was anything wanting. After the king's return from over the sea, he lived so devoutly that he never wore furs of different colors, or scarlet cloth, or gilt stirrups or spurs. I was reminded of this by the father of the king who now reigns [Philip the Hardy] alluding once to the embroidered coats of arms fashionable now-a-days. I made answer to him that never in the voyage over the sea did I see embroidered coats . . . and that he would have done better to have given the money to the poor and to have worn plain clothes as his father used to do.

The truly religious nature of Louis himself is well shown in the following extract from his testament to his son :

Fair son, the first thing that I teach thee is to mold thy heart to love God. If God send thee adversity, accept it patiently, and render thanks, and know that thou hast deserved it. If he send thee prosperity, thank him humbly, that thou be not worse through pride. Bear thyself so that thy confessor and friends may venture to reprove thee for thy misdeeds. Attend devoutly to the service of Holy Church both with mouth and mind. Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate toward the poor and the afflicted, and comfort them so far as in thee lies. Help the right, and uphold the poor man until the truth be made manifest [*i.e.* while the case is undecided]. Bestow the benefices of the church upon men of unspotted lives. Wage no war with any Christian prince, except it be necessary after grave deliberation. Be careful to have good provosts and bailiffs, and make frequent inquiries about them, and about all thy servants, as to how they conduct themselves and whether they are guilty of *overmuch* greed and deceit. . . . Fair dear son, I bestow upon thee all the benediction a good father can give a good son.

FOR FURTHER READING. — See suggestions on page 420 and add to them Davis' *Life on a Medieval Barony*.

### EXERCISES

1. Explain the terms fief, commendation, homage, fealty, knight, squire, tournament. Let members of the class prepare similar lists of feudal terms for brief tests.

2. To avoid common misconceptions regarding feudalism, it is well to fix in mind the following points:

- (1) The kings kept their old authority *in theory*, and therefore were always something more than great feudal lords, though the difference was vague.
- (2) "Vassal" never means serf: a vassal was free and noble, though he was, by bargain, the "man" of some "lord."
- (3) Strictly speaking, feudal society comprised *only* suzerains and vassals.
- (4) The vastly more numerous peasant class was essential to the existence of feudal society but was not part of it. Serf labor had become the chief kind of farm labor in late Roman times, 600 years before feudalism arose. *But though feudalism did not create serfdom* it did thrust down to the position of serfs many men who had formerly been free.



From an English 14th-century manuscript. (See page 21 and facing page 34.) It was this kind of toil by peasants that made possible the castle life of the feudal nobles.



## CHAPTER XXX

### THE CHURCH IN THE FEUDAL AGE

Nowhere in the world to-day does any church fill so large a place, or wield so great authority, as the Catholic church did from the sixth to the fifteenth century. *To understand the Middle Ages, it is even more necessary to know about the church than to know about feudalism.*

**Christianity was not only a religion : it was also a government.** Its officers exercised many powers that have now been handed over to officers of the state. Public order depended on the church almost as completely as did private morals. Over wide regions, with its spiritual thunders and the threat of its curse, it protected the widow and orphan, and others in danger of oppression, from the brutal barons who had respect for no earthly power. For seven hundred years after the breakup of Charlemagne's Empire, the church was the chief bond that held the Western world together. Nations were not yet made. The true fatherland to which men gave their love and patriotism was not England or France or Germany, but "Latin Christendom."

**The church was universal.** Membership was not a matter of free choice. All the people of Western Europe, except the Jews, were baptized into it almost as soon as they were born. To attempt to leave it, or to deny its authority, was to invite the punishment of death as a heretic. It was as impossible to think of any one between the Adriatic and the Atlantic outside the church as it is now to think of a Frenchman in France outside the French nation.

We have already described the growth of the early church (page 350 f.). Now we are to look at it as it stood when it had won Western Europe.



ST. MARK'S, VENICE.



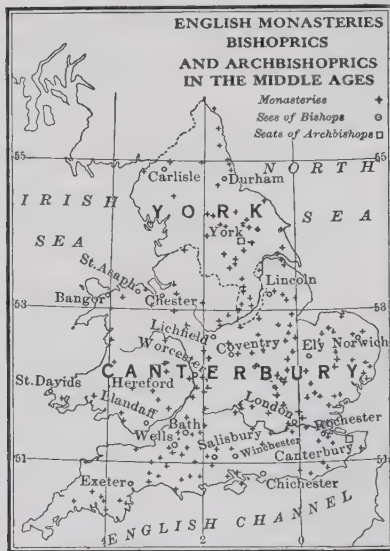
**1. All Christendom was made up of parishes.** The parish was the smallest church unit. Commonly it was a village or a small part of a town. At the head of a parish was a priest, who, in large city parishes, was assisted by deacons.

**2. A group of parishes made up the diocese of a bishop.** Nearly every town of any consequence in the twelfth century was a bishop's seat ("city"), and its "cathedral" was far more magnificent than the smaller parish churches. *The bishop was the mainspring in church government.* He was revered as a successor of the Apostles, and he was subject only to the guidance of the Pope — who was successor to the chief of the Apostles. Originally, the bishop's special duty had been to *oversee* the parish priests. But, with the growth of the church, he had come to have great temporal power also (page 393). *He was a great feudal lord, owing military service to one or more suzerains, and having many vassals.* He had charge of the extensive church property in the diocese. His agents collected the "tithes" (the tenth of all produce) and distributed to each parish church its share. *He saw to it, also, that the laws of the church were enforced.* This "canon law" had grown into a complex system. To administer justice under it, *each bishop held a court*, made up of trained churchmen, over which he presided. This court had jurisdiction not merely over ecclesiastical matters: it tried any case that involved a clergyman — or any one else who was under the special protection of the church.

To help in all these duties, the bishop had a body of assistant clergy, called *canons*. On his death this "cathedral chapter" appointed his successor, — subject to the approval of the Pope, and perhaps to that also of some temporal ruler.

**3. A number of dioceses made up a province,** — which was usually one of the old divisions of that name under the Roman Empire. Over each province, seated in its most important city, was an *archbishop*, or *metropolitan*. The archbishop was a bishop also of one diocese, and he had a general supervision over the other bishops of the province. His courts, too, heard appeals from theirs.

4. At the head of all this hierarchy stood the *Pope*, the spiritual monarch of Christendom. He was *supreme law giver*, *supreme judge*, *supreme executive*. He issued new laws in the form of *bulls* (so-called from the gold seal, or *bull*, on the documents), just as the old Roman Emperors had issued their "de-



crees." He also set aside old laws by his *dispensations*, — as when it seemed best to him to permit cousins to marry (a thing forbidden by the canon law). His court heard appeals from the courts of bishop and archbishop, and likewise from many of the temporal courts of Christendom. Now and then he set aside appointments of bishops and other clergy, and himself filled the vacancies. At times he also sent *legates* into different lands to represent his authority

directly. A legate could revoke the judgment of a bishop's court, remove bishops, and haughtily command obedience from kings, — quite as Shakespeare pictures in *King John*. For help and counsel, the Pope gathered about him a "college" (*collection*) of *cardinals*. At first this body was made up of the bishops of Rome and of its vicinity only; but it grew to include great churchmen from all Christian lands.

There was also a *papal system of taxation* extending over all Christendom, long before any king had an effective revenue system. The most famous element in this taxation was *Peter's Pence*, or a penny for each hearth each year, collected over Western Europe by papal officers. Much more important, however, were the many enormous payments made by the



clergy, — such as the payment by each bishop, at his accession, of half the first year's revenue of his office, — a payment corresponding to a feudal *relief*.

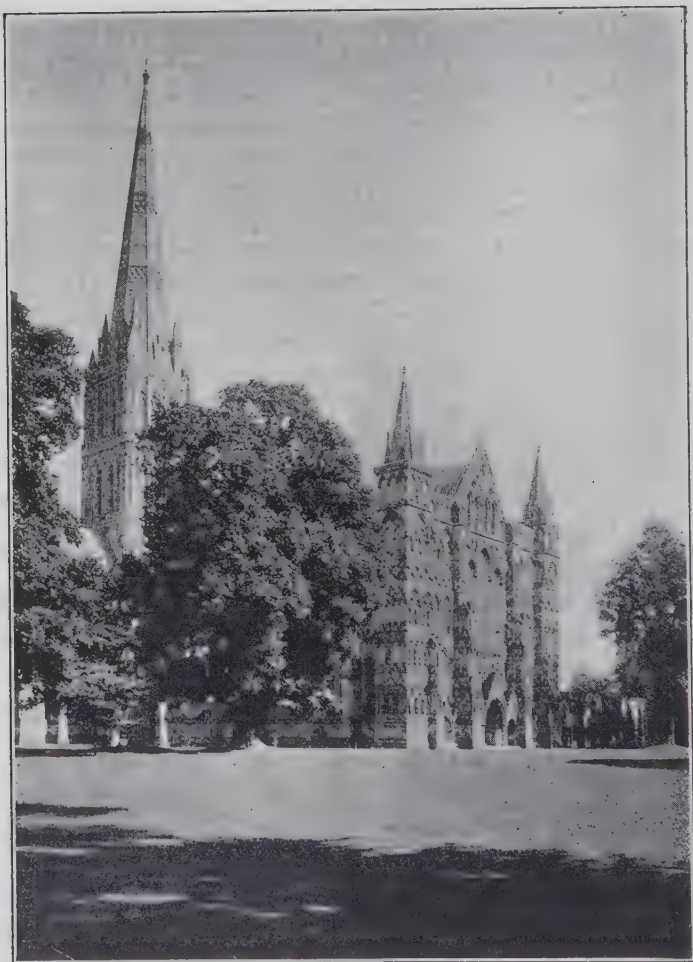
5. Bishop, archbishop, and Pope could each call *councils* of inferior clergy. The local councils dealt, of course, with local concerns. A **General Council**, made up of all bishops in Latin Christendom, settled **supreme matters of faith and of church policy**. Such an assembly was believed to be divinely inspired in its decisions. The first General Council was the one Constantine called at Nicaea (page 352), and at some other times Emperors as well as Popes summoned these gatherings.

In this organization of councils, the church was far ahead of the temporal government of Europe. England had a national *convocation* of clergy, to legislate in church matters, centuries before it had a parliament; and until the Hague Congress (in 1899) and the League of Nations, Europe had *no* general political assembly to compare in any way with the General Councils of Christendom in the Middle Ages.

6. To compel obedience, bishops and Pope had two mighty weapons — **excommunication and interdict**. Excommunication shut the offender out from all religious communion. He could attend no church service, receive no sacrament, and at death, if still unforgiven, his body could not receive Christian burial. Excommunication was also a universal boycott for all social relations. If it was obeyed by the community, it cut a man off absolutely from all communication with his fellows, and practically made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty, and his very presence was shunned like the pestilence. One decree of excommunication reads:

By virtue of the divine authority given to bishops by St. Peter, we cast him out from the bosom of our Holy Mother Church. Let him be accursed in his town, accursed in his field, accursed in his home. Let no Christian speak to him or eat with him. Let no priest say mass for him, or give him the communion. Let him be buried like the ass.

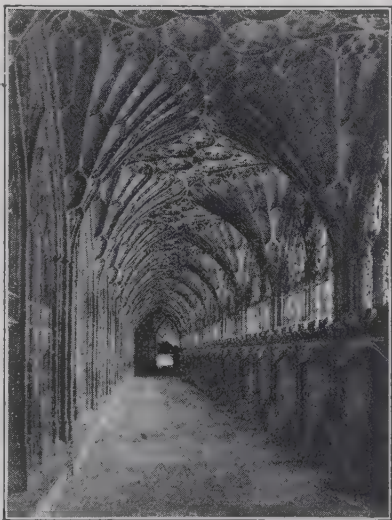
What excommunication was to the individual, the interdict was to a district or a nation. Churches were closed, and no



SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, a fine example of early English Gothic, 1200–1250. The stone spire of the central tower rises 404 feet from the ground. To carry such immense weight was a great engineering problem in the days before the modern use of steel. (Cf. page 526 f. to see how such problems were solved in this new style of architecture.) This view shows the west front. Toward the extreme right, one side of the low cloisters is just visible.

religious ceremonies were permitted, except the rites of baptism and of extreme unction. No marriage could be performed, and there could be no burial in consecrated ground. "The dead were left unburied, and the living were unblessed."

In this extreme form, the interdict was rarely proclaimed; and, of course, a decree of excommunication against a king was always disregarded by many of his followers. But, on the other hand, few kings or peoples could hold out against the mere threat of these terrors in an age when religious practices were so interwoven with the fiber of daily life.



ONE SIDE OF THE CLOISTERS OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL (1351-1412)—an example of late English Gothic characterized by "fan-vaulting." Cf. facing page 526 f.

Thus *Christendom* was divided into *provinces*, *dioceses*, and *parishes*, ruled by *Pope*, *archbishops*, *bishops*, and *priests*. Besides these, there were the thousands of monasteries that dotted Europe, with their multitudes of monks, ruled by priors and abbots, subject to the final authority of the Pope. This vast centralized monarchy of the church had its laws and legislatures and judges, its taxes, its terrible punishments, and its promise of eternal happiness.

And yet this government was vastly more democratic than feudal society was. Men of humblest birth rose sometimes to its loftiest offices. Gregory VII, who set his foot upon the neck of the mightiest king in Europe (page 483), was the son of a poor peasant. Another Pope was a shepherd's son; another, a bak-

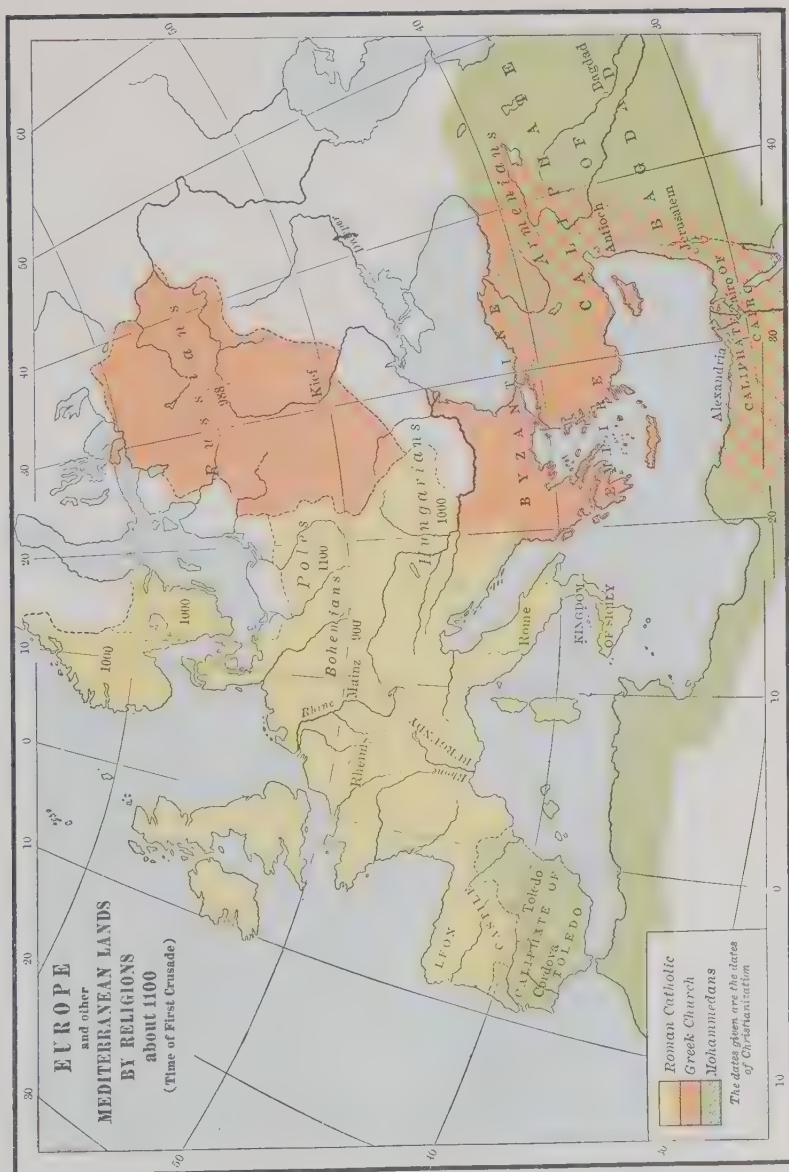
er's; and many a great bishop had an even lowlier origin. *The church in the Middle Ages was the only part of society where talent and study could lift a poor boy to power* — and so it was recruited by the best minds.

Of all this mighty organization, **the village priest brought the church closest home to the mass of the people.** He was commonly a peasant by birth, and he often remained essentially a peasant in his life, — marrying in the village (until the eleventh century) and working in the fields with his neighbors. He was a peasant with a somewhat better income than his fellows, with a little learning, a revered position, and with great power for good. He christened, absolved, married, and buried his parishioners, comforted the heart-sore and wretched, and taught all, by word and example, to hold fast to right living. He looked, too, to their physical welfare. It was as much his duty to guard the village against a leper as against a heretic.

**The church building, too, was the social center of the parish.** Near it, on Sunday, between the sacred services, the people found their chief recreation in sports and games. And from its steps the priest gave to them what news they received from the outside world, reading aloud there, too, any rare letter that some adventurous wanderer might be able to get written for him by some stranger-priest.

**The worship** of the church remained generally in Latin, — the language in universal use in Western Europe when the services took their form. (Sermons, of course, were preached in the language of the people.) The chief place in the service was held by the Mass. All men believed that the bread and wine, when consecrated by the priest, were *transformed* into the very *substance* of the body and blood of Christ. Hence the term *Transubstantiation*, which came later into use to signify this miraculous change.

The Mass, it was believed, could purify not only those who were present at the sacrament but even those who were suffering in purgatory. And so rich men often left large sums to the church to pay for Masses for their souls after death, and many







gifts were made in like manner for Masses for the souls of departed friends.

As early as the fourth century, **most of the great religious festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, had come to be celebrated much as in the present day.** The splendor of the religious celebration, and the joyousness of the social side of such festivals, were high lights amid the gloom and savagery of the dark centuries.

**Preaching** played a smaller part in the church's work than to-day, but there was no time when it was not a mighty instrument for good. The following extract from a sermon by a good bishop in the seventh century is typical in the force with which it insists on man's duties to his fellow men as well as to God.

It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. . . . Come, therefore, frequently to church; humbly seek the patronage of the saints; keep the Lord's day in reverence of the resurrection, without any servile work; celebrate the festivals of the saints with devout feeling; love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; *let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest.* . . .

And Joinville (page 420) tells how a barefoot monk preached before the mighty monarch, Louis IX:

He said he had read carefully in the Bible and other holy books, and had always found that no kingdom had ever risen in war against its lord except when the ruler failed in justice to the people. Let the king, then, see that justice is done equally, to every one of his people, that God may not take his kingdom from him with shame.

**Penance** played an especially important part in human life. In ordaining a priest, the bishop said to him, "Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven him; whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." A man who had fallen into sin,

then, could escape *only* through a priest's absolution. And, before the priest could absolve from sin, he must hear the confession of the sinner, and be convinced of his sincere repentance. Then he might pronounce the solemn "I absolve you."

This absolution freed the soul from danger of punishment in hell, but not from some punishment hereafter in purgatory. To escape the fires of purgatory, it was still needful for the offender to do penance — to accept some punishment imposed by the priest. This punishment varied with the sin. The priest might order the offender to repeat many prayers, or to keep fasts, short or long, or to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint or even to the Holy Land. In place of these temporal penalties, the absolved sinner might be permitted to give money to the church for its work.

**The right of the clergy to be tried in church courts** (page 433) was known as "benefit of clergy." The practice had its good side. Ordinary courts and ordinary law partook of the violent and ferocious life of the age. Trials were rude; and ghastly punishments were inflicted for trivial offenses, — often, no doubt, upon the innocent. It was a gain when the peaceful and moral part of society secured the right to trial in more intelligent courts and by more civilized codes.

But the church law was too mild to deal with serious crimes. It did not use force in its punishments, but only required the offender to punish himself by penances of various kinds or by fines or by payments to the church. This mildness was seriously abused. Its advantages tempted men to "take Holy Orders" (enter the clergy), until, besides the preaching clergy and the monks, the land swarmed with "clerics" who were really only lawyers, secretaries, scholars, teachers, or mere adventurers. Some of these, by their crimes, brought disgrace upon the church and danger to the state.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Cutts' *Parish Priests and Their People* (ch. ix) and Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England* (ch. iv) give admirable descriptions of the way in which the medieval church affected the life of the common people. See also Powers' *Medieval People*.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE LIFE OF THE WORKERS IN THE FEUDAL AGE

Nobles and clergy — men of war and men of prayer — we have just read about. These “upper classes” were fed and clothed and otherwise supported by a vastly larger number of “ignoble” workers.

For one noble there were probably twenty or thirty peasants. These were looked upon by the classes above them much as other live stock was. They had few rights, but many duties.

Each noble had to keep some of his land for the support of his own household and for other revenue. This “domain” land was cultivated by two classes of workers, serfs and villeins, under direction of a bailiff, or steward. **These peasant workers** did not live in scattered farmhouses, each

on its own field: they were grouped in little villages of twenty or fifty dwellings, as in Europe to-day. *Such a village, with its adjoining “fields,” was a “manor.”*



HALL OF AN EARLY ENGLISH MANOR HOUSE.— From a manuscript of the 13th century. Notice the small window-panes (just then coming into use), the timbered ceiling, and the bundles of rushes ready to be spread on the floor.

Each manor had its church, at a little distance, and usually its manor house — the lord's castle on a hill above the other dwellings, or maybe a house only a trifle better than the homes of the villeins, used by the lord's steward. At one end of the street stood the lord's smithy; and near by, on some convenient stream, was the lord's mill.

As in the last Roman days, the *serf* was bound to the soil by law: he could not leave it, but neither could he be sold apart from it. He had his own bit of ground to cultivate, at such



ENGLISH PEASANTS threshing grain with flails, as shown in a manuscript of the 14th century. No better way was known anywhere until about a century ago. See also page 21.

times as the lord's bailiff did not call him to labor on the lord's land.

(Usually the bailiff summoned the serfs in turn, each for two or for three days a week; but in harvest or haying he might keep them all busy, to the ruin of their own little crops.) If the serf had a crop, he had to pay a large part of it for the

use of his land, and he was compelled to pay a multitude of other dues and fines. Sometimes he paid money, but almost always, especially in the early period of feudalism, he paid "in kind," — eggs, a goose, a cock, a calf, a portion of grain at the mill where the rest had to be ground. So, too, he paid part of his bread baked at the lord's oven and part of his cider made at the lord's press.

In theory, *all* that the serf had was his lord's, and most of the class were left only a bare living. Still some masters did allow their better serfs to accumulate a little property — much as some slaves in the United States before the Civil War were permitted to earn wages in their spare time and to own some few things of their own.

The other class of farm workers, called *villeins*, were found beside the serfs in some districts. The villein was



a step above the serf. He was free *in person*. That is, he could leave his land and go from one lord to another. Such changes were not very common; and in any case the villein must have *some lord*. *The landless and masterless man was an outlaw, at the mercy of any lord.*

Practically, the most important distinction between villein and serf was that ~~the~~ villein paid only *fixed and certain* charges for his land, while the serf had to give any service that the landlord demanded. The charges for the villein, however, were usually so fixed as to leave him only the bare necessities of life. The distinction between serfs and villeins is often far from clear, and the two are sometimes included under either name. "Villein" originally meant any "villager"; and the way the higher classes felt toward all the ignoble village workers is shown by the fact that the name became our word "villain."

**The peasant homes** (serfs' or villeins') were low, filthy, earth-floored, straw-thatched, one-room hovels of sticks plastered together with mud. There was no chimney and usually no opening (no window) except the door — which often was made in two parts (as our barn doors are sometimes), so that the lower part might be closed to keep out the pigs while the upper half was left open to let out smoke and let in a dim light. These homes straggled along either side of an irregular lane, where poultry, pigs, and children played together in the dirt. Behind each house was its weedy garden patch and its low stable — this last often under the one roof with the family.

The house, small as it was, was not cluttered with furniture. A handmill for grinding meal, or at least a stone mortar in which to crush grain, a pot and kettle, possibly a feather bed, one or two rude benches, and a few tools for the peasant's work, made up the contents of even the well-to-do home.

**Farming was very crude**, — much more so than it had been in ancient Egypt or Italy. Population was so scanty that it was easy for each village to have wide stretches of land about it. *There was always a large tract of woodland.* This belonged to

the lord of the manor, but the villagers were allowed to gather fuel from fallen branches and dead trees. Drovers of pigs were herded there for the lord, but the nuts and acorns also furnished some food for the village.

There were also meadows for hay; and after the hay had been cut, this land was good pasture for cattle. The meadows were "common" lands, and each peasant was allowed to pasture there his few geese and his pig and cow. Of course, the lord's much larger herds fed there also.

*The plow land was divided into three large fields.* One was seeded to wheat or rye, or some other grain that had to be sown *in the fall*. (Our "spring wheat" had not yet been developed.) The second field was seeded *in the spring* to oats or barley. The third field, which had been in oats the year before, was *left idle*, so that it might grow fertile again during a year's rest. The next year, this "idle" field would be seeded to wheat, and the old wheat field, to oats, while the old oat field would be the fallow field. This system of crop-rotation left one third of the plow land idle each year, but it did keep the soil fertility from wearing out. (The wheat and rye were raised for foodstuffs, and the barley mainly to brew ale.)

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips (cuts opposite and on page 380), each containing from a quarter of an acre to an acre, separated by ridges of turf. A peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land (probably half the whole) lay in strips like the rest.

This kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and, as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Serfs were not intelligent or willing workers, and even the lord's stewards did not know how to get good returns from the land. Much time, too, was wasted because of constant going from one strip to another. Walter of Henly, a monk of the thirteenth century who wrote about farming, said that three-fold the seed was an *average* harvest. That is, instead of getting



twenty or forty bushels of grain for two bushels of seed, as our farmers do, a peasant did well to get six.

The vegetable gardens (page 443) were poorer than those of Egyptian or Roman times. Potatoes, of course, were not yet known. There were turnips, cabbages, carrots, beans, and peas; but these last were not the delicious things that we eat. Instead they were a "field pea," such as we sometimes feed to cattle.

The breed of all farm animals, too, was small. The wooden plow needed eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground.



"BANDY-BALL," an early form of golf played by peasants. — From a 14th-century book.

Carts were few and small as well as cumbrous. Sometimes a village owned its plow and oxen in common; or perhaps these things belonged to some "rich" peasant, from whom the others rented them. The wild hay was an important crop — be-

cause it had to "winter" the farm stock. Meadow land was twice as valuable as plow land! It was fenced until after haying, and then thrown open for additional pasture. It was difficult to carry enough animals through the winter for farm work and for breeding; so those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food caused loathsome diseases among the people.

A chief luxury of all classes was honey, and a well-to-do peasant had a hive of bees in his garden plot. Honey was the only table-sweet. (The use of sugar — never common in Europe<sup>1</sup> — had been lost during the Dark Ages.) Moreover, beeswax was made into the candles which lighted the churches and were kept burning before the shrines of saints.

**Each village was a world by itself.** Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market the three outside

<sup>1</sup> See page 317.

products needed, — salt, millstones, and iron for the plowshares and for other tools. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it. The peasant's world was bounded by the changeless horizon. Until the twelfth century, few villages had even a shop. The women of each household wove rough cloth for the single garment that covered them, and the men prepared leather for their own heavier clothing. Commonly a peasant wore the same garment, night and day and year after year, until it was in shreds. Of course, the peasants were filthy, but few of the lords and ladies were what we should call clean.



PEASANTS WHIPPING A TOP. — From an English manuscript of the fourteenth century. Grown people then often played games that are now left to children.

This village isolation resulted in many a village famine. If a crop failed in even a small district, the people were likely to die of hunger, though other districts near by might have plenty. Roads were bad, and there was no trade. One village might have more food than it could use, and no good way to sell it; while in others, not more than a hundred miles away, the people might be eating roots from the forest and bark from the trees. Children died in great numbers from such food; and sometimes whole villages were swept away.

In spite of all this, the peasants managed to find bright spots in their hard, drab lives. They thought it a treat to watch the gay procession of knights and ladies ride out from the castle gates for a hunt or a journey. Sometimes a group of jugglers, on the way to the castle, stopped in the village and showed their tricks. Best of all were the festival times and holy days of the church, when the peasants were free from work and could take part in games and merrymaking, such as dancing and singing round a Maypole — as their heathen ancestors had done centuries before to greet the return of spring.



FOR FURTHER READING. — There are especially graphic treatments of peasant life during feudal times in Jessopp's *Friars*, 87-112; Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet*, 46-52; and Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 31-52. Perhaps, however, the student will get more vivid impressions from the sidelights in the books named on pages 420, 430.

EXERCISES. — Let several students each write and read to the class a week's diary, one for a peasant, others for a steward, a page, a great lord or lady, a village priest, or a bishop. (Most of these characters would have to explain the strange fact that they could write at all.)

### A SUMMARY AND AN INTRODUCTION

The student should now be ready to take a bird's-eye view of feudal Europe. Except in a few small districts, the city life of Roman times had vanished, along with almost all the civilization connected with that life. In its place had grown up a more primitive society of warrior-landowners and of serf-laborers. Feudal Europe was made up of thousands of little farm villages. A village knew no industry but farming, and no ruler (practically) except its immediate landlord (or one of his stewards dwelling close by, in a castle or manor house.

The villagers were serfs, tilling the village lands for the warrior-owner and master. In the absence of money, the only rent they could pay him for land to live on was this labor on his other land. (Even then, because of the falling off in population and in skill, much land everywhere had been allowed to go back to forest or waste.)

Almost always a warrior-landlord acknowledged himself a vassal of some other lord — from whom he held his land, or part of it — and usually, too, other landlords were *his* vassals. But these relations were in practice very loose and much confused. *Nowhere was there any government such as we know*, with firm and regular control from one center over a large territory.

But about 1100, this feudal system began to be attacked from opposite sides. (1) Some peasant villages grew into towns where new kinds of work appeared and where the inhabitants fought for and won independence from the lord's control. And (2) in each country some supreme landlord, who had been "king" in name but in little more, began to make himself a real king, with a firm central government extending its authority through its many officials over the entire realm.

The struggle was a long one. From 1100 to 1300, on the whole, feudalism remained the strongest of the three forces, though most of the time the two new ones were gaining. Then from 1300 to 1500 those foes of feudalism became victorious over it — although it did leave its marks on European society for centuries more. That downfall of feudalism will be traced in the following chapters.

Henry VIII  
Chapter XXXII  
CHAPTER XXXII

ENGLAND IN THE FEUDAL AGE, TO 1327

GROWTH OF A STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT  
PRESERVATION OF FREE LOCAL INSTITUTIONS  
DEVELOPMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

If you will look at the map of Europe in 800 A.D. (after page 396) and then at the map for 1500 (after page 542), you will see that great changes took place during the seven-hundred-year interval. Several new nations had taken practically their modern form, and several others had begun to do so.

The first land in which the people grew into a true nation, with a firm government of its own, was England. That land we treat with fuller detail than any other, partly for the reason just given but still more because its splendid story for the thousand years from Alfred to the present day is in large measure the story also of the foundations of American liberty.

I

A century after Alfred (page 407), England for a time became subject to Denmark — which, under Knut the Great, was the head of a mighty Christian Scandinavian empire. But in 1042 the English regained independence. The Saxon folkmoot had already shrunk into a meeting of the “Wise Men,” known as the *Witan* (page 378). Now such a gathering chose for king a prince of Alfred’s line, known in history, because of his piety, as Edward the Confessor.

Edward was the son of a Norman princess, and had spent his youth in Normandy (page 411), then one of the most populous and prosperous parts of Europe. The Norman nobles had taken on French customs and adopted the French language, and were now to spread their new civilization into other lands.

Edward brought swarms of Norman favorites to England and began to introduce Norman customs there — much to the disgust of his English subjects. He left no son; and at his death the English Witan chose *Harold*, the most powerful Saxon nobleman, for their king.

**Harold, the Last of the Saxons**,<sup>1</sup> is a gallant figure, whose tragic reign of a few months adds a touching interest to the close of Saxon independence. England was threatened from two sides. William of Normandy was making formidable preparations to invade from the south, and a hardly less dangerous attack was imminent from the east. Harold's turbulent and tyrannical brother, Earl Tostig, had been driven into exile by a



SHIP IN WHICH NORMAN WILLIAM CROSSED TO ENGLAND, as in the *Bayeux Tapestry* (page 451). Note resemblance to Viking ships and especially the one square sail.

popular rising. Harold, standing firm for justice to the people, had refused to restore him. So the dashing Tostig had stirred up the adventurous Harold Hardrada of Norway, "Last of the Vikings" — to try to seize the English crown.

For months, Harold of England watched anxiously the two storm clouds, holding fleet and army ready to meet either onset. He hoped especially to meet the Normans before they could make a safe landing. England as yet had no real feudal system, and Harold's army, aside from his large body of household troops, was made up mainly of a militia of farmers. In September the king had to let this militia go home for the harvest, and at once the two storms burst.

The Norwegian host, a fleet of three hundred ships, landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Hurrying northward with his trusted household troops, **English Harold overthrew and slew**

<sup>1</sup> This is the title of Bulwer's famous novel, which all students ought to read. Charles Kingsley's *Hereward* (a still more thrilling story) describes the Norman conquest as it seemed to the old Danelagh.

**Norwegian Harold** in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*. But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast near Hastings. Back hastened Harold, by forced marches, with his exhausted and depleted troops, while the jealous nobles of the Danelagh foolishly held aloof. The gentlemen and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner, but they made a poorly armed, rustic force with which to meet the steel-clad Norman knights. William was ravaging



BATTLE OF HASTINGS. — From the *Bayeux Tapestry*, a band of linen 20 inches wide and 230 feet long, on which William's wife and her ladies embroidered seventy different scenes about the Conquest. This scene shows the moment when the Saxons have been drawn away from their shield wall by William's stratagem (page 452). The armor is the first kind described on page 415 f. The border shows vultures and wolves hurrying to feast on the dead.

cruelly, to support his host and to draw Harold to an attack. The English king wisely seized a hill commanding William's position, and intrenched his troops there by palisades, so that the invader, unable to forage further, was forced to risk an attack on Harold's terms. This brought on the battle of *Hastings*, or *Senlac* (lake of blood), one of the world's decisive struggles.

**A long day the battle raged between two civilizations.** The English strength lay in the mail-clad family guards of the king massed about his standard, the Golden Dragon of Wessex. They wielded huge, two-handed battle axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the king among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a splendid force to resist attack.* The Norman strength lay in their mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.* For the last time for centuries, footmen met knights on equal terms.

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, — "The duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, — "I live; and by God's help I shall conquer!" And a blow from his mace struck down one of Harold's brothers at the foot of the English standard.

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's efforts, and then, turning savagely upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the king, and at six the fight swayed back and forth, stubbornly as ever, about the Dragon standard. But the duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed Saxon array, and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse.

**The Norman Conquest (1066 A.D.) is a turning point in English history.** A great debt is due to the organizing genius of the Conqueror himself. **He created in turbulent England the most efficient central government that had been seen in Europe since Roman days.** He introduced Norman feudalism into England — but with certain changes that did away with its worst evils and indeed made it a new system of government.

As military conqueror, he first confiscated all the land of the kingdom, on paper but with much legal formality, on the ground that the landowners had forfeited their holdings as traitors since they had not willingly recognized him as king. Some of this land, especially that of Englishmen who had fallen in battle against him, he used to pay his followers; but most of it he granted back to the old holders on the payment of small



finer. In either case the land was to be held *of the king* on condition of feudal service, with the usual reliefs, aids, and so on.

But with the grant of land, the king did *not* grant authority to the lord over his vassals to the extent that was customary on the continent. Instead, he introduced many checks to keep the lords from becoming too independent. (1) No one lord was permitted to accumulate such vast possessions as were often held by single barons in France and Germany. (2) The properties that the great lords did hold were scattered in different counties,<sup>1</sup> so that a great vassal could not easily gather his forces for any treasonable attack. Moreover, those properties of a lord farthest from his main strongholds were in special danger of being captured by the king if the lord rebelled, and so they were a sort of hostage for his good behavior. (3) The chief authority in a shire or county was now exercised, not by a hereditary nobleman, but by a shire-reeve, or "sheriff," appointed by the king. (4) *Vassals of every degree were required to swear fidelity directly to the king*, so that they owed him allegiance *even against their own immediate lords*.

The last two provisions were the vital ones. There had been no good machinery to secure *uniformity* of government and custom in the different shires, or to compel obedience to the national laws. The sheriff, as the personal representative of the king (king's reeve, or steward), quickly gained authority enough to meet these needs. The fourth provision was found nowhere out of England. Of itself it made English feudalism (in the hands of a strong king) a highly centralizing machine for government instead of a decentralizing influence as on the continent.

The Normans did *not* meddle much with *local* customs or with the machinery of local government. These local institutions, which were to play essential parts in the growth of later English liberty, remained mainly Saxon. Long before the

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<sup>1</sup> This fortunate arrangement came about probably not so much from design as from the fact that William really became master of the country only by degrees, and so had to reward his followers a little at a time.

Conquest, the Saxons had learned to manage many matters of local interest *at their own doors* — in *village assemblies* and in the “courts” of larger units known as *hundreds* and *shires*.

1. After 900, it is true, an irregular Saxon feudalism had been growing up and encroaching upon the former self-government of the townships. Saxon lords were coming to look upon the neighboring villages much as a French or German lord looked upon his manors. But, at the worst in England, a manor had a “court” every three or four weeks. The lord’s steward presided, with great power of control, but all heads of families took part, and had voice especially in declaring “the custom of the manor,” — a power which corresponds to making town ordinances to-day.

2. *The hundred* (a group of a few villages) *was the busiest unit for carrying on local government*. The *hundred court* met once a month, and was made up of the landlords, or their stewards, and the “reeve” (headman) and priest and “four best men” of each village. It settled disputes about land and other property, and tried criminal cases.

3. *The shire* (the later *county*) had usually been originally one of the old tribal kingdoms. In the end England came to contain some forty such units. The *shire court* met twice a year, presided over by its sheriff and bishop. It was composed much as the courts of the hundreds were, except that it was larger. It tried appeals from the hundred courts, and decided many matters of local government.<sup>1</sup>

Shire and hundred, like the township, had been coming more and more under the control of neighboring lords, and sometimes those lords had set up their own feudal courts alongside the people’s courts. *Still it was in these self-governing courts of the shire and hundred that the old Teutonic freedom best survived. It was these institutions, too, which were to prove the cradle of later English liberty*

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<sup>1</sup> “Court” in medieval history has a more extended meaning than in later times. A “court” was concerned with any or all matters of government, — not merely with judicial business.

The good results of the Conquest were by no means limited to matters of government. There came with it new blood and a higher civilization (among the ruling classes). Possibly still more vital to us is its influence upon our English language. Not merely Norman fighters but also Norman clergy, traders, artisans, and architects flocked into England. These victors scorned to speak anything but their Norman-French tongue. On the other hand the conquered English clung stubbornly to their Saxon language. Gradually, however, the bitter hatred between English and Normans died out, and the two races (whose ancestors after all had been near kinsmen) mingled into one.<sup>1</sup> Then there had to be one language for all — and it was the English speech that conquered the conquerors.

But after all it was a "New English" that the new English nation spoke.

It had been made richer by many French and Latin words from the Norman speech. (Cf. page 403.) And while the Normans were learning the English speech, they dropped some of the complicated inflections of the words and also many of



NORTHWEST DOORWAY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL — a fine example of early Norman architecture. The columns and round arches come from the old Roman architecture, but the simple though effective "dog-tooth" ornament is characteristic of early medieval architecture — as is also the use of the dogs' heads at the ends of the upper arch.

<sup>1</sup> The sharp distinction between Norman and Saxon died out in less than a century. Scott's *Ivanhoe* pictures a condition, as to this matter, which had really passed away two generations before the time represented in that story.

its harsh Teutonic sounds. The whole language became *simpler* and *smoother*, as well as *richer*.

All such changes are slow. It was not until 1362 (three hundred years after the Conquest) that the king's courts were allowed to use English instead of French and Latin. About that same time arose a great writer who wrote in the New English language.

**This first great "New English" poet was Geoffrey Chaucer,** born in 1340, the son of a London wine merchant. Though not a priest, he became one of the most learned men of his time, and he served his king both as soldier and as diplomatic agent in other lands. His brave and cheerful spirit liked best, however, to walk the lanes in the beauty of the English spring, with clear-seeing eye for bird and flower. Naturally he knew and sympathized with all kinds of people, and his famous *Canterbury Tales* give us our best and most vivid picture of English life in that day. The poem is a collection of stories told (Chaucer pretends) by some pilgrims who have met at an inn on their way to worship at the shrine of the famous saint of Canterbury (page 464). Plowman, miller, lawyer, doctor, poor priest, monk, weaver, merchant, prioress, and "a verray parfit gentil knight" speak in turn, and so show us the manners and feelings of all classes of Englishmen. Perhaps you will read parts of this poem in your high school study of our language and of its masterpieces. Some of the words look strange to us, and the spelling is quaint and sometimes difficult to understand: but you can read the poem with a very little help, while King Alfred's English is a foreign language, almost as Latin or German is. (Compare Chaucer's phrase describing his ideal knight, quoted just above, with the same words in the longer quotation on page 428 where the modern spelling is used.)

**A Summary.** — Until 1066, England had counted for little in the life of Europe. Its church had become almost independent of Rome, and in politics its foreign relations had been

mainly with the Scandinavian countries of the north. At home, from the time of Alfred the Great, the two chief dangers had been the growth of feudal anarchy and the splitting apart of Danish England and Saxon England.

The Conquest brought the church into greater dependence on Rome,<sup>1</sup> and drew England into the thick of European politics. (For some generations the rulers of England were also dukes of Normandy, and so great vassals of the French crown.) Within the island, it crushed together north and south, so that the two parts never again dreamed of separation, and it built up a strong central government. The kings were strong enough to keep down feudal tyrants, but not quite strong enough to become royal tyrants themselves. Through dread of royal power, Norman nobles and Saxon people were drawn together and became fused into an English nation, which, in centuries of slow, quiet, determined progress, won constitutional liberty. *To the old spirit of Saxon freedom, the Normans added a new genius for organization.* The local institutions to a considerable degree remained Saxon, but the central government owed its efficiency to Norman influences. England was the first country in the world to work out for a large territory *the union of a strong central government and free institutions.*

## II

**William the Conqueror** was king by right of the sword; but he went through the form of an election by an English Witan and he ruled with much regard for English custom. Among his

<sup>1</sup> The Pope had blessed the enterprise and had sent Duke William a consecrated banner. (This is the banner in the stern of William's ship, in the illustration on page 452.) Afterward, Pope Gregory VII demanded that William do homage to him for his realm. William haughtily refused. He filled the high places in the church with Norman clergy in sympathy with Rome, and he developed separate ecclesiastical courts which had not existed before in England; *but he guarded jealously against papal interference in his government.* He forbade the clergy to place any of his knights under excommunication without consulting him; he declared any one an outlaw who should carry an appeal to Rome without royal permission; and no papal letter could be received in England without his sanction.



wise deeds not yet mentioned was the taking of a great census to find out the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king. This survey is recorded in *Domesday Book*, and gives us more exact knowledge about England than we have of any other country in that century. The population numbered some 1,200,000. (What is it now?) One tenth are called "burgesses" (inhabitants of "boroughs"), though half of these were what we should call mere villages. The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights.

In the Conqueror's make-up there mingled strangely the wild passions of his barbaric Norse ancestors and the shrewd caution of a modern statesman. His person was gigantic, his strength enormous, his will knew no pity, and his outbursts of anger made his closest counselors tremble. "Starkman he was, and great awe men had of him," says the English chronicler of the period, "so harsh and cruel, that no man dared withstand his will." But the same writer praises the "good peace" William's stern pitilessness made, "so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold." Nor does the chronicler fail to note how the grim and lonely king grew gentle in the outdoor woods: "He loved the red deer as though he were their father."

**There were three other "Norman kings."** William Rufus (the Red) ruled from 1087 to 1100. To strengthen his claim, he procured an election from an English Witan; but he proved unscrupulous, though able, and is remembered as a tyrant.

He was succeeded by his brother, **Henry I**, the youngest son of the Conqueror. Henry (1100-1135) had been born in England and he married an English princess. He, also, secured an election; and in return he granted to the people a Charter of Liberties, which a hundred years later was to become the model for a more important grant.

The English nobles had promised Henry to make his daughter *Matilda* his successor; but, after his death, his nephew **Stephen** secured an election. Stephen (1135-1154) was weak by nature, and his rule was distracted by civil war with the supporters of Matilda. His reign is the darkest period in English history after

the Conquest. The work of Henry I was undone. Feudal anarchy seemed at last to have seized upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers exclaim upon the misery of the age with bitter phrases:

Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . men died of hunger, for the earth bare no corn . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept. . . . In those days, if three or four men came riding towards a township, all the township fled hastily, believing them to be robbers. . . . That lasted the nineteen winters Stephen was king. .

### III

Matilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a province of France. Geoffrey commonly wore in his cap a sprig of the broom plant (*planta genesta*), and this pleasing habit gave to his family the surname *Plantagenet*. On the death of Stephen, the son of this marriage became **Henry II of England**, the first of a long line of Plantagenet kings.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He wore his hair cropped close, among the long-haired nobles of the court, and was careless in dress, rough and hurried in manner, and exceedingly sparing in food and drink. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will that held steadfastly to his plans, and great physical strength which he used, not, like his great-grandfather, to swing a resistless battle-ax, but to keep tirelessly at tasks of government while servants and attendants dropped with weariness. He was the hardest worker of his day. Said one observer, — "He never sits down." In traveling (on horseback, over the bad roads of the time), he was fond of crowding two days' journey into one.

Henry was the most powerful ruler in Europe. *England was only a part of his territories.* Through his mother he had inherited the dukedoms of Normandy, Maine, and Brittany. Through his father, he was Count of Anjou and Touraine. By

marriage with Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, he had obtained Aquitaine, which then included also Poitou and Gascony. *Thus he ruled more than half of what is now France — and six times as much French territory as was then held directly by the French king.*

True, Henry held these French provinces, in name, as a vassal of the king of France. This fact kept him constantly entangled in warfare with his suzerain. Out of his thirty-five years of kingship, only about a third were spent in England; and these, a few months at a time. He thought of himself, indeed, chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. So, too, others thought of him in that day. None the less, he proved one of the greatest of English kings.

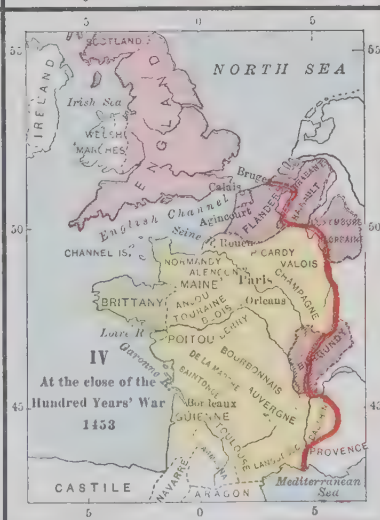
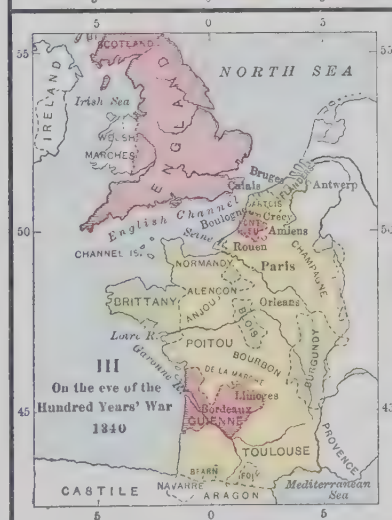
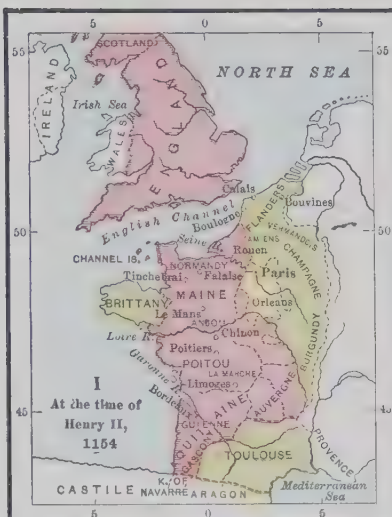
Before his death, Henry had still other possessions. He began the English conquest of Ireland. For a time, he held Scotland's king his imprisoned vassal. And the conquest of Wales went on slowly but steadily.

The first work of the new king was to restore order. He drove out or hunted down the swarms of foreign mercenaries that had been ravaging the country during the long civil wars, and demolished ruthlessly the new castles which had risen in Stephen's time — in spite of the grumbling and the black looks of the great nobles, and some trifling rebellions.

He then decreased permanently the military importance of the feudal lords by two measures.

1. A law known as the *Assize of Arms* revived the old national militia. Every freeman (below the rank of the vassals who held their land by military service) was ordered to provide himself with weapons and armor, and to hold himself always ready for service at the summons of the royal sheriff.

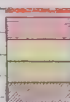
2. *The subvassals of the great lords were allowed to make a money payment to the king instead of giving him military service.* The sum so paid was called *scutage*, or "shield money." With this fund the king could hire trained professional soldiers, more reliable and effective than the unwieldy feudal armies. The great nobles were no longer followed to the field by such numerous



## ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1154-1453.

SCALE OF MILES  
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600

Limit of the French Kingdom  
Possessions of Plantagenet Kings  
Lands of the French Kings  
Independent Fiefs in France  
Territory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy







bodies of knights as formerly. The knights, too, turned their attention in part away from fighting, and became more and more interested in farming their lands and in the business of the shire courts, — so that we begin soon to speak of them as “knights of the shire,” or as “gentlemen.”

Henry tried next to check the authority of the church. All “clerics,” or “clerks,” could claim “benefit of clergy” (page 440) and so were free from the authority of the ordinary law courts. Henry was resolute to make all men, lay or cleric, equal before the law. As a step to his purpose, he secured the archbishopric of Canterbury for his trusted counselor, *Thomas Becket*.

This appointment, however, proved the greatest error in Henry’s life. Thomas had been his friend as well as his chief minister, — a gay companion at the feast or in the hunt, and a gallant follower in the French campaigns. Henry had heaped riches and offices upon him. But in this new position, Thomas became a changed man. He renounced all luxury and gayety, and wore at all times next his body a coarse hair shirt, like the meanest penitent, and he took up enthusiastically the cause of the church against the king.

To settle the dispute, a “Great Council” drew up a long code of laws (the “Constitutions of Clarendon”), which reenacted the rules for the church proclaimed by William the Conqueror (page 457) and went on to make good the claim of Henry about the authority of the law courts. (The royal courts were to decide, in the first place, whether a suit belonged in the church courts or not; church courts were to hold trials only in the presence of royal officers; and if a clerk was there declared guilty, the ordinary courts were to decide upon his punishment.)

Thomas, in the name of the church, refused to recognize these laws. His personal enemies took advantage of the king’s wrath against him to try to ruin him by trumped-up suits in the king’s court. Thomas appeared there, cross in hand, haughtily refused to plead, and appealed to the Pope for judgment, — in defiance of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Shouts of “Traitor!”

drove him from the room, and that night he fled from the realm in disguise, leaving Henry victorious — *for a time*.

**The most important of all Henry's reforms had to do with the administration of justice.** To improve this was the great need of the Middle Ages. In theory, anywhere in Europe, the king was "the fountain of justice," and could set aside the decision of other courts when he thought proper. But in practice it was exceedingly hard for a man who was suffering from an unjust decision to get at the king. The vast majority of Englishmen could get only such justice as they found in *local courts*.

If this condition had continued much longer, each district in England would have developed its own local customs, and national uniformity would have been delayed, perhaps, for centuries — as it was in France and Germany. *Henry saw the need of one law for all England.* He opened the doors of the royal courts to all. And he did more than issue an empty invitation for all Englishmen to come to the king's justice: **he sent the king's justice out through the realm to the doors of all Englishmen.**

Early in his reign, he had sent out judges from his court, from time to time, to visit different shires — as, indeed, the first Henry had begun to do, though the practice had lapsed in the evil days of Stephen. The first duty of these visiting judges had been to watch the sheriffs and see to the just collection of royal dues. But they were empowered also to represent the king by doing justice wherever any man appealed to them, — even from the local court of a great lord.

Before his death, *Henry extended and systematized these courts.* England was divided into six districts, and three judges from the king's court were sent to journey through each district, to hold court in every shire each year at a stated time. These *circuit judges* made the customs of the king's court *common law* for all England, — the "Common Law," which is to-day the basis of both English and American justice.

Henry's laws also introduced *trial by jury* (though at first only alongside the older forms of trial by ordeal). The Normans had brought to England a Frankish custom of sometimes bringing together a number of old men in a district to give witness in disputes that concerned the ancient customs of the region. The Conqueror's officers used this form of "inquest" in compiling Domesday Book (page 458), and the ignorance of the Norman rulers as to the customs of the land gave many other occasions to employ it. So far, however, the sworn<sup>1</sup> body of witnesses had been used only to settle matters in which the king was interested. Henry extended the same method to questions of property ("civil" cases) between *private persons*.

Henry gave us likewise the beginning of our "grand jury." Many offenders were so powerful that no one person dared accuse them. Henry provided that in each county, at regular intervals, a jury should be called together to "present" suspected criminals to the king's circuit judges for trial.

For some time longer, suspects presented by such a grand jury were tried by ordeal or by combat. But in 1215 a great Church Council, representing all Western Christendom, condemned the ordeal as a method of trial. Then it became the custom in England to summon another, smaller jury (*petit jury*) to try the man whom the larger jury (*grand jury*) had accused. That is, jury trial, which Henry II had introduced for civil cases, became the custom, in the time of his sons, for criminal cases also.

The accused still had the *right* to claim trial by combat. The noble classes commonly did so, for some generations, and the right was not legally abolished until 1819! For a long time, too, the trial jury were witnesses as well as judges of the testimony. They were allowed, however, to call in other witnesses, and gradually a line was drawn between them and these others, until finally it became the rule that the jurymen should come without any knowledge of their own regarding the case, so as to hear and judge impartially the evidence submitted by the witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> "Juror" means a man who has been "sworn."

**Part of his work Henry saw undone.** Thomas Becket, from his refuge abroad, did not cease to thunder against the king and all his officers; and finally the Pope took up Becket's cause in earnest. Rather than face papal excommunication, Henry let Thomas return to his archbishopric in a pretended reconciliation. But the quarrel soon broke out again, and, stirred by angry words of the king, four knights hurried from his court and brutally murdered the archbishop.

This foul deed made Becket a holy martyr for the church in the eyes of the people. For a time Henry was deserted on all sides, and he made his peace with the Pope only by surrendering the Constitutions of Clarendon.

This reverse foreshadowed the deeper sorrows and humiliation of the king's closing days. Two sons, both rebels against him repeatedly, had died before him. But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason, now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, *Richard* and *John*. Broken in health, Henry was vainly seeking reconciliation, when Richard and the French king suddenly appeared in battle array, driving him in headlong flight from his favorite French capital, which they laid in ashes. Hunted from town to town, the dying king was driven to beg for mercy. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators against him, whom he was required to pardon, was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed, it had been Henry's partiality for John that had driven Richard into rebellion. John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. "Now," said Henry, turning his face to the wall, "I care no more for myself or the world." And he passed away, muttering to himself, "Shame! shame! on a conquered king."

**To understand properly Henry's work in organizing courts of law** (already touched upon above), one must glance backward and forward from his day. The feudal "court" of the Norman kings resembled that of any great lord except in size. Any vassal who held land directly of the king (any "tenant-in-chief") had the *right* to attend, but, in practice, not many of the *smaller* "tenants-in-chief" were

often present. The composition of the court *varied*, too, with the localities where it chanced to be called. If the king was in the north of England, the attendants at his "court" were mostly northern lords; if in the west, mainly western lords. Under these conditions, there grew up a smaller, *more permanent* body, composed of those officers of the king who were steadily in attendance upon his person. This inner body kept the name "the king's court," while the larger and less frequent gatherings came to be called "the *Great Council*."

By the time of Henry I, the "court" began to have considerable *judicial* business. It began also to have *different names* when meeting for different purposes. When it met to look after the king's revenues, it assembled in a treasury room, around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares, for the convenient counting of the little piles of money). In such meetings, the court was called "*the Exchequer*," while at other times it was still called merely "*the king's court*."

The new circuit judges were at first merely certain members of this court selected (for part of the time) for a special purpose. When not "on circuit," they might still meet with the other members. But men sometimes appealed to the "king's justice" from decisions of judges on circuit. It was best, of course, that such appeals should not be acted upon by a body containing the judge whose decision was disputed. To hear these appeals, therefore, Henry II set off another distinct body of judges, called the *Court of Common Pleas*, because, like the circuit judges, it dealt mainly with questions of property (*civil cases*) between man and man. To decide important *criminal cases*, another body of judges was set aside, upon a particular "bench" in the room where the king's court gathered. This group came to be known as "*the Court of the King's Bench*."

A century later, Edward I completed this growth. *He made all these different courts into wholly separate bodies, sit-*



*ting each in its own fixed place, each with its permanent body of judges devoted exclusively to its work.* Another important development is this: in the time of Henry II, the lawyers, of whom mention is made so often, were still all great *churchmen* with some knowledge of the Roman law; but by the time of Edward, legal business had increased so much *that law had become a profession apart from the church*, and large numbers of trained "lay" lawyers practiced in the courts much in the same way as at present. If a man of Edward's day could have stepped from the room in which one of the great courts was doing business into a modern English court of justice, he would have felt quite at home, — as he would not feel anywhere else in the England of to-day. Even the gowns, the wigs, and the forms of procedure of the fourteenth century remain.

This is perhaps the best place to call the attention of students to certain advantages that the English people had for winning freedom from their kings, as compared, for instance, with the people of Germany or France or Italy.

1. *England was an island*, and so less likely to be invaded by enemies than those other lands were. The kings, therefore, had less excuse to keep up large standing armies of trained soldiery — and so they found it less easy to crush the people when at times there came uprisings against some tyrant king.

2. *There were two kinds of freedom-loving people in England not found in any number in France or Germany or Italy.* (1) There were the "yeomen" (page 413) living on their own little farms. (2) There were also many men who owned more land than they could farm with their own hands, though they were not as rich as a noble had to be. Some of them were the younger sons of nobles; others were the descendants of Anglo-Saxon chieftains. In either case they were what the English later called "country gentlemen"; but in the period we are now studying they were

known commonly as "knights of the shire." (Some centuries later, these yeomen and country gentlemen were to furnish the leading elements of the emigration to America.)

## IV

Between the great Henry and the great Edward came three would-be tyrants, — Richard I (1189-1199), his brother John (1199-1217), and John's son, Henry III (1217-1272). Richard "the Lion-Hearted" cared for little but military glory. He spent only seven months of his eleven years' reign in England, and that mainly to raise money there; but, happily, to do that thing, he did sell many charters of liberties to the rising towns (page 508). The misrule of the cruel and despotic John resulted in Magna Carta; that of the weak Henry, in the first true Parliament. (England, says a great historian, "has rarely had reason to be thankful to her kings, but often she has had occasion to be thankful for them.")

Toward the close of John's reign, his oppressions brought all classes in England to unite in arms against him. In 1213, while he was warring in France, a mass meeting of English barons and knights and townsmen gathered at Canterbury to discuss how they might secure redress of grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before the gathering the long-forgotten charter of Henry I (page 458). On this basis, the demands of the meeting were drawn up, to present to the king. At first, John refused even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the "train-bands" of London ("the Army of God and Holy Church"), marched against him. John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries. And June 15, 1215, in a meadow of the Thames called Runnymede, between the two camps, he was forced to sign the Great Charter — "the first great document in the Bible of English liberties."

The charter claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, but the closing provision expressly sanctioned rebellion against a king who should refuse to obey it. That is, it set the law of the land above the king's will. True, in some other coun-

tries during the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties for themselves from their kings. But the peculiar features of this Charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins. *The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; but, as a new society and new*

**Nullus lib homo capiatur ut imprisonetur aut dissaisiatur aut utlagetur**

Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,  
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,

**aut exuletur aut aliquo modo destruatur n̄ sup eum ibimus n̄ sup**

aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super  
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon

**eum mittem' nisi p̄ legale iudiciū suorum vel p̄ legem terræ**

eum mittemus, nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.  
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

**Nulli vendemus, nulli negabim' aut differem' rectum aut iusticiā**

Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.  
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay, right or justice.

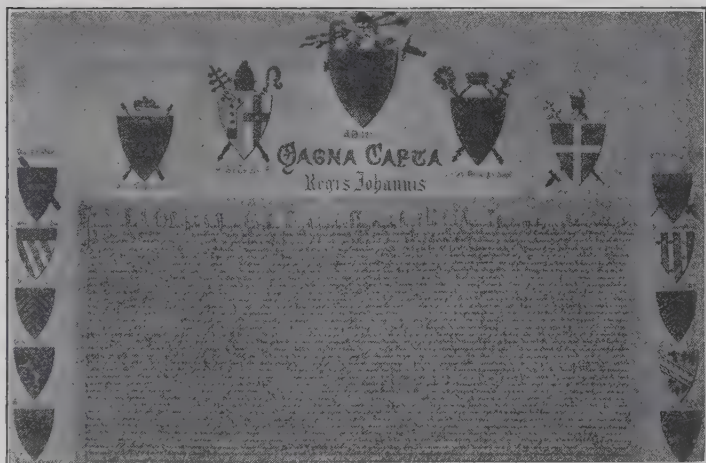
SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA. — The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" the Charter thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

The Charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage (page 460) or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council, — and since all vassals of the king had a right to attend the Council, this established the principle, *No taxation without the consent of the taxed.* It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, —

and so laid the foundation for later laws of "*habeas corpus*."

4/ It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose his oxen or plow, and so foreshadowed our modern laws providing that *legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools*. (Two notable provisions are shown on page 468.)



OPENING LINES FROM MAGNA CARTA in facsimile, much reduced in size. The coats of arms in the margin are supposed to have belonged to the great barons who signed the document. They are known, however, to be a later addition.

Henry III was a pious, frivolous, extravagant tyrant. After many years the people found a champion against his misrule in Simon, Earl of Montfort, the most powerful of the English nobles and a brother-in-law of the king. The struggle became open war, and Earl Simon won at the *battle of Lewes* (1264). For a year he was master of England, acting through the captive king. That year, as we shall see, was notable in the history of English freedom. Then Prince Edward, once Simon's loved disciple, rallied the royal party, took the great earl by surprise at Evesham, and defeated and slew him. For the rest of Henry's lifetime, authority remained really in the hands of his capable son, who satisfied the people by *promising to rule according to the system of Simon*. Soon after, the prince succeeded to the throne.



## V

For two hundred years every king had been a foreigner in tastes and training — from Normandy or from Anjou. **Edward I** (1272-1301) was thoroughly English. He had a favorite Saxon name, too, as well as the golden hair and other physical features of the old English kings. In campaigns in France, Wales, and Scotland, he showed himself a true general; but, tall, deep-chested, long-limbed, skilled in arms, he was prouder of his fame as a knight, earned by desperate fighting in person on many a field against heavy odds. In his younger days, his passionate temper hurried him sometimes into the cruel sack of conquered towns. But he was quick to repent, — at times in a burst of tears; and in his old age he once said, "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused." His shield bore for its device the motto, "Keep troth." He was a good son, a tender and wise father, a faithful and devoted husband, and one of England's noblest kings.

**Edward wished ardently to unite the whole island of Britain** into one kingdom. In this he won only a partial success. The conquest of Wales he did complete; and to conciliate the Welsh people, he gave to his oldest son the title *Prince of Wales*, which has been borne ever since in England by the heir to the crown. For a time, too, Scotland seemed to submit to Edward's arms and statesmanship; but the hero, *William Wallace*, and the patriot king, *Robert Bruce*, roused the Scotch people again to a stubborn and splendid struggle for national independence, and the two halves of the island remained separate kingdoms for some centuries more.

During these wars, **Edward's laws revived Henry II's "assize of arms," and extended it**, ordering that all men who could not provide themselves with armor for the national army should at least be ready to come with bow and arrows. The English long bow had been becoming famous in the hands of forest outlaws (whose story is told in popular ballads, like those about Robin Hood); but Edward was the first English king to see the value of that weapon for regular war. Soon afterward, his arch-



ers won for him the pitched battle of *Falkirk* over gallant Scottish chivalry. Unarmored infantry repelled armored horsemen! *The military supremacy of the feudal noble had received a fatal blow* — though even then few people really understood the fact until the victory of English archers was repeated on a larger scale in France a generation later (page 529).

We have been speaking of Edward's "laws." This brings us to the chief service rendered by this king.

Henry II and Edward I were the two great "lawgivers" among the English kings. Henry carried his many reforms, not by royal decrees, but by a series of "assizes" (codes) drawn up by the Great Council. **Edward carried his in a series of "statutes" enacted by a new legislature which we call Parliament** — a body more truly *national* than even Henry's Council.

Some sort of "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the *Witan* sanctioned codes of laws and even deposed and elected kings. It consisted of large landowners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some mingling of common freemen. It was far more powerful than the Frankish Mayfield.

After the Conquest, the *Witan* gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. This was a feudal gathering — made up of lords and bishops, resembling the *Witan*, but more aristocratic and less powerful. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in practice that body was merely the king's mouthpiece until Henry II raised it to real importance.

In the time of Montfort and Edward came a change in the *make-up* of the Council such as to make it essentially a new kind of gathering. All who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief," or "barons") were entitled to attend the Council, but, as a rule, only the "great barons" came. Magna Carta had directed that thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county. Still the smaller barons failed to assemble. Then in the troubles

of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs had been directed to see to it that each county sent knights to the gathering. Thus a representative element was introduced into the national assembly.



DINNER IN THE HOME OF AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,—as pictured in a fourteenth-century manuscript. Note the musicians, the dogs, and the beggar at whom the “fool” is poking some joke. The windows show that the Norman round arch has given way to the Gothic pointed arch (page 526).

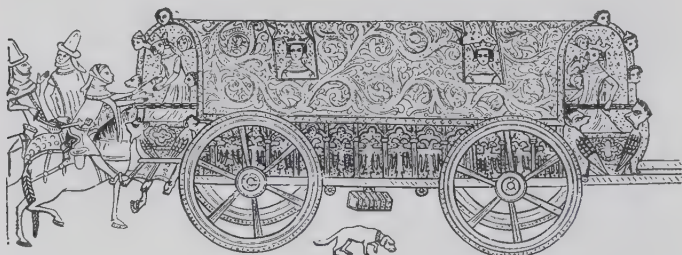
This was a thoroughly natural step for *Englishmen* to take. The principle of representative government had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The “four men” of each township present in court of hundred or shire (page 454) spoke for all their township. The sworn “jurors” of a shire who gave testimony in compiling Domesday Book under William I, or who “presented” offenders for trial under Henry II, spoke for the whole shire. *England was familiar with the practice of selecting certain men from a community to speak for the community as a whole.* This principle was now applied in a *central* gathering for all England.

There was another vital step in the change from Great Council to Parliament. So far the gathering had contained only the land-holding aristocracy, whether present by right of personal summons or as representative "knights." But after the battle of Lewes, the glorious rebel, Simon of Montfort, seized upon the principle of representation for wider usefulness. Since the tyrant-king was his prisoner, it was needful in some way to settle the government. To do this, Simon called a national assembly in 1265, — and not only was each shire invited (as sometimes before) to send two knights, but also (the new point) *each town (borough) was invited to send two burgesses.* (Knights and burgesses, of course, were to sit along with the great barons; but the increase in the number of representatives, and in the wealth and power they represented, gave them real weight in the gathering.) Simon wanted more than money. He wanted the moral support of a united nation. And so he replaced the older *Council of royal vassals* by a true "Parliament" representing the whole people.

Thirty years later, after some variations of plan, Edward I adopted this example of Simon's for his so-called "Model Parliament of 1295," — since, as Edward's writ read, "*that which touches all should be approved by all.*" From that time, the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the national assembly. *For the first time in the world's history, representative government was put upon a good working basis.*

Once more Edward had been the disciple of his old instructor, Simon of Montfort. When the great earl, on the fatal morning of Evesham, beheld the sun glancing through the mists upon the glittering arms of Edward's advancing host, and recognized that the prince had caught him in the toils and that defeat was certain, he exclaimed proudly, as he sought death in headlong charge upon the spears, "It was from me that he learned it." And so, thirty years later, as John Richard Green well says, Simon's spirit, looking down upon the Model Parliament, might well say, "It was from me that he learned it."

After a half century or so, Parliament began to sit in two "Houses." The nature of this division was not the result of any deliberate plan, but it was of immense importance. Edward's Parliament, like Simon's, contained the "three estates,"<sup>1</sup> — the clergy, the nobles, and the burgesses. (The greater clergy had *personal* summons, like the great lay barons; the lower clergy were represented by elected delegates, one for each district.)



AN ENGLISH CARRIAGE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY. — From a contemporary manuscript as reproduced in Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*. Only a wealthy noble could afford such a luxury for his women-folk. Its cost equaled that of a thousand oxen. The lord and his attendants, in traveling, followed the carriage on horseback. The conveyance was drawn by five horses tandem (managed by postilions) which are shown in the manuscript just to the right of the part of the picture given here.

At first all sat together. Had this continued, the townsmen would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been about as bad if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against another.

But England followed a course of its own. The *inferior* clergy, very happily, soon refused to attend Parliament. (They insisted instead upon presenting petitions upon church matters in their own "convocations.") The *great* spiritual lords (bishops and abbots), with personal summons, were not numerous enough

<sup>1</sup> "Estate," used in this way, means a "class" of people with distinct privileges and duties of their own.



by themselves to make an "estate," and so they sat with the great lay lords. Thus, when the different orders began to sit apart, the great peers, lay and spiritual, who were summoned by individual letters, made a "House of Lords," while the representative elements — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

*Thus the three estates faded into two; and even these two were not distinct.* For in England, otherwise than on the continent, only the oldest son of a lord succeeded to his father's title and nobility (page 418). The younger sons — and even the oldest son during his father's life — belonged in the gentry (gentleman) class, and at most were "knights of the shire." As such, often-times, the son or the brother of an earl sat for his county in the House of Commons beside the shop-keeper from the town. *The gentry in the Commons formed a link to bind Lords and Commons together.*

FOR FURTHER READING. — Magna Carta is given in all source books of English or medieval history. Bailey's *The Fool* is a powerful story of the times of Henry II, — truer than the famous Scott novels for the following generation, *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*. There ought to be at least a few "reading students" in a class who would enjoy Mrs. Green's *Henry II* and Edward Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet*. This is a good time to read or re-read Shakespeare's *King John*.

### EXERCISES

1. List four important battles in England between 1066 and 1266.
2. Make a list of matters mentioned in this chapter which closely concern our American life.
3. What are some of the most important things that make a group of people a nation? Are those things the same for all nations? Are any of them indispensable? (For instance, can we have a nation if the people concerned do not all speak the same language? or do not all have the same religion? or do not live in contiguous territory? or do not have common ancestors (or belong to "one race")? or do not all have the same government? or the same kind of civilization? What is a nation? What advantages did England have for its people early to become a true nation?



4. Make a "brief," or syllabus, for each of the following topics: Effects of the Norman Conquest; Steps in the Development of Representative Government.
5. Let a group of students prepare and give to the class a "time order" test of at least ten terms on English history before 1400 A.D.
6. Let a second group list twenty important terms, for that same subject and period, for the class to explain or define.

Ind. 489

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### THE CONTINENT IN THE FEUDAL AGE

#### I. FRANCE

In France the feeble line of Carolingian<sup>1</sup> rulers (page 409 f.) died out in 987. **The great barons then chose one of their own number, Hugh Capet, to be "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, . . . and Gascons."** The "France" of that day was not really one country: it was a loose collection of feudal fragments, with varying laws and tongues. Each fragment had one of the great barons for its real ruler, and those men had no idea of surrendering their power to the king they had chosen. But Hugh proved only the first of a long line of able Capetian kings, who, in the next three centuries, by shrewdness and tireless energy, welded those fragments into a French nation with a common language and a common patriotism.

**The first great steps in this advance were taken by Philip II (1180-1223).** When Philip came to the French throne, Henry II was still working zealously to strengthen national unity in England; but *in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity*. As a great vassal he held six times as much French territory as Philip did (page 460), and to make that territory more completely his own, he upheld other vassals in their struggles against the French crown. In return, Philip set Richard on to make war against his father (page 464); and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to

<sup>1</sup> From *Carolus*, Latin for Charles: the line of Charlemagne.

appear, declared his fiefs forfeited to the crown. Philip enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. As Duke of Aquitaine, the king of England remained still one of the greatest French vassals, but the *northwest quarter* of "France" had been added to the French crown. This quadrupled the immediate territory of the French kings. At last, too, "France" reached the sea on the north and west.

Just before, she had reached it also on the south. Among the other great vassals of the crown when Philip came to the throne, were the Dukes of Burgundy, of Brittany, and of Flanders, and the Counts of Champagne and (chief among them all) of Toulouse (maps facing page 460). But Philip won the dominions of this last prince for himself.

Here the victory of the king came through the accident of a religious war. In the twelfth century there had been a period of decline in the church, resulting in much religious discontent and in the rise of several sects of heretics. The most important of these sects were the *Albigenses*, who had their home in south-eastern France. They rejected some doctrines of the church, and they rebelled especially against its system of government. Indeed, their dislike for the clergy became so intense that they changed an old byword, — "I had rather be a Jew," into "I had rather be a priest."

The church had made many attempts to reclaim these heretics, in vain. Finally Innocent III (page 486) proclaimed a "holy war" against them, declaring them "more wicked than the Saracens," against whom Christian Europe had then been pouring forth her crusaders (page 497) for a hundred years. The feudal nobles of northern France rallied gladly to this war. Aside from religious motives, they hated the democracy which was growing up in the rising towns of the South, and they hungered greedily for the rich plunder of that more civilized region. A twenty years' struggle, marked by ferocious massacres, exterminated the heretics, along with the prosperity of what had been the richest province of Western Europe.

From the days of Clovis, southern Roman Gaul had remained practically independent of northern Teutonic Gaul. At last the feudal North had conquered the city South, — *but the fruits of victory fell to the French monarchy*. Raymond, Count of Toulouse, had tried to protect his Albigensian subjects, and his power had been ruined by the conflict. Philip at once seized the larger part of his realm, and the rest fell to the crown piecemeal, in after years. "France" had acquired *southeastern France*, and had won its way to the Mediterranean. At the opening of his reign, Philip ruled directly only a twelfth of modern France. *At the close, he ruled more than two thirds of it.*

As the French kings added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority, until by 1300 they became the **most despotic sovereigns in Europe**. Here, too, Philip II made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin, so that they could not aspire to *independent* power. But, as *representative of the king*, each such officer held vast authority, appointing *all* local officers in his district, collecting royal revenues, and controlling all details of government. This organizing work was completed before the year 1300 by Philip's grandson, *Louis IX*, and by Louis' grandson, *Philip IV*, surnamed the "Fair."

The feudal lords lost all power of government except over serfs and villeins: the small vassals and the townsmen found escape from their rapacity and capricious tyranny. In England this escape had come through the itinerant justices and the free principles of the common law — and so Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the despotic power intrusted to their officers by the absolute French kings — *and Frenchmen came to trust autocracy (for centuries) as Englishmen trusted law.*

This contrast is shown, in part, in the history of the French institution which most resembled the English Parliament. **Philip the Fair completed his reforms by adding representatives**

of the towns to the nobles and clergy in the Great Council of France. This brought together all three "estates," and the gathering was called the *Estates General*, to distinguish it from smaller gatherings in the separate provinces. The first meeting in this form was held in 1302, only a few years after the "Model Parliament" in England. But Philip and his successors used the Estates General only as a convenient taxing machine. *It never became a governing body, as the English Parliament did.* It lacked root in local custom. The kings assembled it only when they chose, and easily controlled it. When they no longer needed it, *the meetings grew rarer, and finally ceased, without protest by the people.*

## II. GERMANY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

In Germany the Carolingian line died out even sooner than in France, and then the princes chose a Saxon duke for King of the Germans. **The second of these Saxon kings was Otto I (936-973).** His first great work was to end forever the barbarian inroads. The nomad Hungarians (page 410) had once more broken across the border in enormous numbers. Otto crushed them with horrible slaughter at the battle of *Lechfeld*. Soon after, the Hungarians adopted Christianity and settled down in modern Hungary, where, in another hundred years, they became one of the group of European peoples.

Otto followed up his success. Year by year, he forced the Slavs farther back from his eastern borders and established "marks" (a name for a border state) along that whole frontier. On the extreme southeast the Eastmark (against the Hungarians) was to grow into modern Austria, while the Mark of Brandenburg on the northeast (against the Slavs) was to grow into modern Prussia.

Now, too, began a new colonizing movement which soon extended Germany from the Elbe to the Oder and carried swarms of German settlers among even the savage Prussians and the Slavs of the heathen Baltic coast. Charlemagne's work in extending civilization to the east was now bearing fruit. The Saxons, whom he had civilized and Christianized, had become the agents for spreading civilization still farther east.



## 60





It should have been the work of the German kings to foster this defensive colonization along their barbarous eastern borders, and to fuse the Germans themselves into a true nation. But Otto and his successors were drawn from this work, so well begun, by greedy dreams of wider empire.

In his day, Otto was the most powerful king in Europe. In France, the Capetians had not yet come to the throne; in England, the House of Alfred was still warring with the Danelagh. Otto gave Germany an early start toward union and power. In return, German song made him a popular hero, and loved to picture his long wavy beard and his "hawk eyes" restlessly moving "as if seeking prey."

And in seeking prey, Otto now ruined his fair work. While he had stood victor amid the carnage of Lechfeld, his host, with triumphant shouts, had hailed him by the ancient cry, "Emperor of the Romans." For half a century the Empire in the West had lapsed. Otto was tempted to restore it — as a mask for seizing upon Italy. *That unhappy land had no shadow of union.* Saracens from Africa contested the south with the Greek Empire and the Lombards, and the north was devastated by ferocious wars between petty states. An imprisoned princess from one of those states appealed for rescue to the hero of the North, beyond the Alps. Otto invaded Italy, released and married the beautiful Adelheid, and in 962 was consecrated Emperor by the Pope. For the next three centuries every German king, as soon as he could march to Rome, was crowned Emperor.

The restored Empire was "the Holy Roman Empire of the German people." It did not include all "Western Europe," like Charlemagne's Empire in its day. France was outside, as were the new Christian kingdoms in England, Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary. Its physical power rested wholly on "German" military prowess.

And it was "Holy." It claimed to share the headship of Christendom with the papacy, but the relation between Emperors and Popes was not defined. Soon they quarreled, and then followed three centuries of fatal strife. The dismal story

of the long contest is brightened by the names of two great Popes, — *Gregory VII* and *Innocent III*, — and of three striking figures among the Emperors, — *Henry IV*, *Frederick Barbarossa*, and *Frederick II*.

The first Emperors set up and deposed Popes almost at will. The restoration of the papacy to a power that enabled it to set up and depose Emperors was due mainly to Hildebrand. In early youth, this remarkable man, the son of a Tuscan laborer, became a monk. He had a frail body but a fiery soul and great practical sagacity. In 1045, at the age of twenty-one, he became papal chaplain, and for eighteen years, under five successive Popes, he directed the papal policy. More than once he might himself have been made Pope, and at last, in 1073, the people of Rome forced the election upon him. The crowds gathered for the funeral of the late Pope raised the shout, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop." The cardinals (page 434) approved the choice. Hildebrand yielded, took the name Gregory VII, and, with fresh vigor, began to make real his dream of a universal papal monarchy. The Empire was to be subject to the papacy, as the body to the soul. The Pope, he wrote, "may depose Emperors. . . . He may absolve subjects from their allegiance. He himself may be judged by no man."

The strife between Popes and Emperors came to a head upon investitures. As temporal vassals of the Emperor (page 433), the bishops and abbots of Germany held about half of the lands and wealth of the country. The Emperors, accordingly, had come to appoint those great officials and to demand the usual feudal allegiance from them. But when such churchmen took office, the Emperor "invested" them, not merely with their landed fiefs, but also with the staff and ring, — symbols of their *spiritual* power. Gregory, with many other religious men, denounced this practice as simony — the sin of *selling* spiritual power over men.

In 1075 Gregory threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should thereafter receive their investiture from a lay ruler, as well as the rulers themselves. To Henry IV, an able but headstrong Emperor, this seemed a declaration of

war. He declared Gregory guilty of infamous crimes and pronounced him deposed. "Hildebrand," ran the imperial defiance, "not Pope, but false monk . . . descend and surrender the apostolic chair, which thou hast usurped. . . . I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all my bishops, do call to thee, 'Get thee down, get down to everlasting damnation.'"

Gregory's reply ran: "O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, . . . for the honor and security of thy church, . . . I withdraw, through thy power and authority, from Henry, the king, who has risen against thy church with unheard-of insolence, the rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy; and I forbid any one to serve him as king."

Henry's friends fell away, — unable to stand before the terrors of the papal bull, — and in a few months he was helpless. A council of German nobles was called, over which the Pope was to preside, to act on Henry's deposition. By swift submission, Henry saved his crown. He hurried into Italy, and, at *Canossa*, met the Pope, already on his way across the Alps. The stern Gregory refused to see the suppliant, who stood barefoot, in a penitent's garb, through three days of extreme cold, amid the snow and rocks before the castle gate. Admitted finally to the Pope's presence, after promising abject submission to his will, whatever it might be, Henry threw himself in tears at the feet of his conqueror, crying, "Spare me, Holy Father, spare me!" Gregory also was moved to tears. He raised Henry to his feet, gave him the kiss of peace, and promised him absolution.

But Gregory had pushed his victory too far, or else not far enough. The rivals of Henry in Germany felt that the Pope had deserted them; and the mass of the nation were angered by the humiliation of their king. The hostile nobles did try to set up another king; but German patriotism rallied around Henry, and he easily kept the upper hand.

After some delay, since there was no change in the matter of investitures, Gregory issued another decree of deposition against Henry. But the opportunity was gone. The German bishops, returning to Henry's side, again declared Gregory deposed, and



went through the form of electing another Pope in his place. There followed a distressing tangle of wars. Finally, Gregory was driven from Rome, and soon afterward he died in the south of Italy (1085), exclaiming sadly, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile." Still, Gregory was in large part victorious. He lives in history as one of the world's greatest men, — one who built an empire not by sword or cannon, but by intellect and moral earnestness.

The quarrel between Popes and Emperors went on with little interruption for some thirty years after Gregory's death, until "settled" for a time by a treaty known as **the Concordat of Worms, in 1122**. Bishops were to be *elected*, it was agreed at Worms, *by the clergy* of the diocese, and *consecrated by the Pope*. But since, as bishop, the new official was to hold the church lands as a vassal of the Emperor, it was agreed also that *the Emperor should have a right to veto* the election.

That reasonable compromise was copied from one which had been made just before in England between Henry I (page 458) and Anselm, a great Archbishop of Canterbury. The investiture contest was waged in all Christian lands, though nowhere else so bitterly as in Germany.

**After a truce for a generation, war between Popes and Emperors broke forth again.** A new ruling family — the Hohenstaufen — had been elected to the imperial throne by German nobles. The first important ruler of this family was **Frederick I, surnamed Barbarossa, or Red Beard (1152–1190)**. Barbarossa was bent on uniting all Italy *under German rule*. This policy brought him into conflict with the rising towns of North Italy; and the Popes, fearing that his victory would end their own independence, threw their weight on the side of the towns.

Time after time, **Frederick led German armies across the Alps**. Milan, the greatest city in the Po valley, was razed to the ground and its inhabitants scattered in unwalled villages. Some years afterward, however, while Frederick was at Rome,





a sudden pestilence of the Italian summer swept away his army. Twenty-five thousand men perished in a week, — “slain by the angel of the Lord,” like the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, said the papal party. The cities seized their chance. Under the Pope's lead, they bound themselves together in **the Lombard League**, the first city-federation since Greek days; and at the *battle of Legnano, 1176*, the Emperor was completely defeated, barely escaping with life after having been left for dead on the field. *The Peace of Constance*, signed soon after, gave the towns the right to fortify themselves, to raise their own troops, to wage war on their own account, to coin money, and to regulate all their internal concerns. Practically, they had become free republics.

Despite the defeat of Legnano, **Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe.** His court was one of pomp and splendor. He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the Empire, and the sovereigns of those lands regarded him with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. When an old man Frederick set out upon the Third Crusade (page 501); and was drowned while bathing, after a hot day's march, in a little stream in Asia Minor. Of all the old German kings, Barbarossa is the popular hero. Centuries after his death, imperialistic legends told how he was merely sleeping a magic sleep, upright upon a golden throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain, crown on head and scepter in hand. At the appointed hour, in his country's need, when the ravens should cease circling about the mountain top, Barbarossa would awake to restore German rule and the reign of peace and justice.

Not long after William and his Norman lords conquered England (page 450 f.), another Norman adventurer, *Robert the Crafty (Guiscard)*, by conquest, set up a kingdom in south Italy known as the *Kingdom of Sicily*. **A son and successor of Barbarossa married the heiress of that Norman kingdom and so joined south Italy to the Empire.** But at the death of this

Emperor, his heir (afterward Frederick II) was a child of only three years of age; and for many years rival claimants struggled with one another for the imperial crown.

During this period of decadence for the Empire, more plainly than ever before, the sovereign power in Europe was the papacy, under the stern morality, tremendous energy, imperious character, and able administration of Innocent III. Innocent became feudal overlord and protector of the Tuscan towns, and he was guardian of Frederick, the child-king of Sicily. Thus he was safe from attack by Italy, north or south, while conditions in Germany enabled him to make and unmake Emperors. The election of a certain Philip by the German princes was disputed by a rival, Otto. Innocent claimed the right to decide. He rejected Philip as "an obstinate persecutor of the church," and gave his award to Otto, because that prince was declared to be "devoted to the church." "*Him, therefore, we . . . summon to take the imperial crown.*" Afterward, when Otto took up the imperial claims against the papacy, Innocent declared him deposed, and secured the election of the young Frederick, of Sicily, grandson of Barbarossa.

In the various "elections" referred to in this chapter, the German nobles chose a "King of the Germans." The victorious candidate in such an election valued his success mainly as a step toward the higher dignity, "Emperor of the Romans" — which, however, could be secured only at Rome, not at Aachen. About 1200 A.D., the nobles began to choose at Aachen, not a king of the Germans, but a "King of the Romans" — a title that more directly indicated the imperial title to follow.

In France and England, it is true, there now ruled mightier kings than any previous Pope had had to deal with outside the Empire; but even these sovereigns were forced to obey the commands of Innocent's legates. Philip Augustus, the haughty sovereign of France, was compelled to take back an innocent wife whom he had just put away; and John of England had even surrendered his kingdom and received it back as a fief



of the Holy See, promising annual tribute to Rome. The kings of Portugal and Aragon, rising Christian states in the Spanish peninsula (page 547) were Innocent's vassals; and he interfered at will in the government of the other kingdoms there, — Navarre, Castile, and Leon, — as well as in the newly Christianized Slav kingdoms on the eastern frontier of Europe.

In 1216 the death of Innocent left the field clear, for the moment, for the young Emperor, Frederick II, who was just coming to manhood. Frederick II has been called the last of the great medieval emperors and the first of the great modern kings — “the most gifted of the sons of men, . . . a wonderful man in a wonderful age.” Unlike his grandfather Barbarossa, he was an Italian by birth and nature. In person, he was slight, bald, nearsighted. A Mohammedan historian wrote that as a slave he would not have brought a hundred drachmas. He was an enthusiastic patron of literature, a founder of one of the early universities (page 521), and himself a scholar and author of marked ability, in both prose and verse. He wrote charming songs, not in Latin, but in the new Italian tongue of everyday life, and is truly “the father of Italian poetry.” He was deeply interested in the science of the Arabs. He ridiculed trial by ordeal and other medieval superstitions, and his own codes of law were far in advance of the barbarous ideas of the age. He was a modern rather than a medieval, — a many-sided man, warrior, statesman, lawgiver, scholar, poet.

At the same time, with all his wonderful genius, he gave his life's energies to buttressing the hopelessly outgrown and tottering system of a universal empire. He left no positive result, but was only “the most dazzling of a long line of imperial failures.” The Popes feared lest their principality should be crushed between the Hohenstaufen, north and south, and the danger made them Frederick's relentless foes. During much of his reign, the Emperor was under sentence of excommunication and deposition. He spent his last years like a lion at bay, amid the fierce onslaughts of open enemies and the cruel treacheries of trusted friends; and his death (1250) was followed by

final ruin for his plans. The death of his son, Conrad IV (1254), marked the separation of Germany from Italy.

For three centuries the history of Germany had been bound up with that of Italy. This connection had brought to Germany something of the culture and art of the ancient world, but in government and industry it had spelled ruin. A long line of German kings had led splendid German armies across the Alps, to melt away in fever beneath the Italian sun. German strength had been frittered away in foreign squabbles, and the chance to make a German nation was lost for six centuries more.

No better were the results to Italy. A German king, however much a "Roman" Emperor, never had been able to enter Italy without a German army at his back. The southern land had been a conquered province, ruled (as it felt) by uncouth northern barbarians. True, at last the Popes (and towns) won, and expelled the Germans — but only by calling in Frenchman and Spaniard and making Italy for centuries more the battle ground and battle prize of Europe.

*In 1254 the last German ruler was driven from Italy. The Empire ceased to be either "Holy" or "Roman." Thereafter it was wholly German. And even the German kingdom seemed extinct.* For twenty years (1254-1273) there was no king in Germany. This was the period of "fist-law." Germany dissolved into more than 300 petty states — "free cities," duchies, marks, counties. Cf. maps after pages 484 and (better) 546.

And yet it is only fair to remember that the imperialistic ambitions of the Ottos and Hohenstaufen, fantastic and absurd as they seem to us, had at least far more excuse than the like dreams held by a Napoleon in a later age. Says the historian Freeman, — "To men of that time, living amid the perpetual selfish and wasteful strife of small principalities, the vision of one universal Empire of law and right shone with an alluring brightness which we can hardly understand."

That idea of a universal rule of justice and peace was to unselfish thinkers of that age, even in Italy, what the hopes for the League of Nations are to Europeans of to-day. Two genera-

tions after the failure of the last Hohenstaufen, the poet Dante, the greatest genius of many centuries, suffered banishment from his beloved Florence rather than prove false to that hope. Two generations later still, another Italian poet, Petrarch, "the father of the Renaissance," declared one imperial government for all the world as necessary as one head for the human body, — comparing the various states of Europe to "the hideous portent of a monster of many heads biting and snapping at one another."

FOR FURTHER READING. — The best biographies on the period are Hutton's *Philip Augustus* (for France), and (for the church), Morison's *Life and Times of St. Bernard* and Vincent's *Age of Hildebrand*. Ogg's *Source Book* has some good material, as does Beard's *Readings*. For required class reading, the medieval empire is not a good topic.

### REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact drills on the last two chapters :
  - a. Dates (to be inserted also upon time line, if the class keeps one) : 843, 962, 987, 1066, 1176, 1215, 1265, 1295; and, for periods, 1075-1254 (struggle between Empire and papacy) and 1254-1273 (the "first-law" era in Germany).
  - b. Fix other events in connection with the dates given above; such as Lechfeld, Lombard League, Peace of Constance, French Estates General.
  - c. Extend list of terms for brief explanation: Hugh Capet, Canossa, mark states, etc.
2. Review questions, by the class. For example: give the two divisions of the struggle between Empire and papacy; characterize each; and name leaders and chief events of each; what event and date mark the point between the two divisions?
3. What was there about the duties of the early circuit judges in England that made it natural to choose them from the Court of the Exchequer?
4. Catch-word reviews (cf. page 127).
  - a. Germany from Charlemagne to 962.
  - b. The Holy Roman Empire, to 1273.
  - c. France from Charlemagne to about 1300.
5. Map review. Compare the maps on the Empire (including the one on the Partition of Verdun) for varying boundaries and for increase in number of political divisions.
6. Arrange in three parallel columns the main events for England, France, and Germany for the period 900-1300.

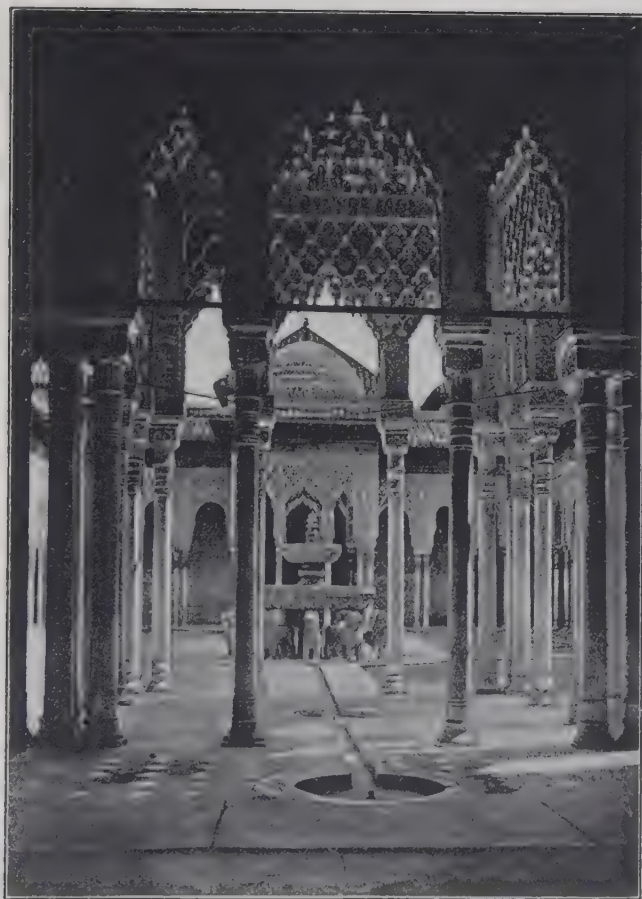
## CHAPTER XXXIV

### THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES

For the closing two centuries of the Feudal Age (from 1100 to 1300), all Western Europe was moved deeply by one common impulse. To understand this, and the strange movements it led to, we must look first at conditions in the East, outside Europe.

1. The Mohammedans (pages 386-390) still ruled from the Pyrenees to the Ganges. In their early conquests they had sometimes ruined much of the old civilization that they came upon. One conqueror in the seventh century, when seizing Egypt, burned the great library at Alexandria and so destroyed forever much priceless knowledge. Said he, "If all these books agree with the Koran, they are not needed, and if they do not agree with the Koran, they are false and ought to be destroyed," — which was very like the ignorant bigotry of some of the early Christians toward the older culture (page 353 f.).

But soon the Saracens adopted the Hellenistic civilization and began to extend it. In 1100 they far surpassed medieval Europe. Their governments were as good as the Oriental world had ever known. Their roads and canals encouraged commerce and bound together distant regions. In their farming they used fertilizers and irrigation scientifically, while Europe had only its wasteful three-year rotation, and they produced new varieties of fruits and flowers in their lovely gardens by grafting, while Europeans were struggling from dawn to dark to raise turnips enough to live on. Their magnificent cities were built with a peculiar and beautiful architecture, characterized by the horse-shoe arch, the dome, the turret, the graceful minaret, and a rich ornament of "arabesque." Their manufactures were the finest in the world, both for beautiful design and for delicate workman-



COURT OF LIONS IN ALHAMBRA PALACE IN SPAIN.

Compare with the passage about Saracenic architecture on the opposite page. Some features mentioned there and not represented in this picture may be seen on pages 388, 548.



ship. We still speak of "Toledo" blades, and "Morocco" leather, while "muslins" and "damasks" recall their superior processes in the manufacture of cloth at Mosul and Damascus. Europe was soon to owe to them these products, with many other things long-forgotten or new, — spices, oranges, lemons, rice, sugar cane, dates, asparagus, buckwheat, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, calicoes, satins, the crossbow, the windmill.

In intellectual lines Arab superiority was no less marked. While Europe had only a few monastic schools to light its "Dark Ages," the Arabs had great universities, where philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, were subjects of special study. The old Chaldean astrology was becoming true astronomy in the hands of the Arabians of Spain, and the heavens still keep a thick sprinkling of Arabic names, like *Aldebaran*, while common terms in our texts on astronomy (*azimuth*, *zenith*, *nadir*) bear like testimony. From India the Arabs brought the "Arabic" notation, while Europe was still struggling with clumsy Roman numerals. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name, and spherical trigonometry was their creation. And while Europe still treated disease from the viewpoint of an Indian "medicine man," the Saracens had established, on Greek foundations, a real science of medicine. On the other hand, the Koran expressly sanctioned slavery and taught the inferiority of woman, — facts that made insuperable obstacles in the pathway to a true civilization.

About 1200 A.D. a Mohammedan scholar wrote a geography, in which he gave a full description of *Bagdad* in its day of glory.

The city (known hardly even as a name to the kings of England or France in that day) was built on both banks of the river Tigris, in two huge semicircles, twelve miles across, and it contained about two million people! Immense streets crossed the city, dividing it into huge blocks. Each block was under an overseer who looked after its cleanliness and the comfort of the people. Every household was plentifully supplied with water at all seasons by aqueducts; and the streets, gardens, and parks were swept and watered at regular times. All refuse was collected and carried off outside the city walls. At night the streets were lighted by lamps. Both sides of the river for miles were fronted by the palaces, gardens, and parks of the rich merchants and nobles. Marble

steps from each river-side garden led down to the water's edge, and the scene on the river was made brilliant by thousands of gondolas, decked with little flags and dancing like sunbeams on the waters, carrying the pleasure-loving people from one part of the city to another. Along the wide-stretching quays lay at anchor whole fleets of river craft of all kinds, — Chinese junks, Babylonian rafts buoyed up by inflated skins, and stately slender galleys. The city had also many schools, colleges, hospitals, asylums, and exceedingly beautiful mosques.

2. Midway, in character as in geography, between Latin Europe and Mohammedan Asia lay the *Greek Empire* (page 371), living on for centuries its quiet, orderly life as a pacific, civilized state. Even its defensive wars against barbarian attack it waged now mainly by small bodies of Norse mercenary adventurers. The Emperors were often devoted scholars and able authors, as well as skillful rulers. Constantinople, though probably inferior to Bagdad in magnificence and extent and comfort, was unapproached in any of these ways by the



A BYZANT.

rude towns of France or Germany or England. Indeed, the few men from the West who had ever visited it found their friends at home unable to believe their strange but truthful reports of its splendor and comfort — its miles of paved and lighted streets, its schools and theaters, its well-ordered police, its hospitals and parks. Its million of keen-witted inhabitants looked with contempt, mixed with some dread, upon the “barbarian” but warlike “Franks” — as both Greeks and Saracens called all peoples of Western Europe. The “byzant,” the gold coin of Constantinople, was the money standard of Latin Christendom; for what little trade that region had was largely in the hands of little colonies of Greek merchants in the Mediterranean towns of Italy and southern France.

3. Then in the eleventh century (at about the time that William the Conqueror was introducing better government and

higher civilization into England) both these Oriental states suffered fatal set-backs at the hands of new Turkish nomad barbarians.

The Turks were a Tatar people who had migrated westward from beyond the Jaxartes. They adopted Mohammedanism and swiftly won military and political leadership away from the Arabs. Then followed for the Mohammedan world *its* period of "Dark Ages." For some centuries the Turks seemed impervious to either Saracenic or European civilization, and, under their ignorant rule, the old Saracenic culture fell to decay. (For use of the term *Saracen*, see page 390, note.)



A PILGRIM to some holy place was one of the common figures of the Middle Ages, — barefoot, wearing a harsh hair-shirt next to the skin, and carrying a staff (in the form of a cross) and a chain of "beads" by which to number his prayers. These pilgrims carried no money with them. One of them is the footsore beggar pictured on page 472, when pilgrimages were declining.

The Turks were mighty soldiers and began at once a new era of Mohammedan conquest. The greater part of the remaining Greek Empire fell quickly into their hands. They overran even Asia Minor and established there a number of principalities — one of them with its capital at Nicaea, only seventy miles from the gates of Constantinople!

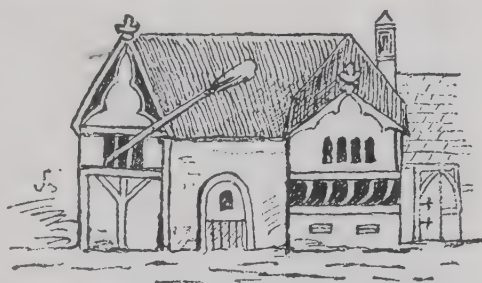
This westernmost Mohammedan state of the eleventh century called itself "the Empire of Roum." Strange testimony to the power of the old name *Rome*! Those barbarian Turks, at the beginning

of their four centuries of war to overthrow the ancient "Empire of the Romans" at Greek Constantinople, tried to take to themselves also the magic of that name.

In terror at the Mohammedan advance, the **Greek Emperor** turned for help to **Latin Christendom**, and his earnest appeal became the signal for two hundred years of war, Cross against Crescent. But that effect would not have followed if Western Europe had not had deep grievances of its own against the Turk.

To understand *why* these conditions in the East led to those strange movements by the West that we call the Crusades, we need to understand also the large part played by pilgrimages in medieval life in the West itself.

The picture on the opposite page shows a sight fa-



AN ENGLISH INN OF ABOUT 1300 A.D. — Commonly the inn then had one large sleeping room with many beds crowded into it, in each of which at least two men were expected to sleep. Finicky travelers complained that often their bed-mates were vilely dirty and that the straw (rarely changed) on the inn floors was often swarming with fleas. About 1400, conditions improved rapidly.

miliar to every one in the early Middle Ages. Good men made pilgrimages to holy shrines to satisfy religious enthusiasm; evil men made them to win forgiveness for sin; sick men, to be healed of bodily ills. A pilgrimage was an act of worship.

It was also an adventure, — almost the only way by which even many great nobles could really “see the world.” There had been almost no travelers during the Feudal Age — except marching armies, and royal messengers, and pilgrims. Pilgrimages, too, dangerous as such journeys often were, were the safest kind of traveling. All pilgrims wore a semimonastic garb, and the church asked all people to give them help and protection. Until after 1100 there were practically no inns in Western Europe, but pilgrims were entertained freely at all monasteries. If such refuge did not appear within the day’s journey, the lord of any castle or manor house would gladly give meals and lodging to a holy pilgrim, both as a reli-

gious duty and for news of the outside world. By 1200 A.D. there was so much of this travel that inns began to appear again, especially to meet its needs. Of an evening, the pilgrims who met at one of these inns told one another wonderful stories of



CHAUCER'S CANTERBURY PILGRIMS, as pictured in a fourteenth-century manuscript. Cf. page 456.

their adventures and repeated strange tales they had heard in distant lands.

In England a favorite pilgrimage was to the shrine of the martyred St. Thomas of Canterbury (page 464). Every land, and every small district, had its own shrine to which pilgrims came. But chief of all pilgrimages was one to the Holy Land, where Christ had lived, and to the tomb where His body had been laid.

From every European land a steady stream of pilgrims visited Palestine. Such a pilgrimage, it was believed, would win God's forgiveness for the worst of sinners.

That long journey, to be sure, was full of peril and hardship. Those who went the round-about way by land were in danger from robbers and accident and disease. Those who wanted to go by sea, even if they could find a ship going their way, were certain to have long weeks of misery on shipboard, besides running great risk of shipwreck and of pirates. In the year 1064 a German bishop started out from the city of Mainz with a band of seven thousand pilgrims, but only two thousand of them ever found their way home again.

The Saracens, who became masters of Palestine among their earliest conquests, permitted these Christian pilgrimages — and even encouraged them at times for reasons akin to those that lead parts of our country to-day to advertise advantages for tourists. **But when the Turks took control of Jerusalem from**



the Arabs, they began at once to persecute all Christians there. Tales of the wrongs suffered there by Western pilgrims soon stirred Europe to shame and wrath — and prepared the way for a favorable hearing for the Greek appeal for aid against the Turk.

The messengers from Constanti-  
nople came to Pope Urban, as the  
head of Christendom, in 1095.  
Urban at once assumed the leader-  
ship and at a great gathering of  
French nobles at Clermont preached  
a war of the Cross to recover the  
Holy Sepulcher from the infidel.  
His eloquence thrilled the multi-  
tude to a frenzy of enthusiasm,  
and they caught up his cry, "God  
wills it! God wills it!" A great  
expedition was arranged for the fol-  
lowing spring, and all over Europe  
men were called upon to "take  
the cross": that is, to pledge them-  
selves to the expedition by fastening a red cross on the breast.



A CRUSADER TAKING THE VOW.  
—From a manuscript now in  
the British Museum.

Thus began the Crusades. Each crusader marched in part to save Eastern Christians, partly to avenge Western pilgrims, and partly to make his own (armed) pilgrimage to the holiest of shrines. Mingled with these motives was the spirit of adventure and greed for land and gold.

Urban at Clermont had not failed to appeal to this last motive. "Cease your quarrels with one another," he cried, "and turn your arms against those accursed Turks. They are rich. You shall win their wealth."

The Crusades opened with a pathetic movement. Hordes of peasantry, impatient of delay, without waiting for the army of nobles, set off to rescue the Holy Land, under a preaching monk and a beggar knight, Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless.

These multitudes—ignorant, unorganized, almost unarmed—confidently expected divine aid. In the terrible journey down the Danube valley the greater part of them perished miserably by starvation and disease and by the attacks of the Christian natives—whose lands they were pillaging for food. The remnants, as soon as they reached Asia, were annihilated by the Turks.

In the spring of 1096 the disciplined armies of real crusaders began to make their way through Europe to Constantinople, the



CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH, as pictured in an old manuscript.

appointed place of meeting. There they gathered, some three hundred thousand strong, according to the chroniclers,—one hundred thousand of them mailed horsemen,—the most formidable army Europe has ever sent against Asia. They lingered for a time among the novel delights of the Greek capital, gazing covetously upon its riches and marvels, until the Emperor began to fear the fierce Frank allies within

his gates almost as much as the Turkish foes without. At last, however, he managed to hasten their departure on into Asia.

There the crusaders defeated the Turks in several savagely fought battles, winning back all Asia Minor for the Greek Emperor in return for his support and supplies. Thereafter their conquests were to be their own—and soon the leaders were quarreling bitterly among themselves for the largest or otherwise most desirable shares. Great numbers, too, who had seized much gold or other movable treasure, began to straggle back toward their European homes. A three months' siege made the remaining forces masters of Antioch and opened the road to Jerusalem itself. The Mohammedan world was distracted, just at this time, by wars between rival leaders, but the garrison in Jerusalem held out for many months with stubborn gallantry. The Europeans, too, in their unsanitary camps, suffered terribly

from the climate of Palestine and, at times, from famine and thirst and disease. "Many lay near the dried-up springs," said one old crusader afterward, "unable to make a sound with their swollen tongues but stretching out piteous hands to any one who passed by."

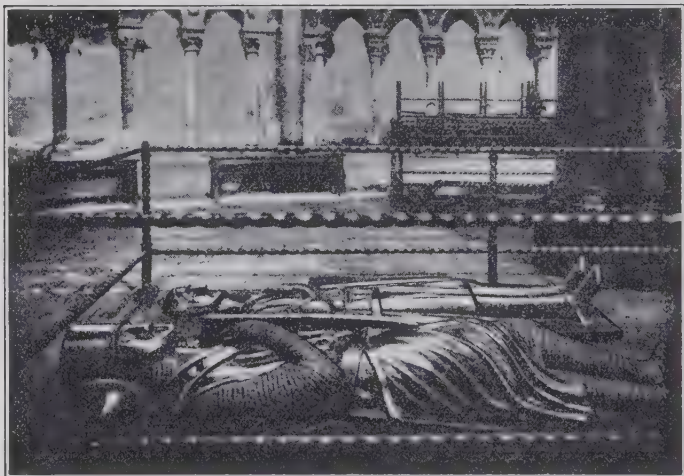
Finally, three years after the expedition entered Asia, it did capture the Holy City. In a last desperate attempt the crusaders swarmed over the walls on their scaling ladders, and for days killed mercilessly even unarmed men and women and babes — with intervals given to transports of religious ecstasy. To slay any Mohammedan seemed a pious deed to these pilgrims to the tomb of the gentle and forgiving Christ!

Of all those knights who had started on this First Crusade, only some twenty thousand saw the capture of Jerusalem. Many of these soon turned homeward, now that the purpose of the Crusade seemed accomplished, but there began to be a constant stream of newcomers from Europe to replace them.

New fighters were needed, too, if the Christians were to hold their conquests — for the Mohammedans quickly rallied to recover Palestine. Meanwhile, however, several Latin principalities were set up in Syria, with the "Kingdom of Jerusalem" for the chief one. Since the conquerors knew nothing about any kind of government except feudalism, each ruler divided up his new realm into fiefs for his most trusted followers — so that a complete feudal society soon bristled on the soil of Asia, to carry on the war of Cross against Crescent.

The core of the fighting force of the Syrian Latin states was finally found, however, not in this feudal organization, but in a new institution which tried to unite the two opposite ideals of the age. Three orders of fighting monks grew up. The "Knights of St. John" (or the *Hospitalers*) developed out of a religious society to care for the wounded. Soon the nurses became themselves warriors and knights. They took the monk's threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and added a fourth, binding themselves to perpetual warfare against the infidel. The *Templars* arose in like manner out of a society

to succor distressed pilgrims, the name coming from the fact that eight or nine knights who originally composed the organization dwelt in a house near Solomon's Temple. The *Teutonic Order* grew out of the hospitality of a German merchant toward his needy countrymen in Jerusalem.



**TOMB OF A CRUSADER AND HIS WIFE.**—The crossed knees of the male indicate a crusader. (Sometimes, when a knight had made two Crusades, the sculptor twisted the legs of the funeral effigy a second time.) This last resting place of an early *Duke of Essex* is in the famous *Temple Church* in London, built by the Knights Templars in 1185. At that time the church stood some way outside the city walls, but to-day it is surrounded by the roar of one of the busiest parts of the modern city. The idea of the circular form of the church, so unusual then in Western Europe, was probably brought by the Templars from the East. It was only a short time after the building of this structure that the Templars' order was expelled from England—the basis for a striking passage in Scott's *Ivanhoe*.

**The Crusades were a continuous movement.** From about 1100 to about 1300 there was constant fighting between Christian and Mohammedan in the East. Europe, which in the ninth century had been helpless against plundering heathen bands, had now grown strong enough to pour into Asia a ceaseless stream of mailed knights, with countless followers. At eight particular times there were especially important



movements of mighty armies into Asia, known as *the eight Crusades*.

**The most romantic was the Crusade known as the Third.** For nearly a hundred years after the First Crusade the Christians kept possession of Jerusalem; but during the last half of that time the Mohammedans had been slowly gaining ground. Then Saladin, an Arab prince, who had, for his lifetime, won Mohammedan leadership away from the Turks, suddenly recaptured the Holy City and reduced the Latin states to a mere strip of coast. This called Europe again to arms. Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip II of France, and Richard of England, the greatest sovereigns of Europe, joined in a mighty effort. But the accidental death of Barbarossa (page 485) and the jealousies between Philip and Richard (page 477) broke up the movement. Philip returned home to take advantage of Richard's absence by trying to oust him from his French fiefs. Richard did work mighty deeds of valor — so that Saracen mothers for centuries used his name to frighten naughty children — and he obtained from Saladin a treaty allowing Christian pilgrims to visit Jerusalem; but he could not recover that city.

Venice furnished the ships for a **Fourth Crusade** (1204), and managed to divert the movement into an attack upon her commercial rival Constantinople. For a time a "Latin Empire" replaced much of the old Greek Empire, and various petty fragments became Frankish principalities — like the brilliant "Duchy of Athens" (map facing page 549). It was the famous court of those *medieval* "Dukes of Athens" that Shakespeare had in mind in his quaint references to *ancient Athens*, as when, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, he refers to "Duke Theseus." About 1250, the Greek Empire at Constantinople was restored, but it never recovered its earlier vigor.

**The later Crusades were of little moment.** The Emperor Frederick II (page 487) did recover Jerusalem, by diplomacy, for a short time. But before 1300 the last territory of the Latins in Syria had fallen finally to the Turks, and thereafter



men who still wished to fight for the Cross went to aid the Christian princes in Spain against the Moors, or warred against the heathen on the northeast of Europe. The Teutonic Order took up the conquest and settlement of heathen Prussia (map after page 514). The Knights of St. John withdrew to Rhodes, and afterward to Malta, and in constant warfare, for two hundred years more, formed the outpost of Christendom against Moham-medanism.

**The Crusades ceased because they themselves had helped to create a new age.** The Europe of 1300 was a different world from the Europe of 1100. Trade had grown vastly, and society was no longer made up so exclusively of fighters. Men had begun to believe less in the saving value of pilgrimages to distant shrines, and they had learned to think more of their duties to the world about them.

Joinville (page 428), for instance, came of a family of famous crusaders. As a young man he himself accompanied Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade, and persisted in continuing it after all the other counselors of the king had advised return. But many years later, when Louis made a second expedition, Joinville stoutly refused to go at all. Louis urged him to join, — “Whereunto I replied that while I was serving God and the king beyond sea before, the officers of the king [Louis] had ruined myself and impoverished my people; and that if I wished now to please God I should remain here to defend my people; *for if I risked myself for the Cross, when I saw clearly that it would be for the damage of my people, I should bring down upon me the wrath of God.* . . . And I considered that those committed a deadly sin who advised him [the king] to that voyage.”

**The indirect results of the Crusades were vastly more important to Europe** than the recovery of Palestine could have been. New energies had been brought into play; new worlds of thought opened up. Men had gained acquaintance with new lands, new peoples, new manners, and new standards of conduct. Their minds were broadened when they found that even among the Arabs, as the letters of more than one amazed crusader testify,

men were brave, just, honorable, and religious. They had brought back some immediate gains in science, art, architecture, and medical knowledge, and, better, they had learned that there was more for Europe to learn and that even the despised infidel could teach them.

Early among these indirect results came a remarkable growth of shipping and of trade. In the Third Crusade the armies of Richard and Philip sailed from France to Palestine. The men of the First Crusade had not even thought of doing so — for in all Western Europe there were not then enough ships to carry them. But almost as soon as crusaders reached Syria, they began to need new supplies of armor and horses and European grain. Indeed, for the next two hundred years the Latin states in Syria were in the main military outposts, dependent largely on Europe for such supplies.

The Italians and the ports of southern France had always kept a few ships for a coasting trade, since old Roman times, and now they found it highly profitable to carry those needed supplies to crusaders in Palestine, to be paid for in gold plundered from the Saracens or by Oriental trade products. Each year, indeed, the profits tempted them to build more and better ships, and before the Third Crusade began, as we have just said, fleets were available to transport its armies.

It paid better, however, to carry trade; and there was more and more trade waiting to be carried. The very first crusaders to return from Asia had brought back many Eastern products new to their home lands — Oriental tapestries and rugs for the walls and floors of their cold gloomy castles; skilled metal work in silver and gold and steel, such as only the Saracens then could turn out; many strange drugs and dyes; and a liking for many new foods and plants (such as are named on page 492). Neighboring nobles and clergy, as they learned of these luxuries, wished them for themselves also. So enterprising Italian merchants sent little colonies of commercial agents to live in the Syrian towns held by the Christians, in order to gather together articles for which there would be profitable sale in Europe. Every little ship, accordingly, that brought to Palestine a band

of knights, or a load of European supplies for those already there, was sure of a prompt and profitable cargo for the return voyage. Venice and Genoa, aided especially by their favorable locations, monopolized a large part of this new trade, but soon every port of Western Europe felt its influence.



VENICE TO-DAY. — The building in the right-hand foreground is the famous Palace of the Doges ("Dukes") of Venice, built during the Middle Ages in a style partly Roman, partly Saracenic, partly Gothic (page 526), so that this structure has been called "the central building of the world." Beyond it are seen the dome and part of the rest of the Cathedral of St. Mark — which is shown more fully facing page 432.

Many of the imported articles came soon to seem necessities of life to all well-to-do people, and some of them began to be grown or manufactured in Europe itself. The growth of manufactures and the rise of trade built towns once more in Western Europe. Trade and manufacturing, too, made Europe ready to welcome quicker methods of reckoning — and so *Arabic numerals* swiftly replaced the clumsy Roman symbols for number. Money replaced barter, also; and then bankers began to appear, alongside the older Jew money-lenders, with an increase of lawyers and scribes for the needs of business. And all these new classes (merchants, craftsmen, ship-captains, bankers, profes-

sional men) contained a growing number of people able to pay for the new articles of trade — so that there was established a happy circle of prosperity.

**These various changes undermined feudalism.** The presence of money made it possible for a vassal to pay for the use of his lands in a more convenient way than by personal military service, and it enabled the kings to collect "taxes" (like the "scutage" mentioned on page 460) instead of depending on "feudal aids." With tax money in hand, kings could keep up standing armies of trained troops wholly independent of the feudal nobles — ready, indeed, to be used against them. Moreover, the Crusades had swept away the old feudal nobility directly. Hundreds of thousands of knights and barons squandered their lands to prepare for an expedition and then left their bones in Palestine. **So the ground was cleared for the rising city democracies and for the new monarchies.**

At first these two new forces were allies. The "third estate" wanted order, and the kings could help secure it. The kings wanted money, and the third estate could supply it. So kings and towns joined hands to keep down feudal forces. True, a new nobility did grow up with the honors and dignities of the old, but without much of its power.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Three contemporary accounts of one or more of the Crusades are printed in the *Chronicles of the Crusades*. Joinville's account in his *St. Louis* is especially excellent. Further source material will be found in Beard's *Readings*.

Modern accounts: Archer and Kingsford's *The Crusades* (probably the best account in English); Cox's *The Crusades*; Gray's *The Children's Crusade*; Gilman's *The Saracens*; Pears' *Fall of Constantinople*; Cutts' *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 157-194; Lane-Poole's *Saladin*; Perry's *St. Louis*. In fiction: Scott's *Talisman*.

EXERCISES. — 1. To your three parallel columns for the separate leading countries (page 489), it would be well now to add a fourth (for the period 1100-1300) in which to note the events that concerned Christendom as a whole. 2. Write a brief summary of the causes of the Crusades. 3. Make a table of the results of the Crusades — to be expanded as you study the following chapters. 4. Would the destruction of any modern city be as harmful to civilization as was the burning of the Alexandrian Library in the seventh century? Why, or why not?

CHAPTER XXXV

THE RISE OF TOWNS, 1100-1300

From 800 to 1100 A.D. the three figures in European life had been the tonsured priest, the mailed horseman, and the field laborer, stunted and bent. **In the twelfth century, alongside priest, noble, and peasant, there stood out a fourth figure — the sturdy, resolute, self-confident townsman, or burgher.** The Age of the Crusades was also the age of the rise of towns.

In Italy and southern France, some old Roman towns had lived along through even the Dark Ages, with shrunken population, subject to neighboring lords. Under the new commercial conditions after 1200 these districts became dotted once more with self-governing cities, whose institutions were molded, in part at least, upon those brought down from Roman times (page 314). Elsewhere the towns were mainly new growths — from peasant villages or military posts. Many of them were built where merchant caravans had to cross a stream, like the two that became famous university towns in England: *Oxford* (on the upper *Thames*) and *Cambridge* (on the river *Cam*).

Most towns were small. London and Bristol were the only places in England, until after the year 1500, with more than twelve thousand people. Few medieval cities had over three or four thousand inhabitants — though some German and Italian towns claimed as many as fifty thousand.

At first each inhabitant of a town remained *directly* dependent upon the feudal lord on whose domain the town was. **The first advance toward freedom was to change individual bargaining to collective bargaining.** The town demanded that its chosen officers be allowed to bargain with the lord regarding dues and services to be paid by the town as one whole, instead of leaving each helpless citizen to settle for himself at the lord's



mercy. In "two centuries of revolt," by stubborn heroism and wise use of their wealth, the towns won charters guaranteeing such privileges.

Sometimes even after a lord had sold a charter, he tried to ignore it or even to take it back by force. Then the townsmen, protected by their stone walls, would arm themselves and

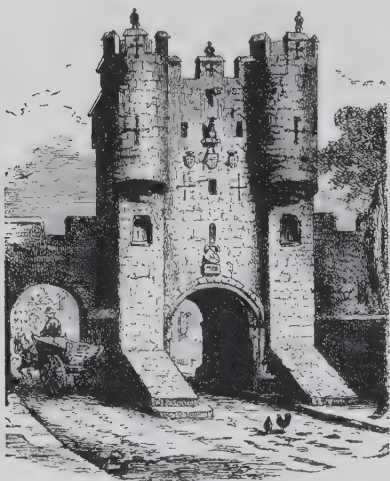


SIEGE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN BY A FEUDAL ARMY — whose tents and pavilions may be seen in the background on the left. Town officials, in the tower windows above the main gate, are listening to the summons to surrender, but the drawbridge is up and portcullis down. See other pictures of city walls in this chapter. This cut is based upon a German woodcut of the sixteenth century.

wage war with the lord. Many a city was sacked by victorious nobles. Many a humble hero swung in chains from the lord's gallows, dying a painful death rather than betray his fellow townsmen. Many a lord had a promise forced from him, only to break it again as soon as he felt strong enough. But when he wanted money very much — for a Crusade or for some other big undertaking — a noble was likely to sell charters easily. Then perhaps he and his sons would be killed in Palestine, and their power over the towns would die with them.

In one way or other, by the year 1300, the towns had won,

and each one was guarding precious charters in its iron-bound town chest. During the long struggle the townsmen came to feel a deep patriotic love for their town. There was not a great deal of patriotism for one's *country* in those days, — outside England, at least, and perhaps parts of France. Italians, for instance, had hardly begun to think of Italy *as a whole*. But the people who lived in Milan or Florence loved their *city* with a passionate devotion and were quite willing to give their lives for it.



MICHELGATE, YORK (England). — The walls of a medieval city were much like the castle walls described on page 414. At York one can still walk all the way around the "old city" on the battlements, although the modern city spreads far outside them.

When Richard of the Lion Heart was trying to beg or borrow or squeeze money from his subjects to prepare for his Crusade, the citizens of Norwich, a small English town, agreed to pay him about \$10,000, in order, they said, "to have the town in our own hands." The written charter that Richard sold for this price contained three main provisions: the townsmen were to have their own law courts and elect their own mayor, and no citizen

was to be called on for any tax, provided the town treasury made the king a small annual payment. Some other rights guaranteed townsmen in early town charters from feudal overlords were: (1) to have their own bake-oven, without paying dues to any lord for its use (page 413); (2) to sell property when they wished, without waiting for any lord's

consent or having to pay him any part of the price; (3) to move away, if they wished; and (4) not to have to go to war for any lord except to defend their own neighborhood against attack. Another common grant was that, if a runaway serf managed to hide in a town for "a year and a day," he should thereafter be a free citizen, "out of the lord's hand."

**Feudalism and the towns were foes by nature.** Feudalism had grown out of war, and lived to fight. The noble tried to confound the townsman with the serf, treated him always with haughty contempt, and usually robbed him when the chance offered. The new towns could fight stubbornly, when forced to fight, but they grew out of trade and lived for industry.

In England, noble and townsman were far less hostile than on the continent, but an event in England, as late as the time of Edward I (1300), shows this class war even there. The town of Boston was holding a great fair.<sup>1</sup> Citizens guarded its gates zealously against any hostile intruders, but an armed band of country gentlemen (of the "noble" class) got through in the disguise of play actors. When darkness fell, they began their horrible work of murder and plunder. They fired every booth, slaughtered the merchants, and hurried the booty to ships ready at the quay. The horror-stricken people of other towns told how streams of molten gold mingled with rivers of blood in the gutters.

True, King Edward, under whose license the fair had been promised protection, proved strong enough, and wisely firm enough, to hang the leaders of these "gentlemen." But in Germany, at the same period, like events followed one another in a horrible panorama, without attempt at punishment. From

<sup>1</sup> Large cities, at fixed times, held great fairs, lasting many days, for all the small places in the neighboring regions, — since the villages and small towns had either no shops or small ones with few goods. Merchants from all the kingdom — and, indeed, sometimes from all Europe — journeyed to such fairs with their goods, to reap a harvest from the country folk who crowded about their booths. (See the cut facing page 512.) The town took toll for these booths, and usually itself paid king or noble a license fee for security.

their castle crags the "robber knights" swooped down upon any unwary townsman who ventured too near, and even on armed caravans of traders on the highway, to rob and murder, or to carry off for ransom. Such unhappy captives were loaded with rusty chains that ate into the flesh, and were left in damp and filthy dungeons — so that to "rot a peasant" became a German byword. Yet it was the "peasant" townsman, not the knightly fighter, who was to make our modern world what it has become.

**Town life brought new wants, new comforts, new occupations.** The thatched hovel of the peasant, with dirt floor, gave way to stately burghers' homes of two or three stories, more like our houses of to-day than had been the case in any earlier age. Window glass came into common use — though the panes were still very small. Fireplaces added cheer. Rooms were well supplied with heavy, carved oak furniture, and were hung with fine tapestries. All houses, it is true, were built flush with the street (to save every possible foot of space), but some of the better ones had small, high-walled gardens at the rear, or, less commonly, at one side. And each town was certain to have at least one large open square for its markets and fairs. Here stood the town well, about which women gossiped as they drew water for their households. On one side of the square rose always the town hall, which often was a splendid structure even for our present day. On the opposite side towered the town's central church or cathedral.

**Still, the medieval European city fell far behind the ancient Roman city or the contemporary Greek or Arabian city.** There were no street lights, no city water (except the unsanitary and inconvenient town well), no paving, no sewers, no street cleaning. Garbage and dirt of all kinds were thrown out from the close-crowded houses into the streets, for wind and rain — and children — to play with. To avoid making the lofty stone walls of the town too long to guard properly, buildings had to be in a compact mass, with streets narrow and dark. To save still more space, the upper stories of a house often jutted out

farther in front than the lower story — until a narrow street seemed almost roofed over. Even the largest towns sometimes let pigs run loose in the streets and allowed pig-sties to be built out into them. Little wonder that a certain German emperor, welcomed joyously to a loyal city just after a heavy rain, was almost swallowed, horse and rider, in bottomless filth. No wonder that dreadful plagues, at frequent intervals, carried off thousands of people.

The citizen, too, however safe from feudal tyranny, lived in bondage to countless minute and annoying regulations. When the great bell in the town-belfry or watchtower rang "curfew" in the early evening, he had to "cover fires" and put out lights — a necessary precaution against conflagrations with such crowded houses and narrow streets, especially in the absence of fire companies or police control. His clothing, and his wife's, must be no richer than was prescribed for his particular station in life. He must serve his turn as "watch" on the belfry tower or on the walls (against outside attack) and in the streets against criminal and lawless men within. And even so, this last protection was so imperfect that no well-to-do citizen stirred from his house after nightfall without his armor and a guard of his own stout apprentice lads carrying torches and swords. At home, in early evening, he must barricade his doors and see that the iron window-shutters were in place. And in his daily work he must buy and sell and labor only according to the minute rules of his guild.

All workers in a town, except the *unskilled* laborers, were grouped in guilds, as in old Roman times. If one could wake up some morning to find himself back in a medieval town, and should ask in what part of the city he was, he might be answered, "the street of the Armorers," or "the street of the Butchers." To-day in London one may walk through a "Milk Street" and a "Bread Street"; and though now the buildings on either side are massive business structures, seven hundred years ago, we may feel sure, their places were filled only by small shops of dealers in bread and in milk. In that old day, all workers in



one trade *had* to belong to the same gild to join in arranging matters in which they were all concerned. For the goldsmiths of a town to do this the better, it was desirable for them to live and work close together. Each town had its merchant gild and many "craft gilds," or "trade gilds." ("Merchant"



COOPERS at work in an open courtyard. From a German woodcut of the early sixteenth century. Making barrels, tubs, and hogsheads became an important medieval industry. What had the ancients used in the place of such receptacles?

meant not "store-keeper" but a man who traded on a large scale *outside*, with other towns or other lands.) A craft gild was a union of artisans: one union of weavers, another of shoemakers, others of glovers, bow-makers, drapers, tanners, carpenters. York, an English city of two or three thousand people, had fifty such gilds. Cologne had eighty.

The gild did *not* aim to regulate the relations between workmen and employers, as a modern "trade union" does. All employers then were also workmen. The gild was a brotherhood of workmen and

employers in a given trade. It fixed the price at which its wares should be sold: no member could take advantage of a customer by asking more, nor compete with a "brother" by selling for less, or at time or place not appointed by the gild rule. (The only way he could draw trade from his "brothers" was by gaining a reputation for doing the best work.) To prevent one member from taking advantage of the others by monopolizing the materials needed for their work, it was ruled that each "brother" had a right to share in any purchase by another "brother." To protect the public, and to



WALLS OF ONE OF THE EARLIEST FRENCH TOWNS TO WIN A LIBERAL CHARTER  
(*Aigues Mortes*, 1246). — From a recent photo.



A MEDIEVAL FAIR — as reconstructed by Parmentier.



GOLDEN AGE OF CRAFTSMEN. — This picture is a reproduction in *The Survey* (XLIX, 572) of a woodcut in a Dutch "block book" of 1470. (The new invention of movable type had been made just a few years before, but an older and clumsier way of printing books had not wholly gone out of use. See page 566 f.) You can readily make out a goldsmith, painter, wood carver, organ maker, book decorator, clock maker (some of these with apprentices at work with them), besides the two who are employing a rest period in eating.

keep up pride in their own work, the gild punished severely all adulteration of goods (like the mixing of poor wool with good) and the giving of short weight. And to make its rules work, it was allowed by the city, or by its charter from the king, to fine or imprison or otherwise deal with its members.

The gild was also a fraternal insurance society. Moreover, it had social features, and indeed it often originated as a club for men engaged in the same trade. Throughout the Middle Ages the gild feasts were the chief events in the lives of gild members.

Each craft gild contained three classes of workers — masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The master owned a shop, — probably part of the house where his family lived, — and employed one or more journeymen. When not busy with customers, the master himself worked with his tools, alongside his journeymen, in making goods to sell, and he was expected to do a better job than any one else in the shop. To each journeyman there would be at least one boy, to run errands and do odd jobs — and meanwhile to be learning the “mystery” of the trade. (The ways of the trade were kept a deep secret from all but the gild members.)

The boys were apprentices. They were “bound out” by their parents to the “master” for several years, — ten, perhaps. They received no wages, except a suit of plain clothes each year, but they were fed and lodged in the master’s house, in the rooms above the shop, and were treated almost like members of his family.

When the term of an apprentice was up, he was examined by the older men of the gild, and if he did his work well, he “graduated” into the class of journeymen with a “diploma” certifying that he was now fit to practice the “mystery” of his trade anywhere.

For the next few years this new gild member did usually journey from town to town, and perhaps even from country to country, working for a few months or years under the most skillful masters he could find in different cities. (After 1300,



you see, with the growth of trade and of towns and gilds, travel had begun again and all sorts of people were on the move, — not merely pilgrims and soldiers, as two hundred years before.)

Then at last, if the journeyman was ambitious, and if he had saved his earnings, he might become a "master." But first he had to let the gild masters in his town examine his "master-piece," to see whether he was fit to teach others his trade. If they approved his work, *and if they decided also that there was business enough in the town for another shop*, he could open one of his own, with journeymen and apprentices to work for him.

**The townsmen** — from rich merchant down through the class of skilled artisans — **became**, in the government of many countries, a "third estate," as we have seen. **We must not think of them yet as "the people,"** though they did come nearer being that than did either estate above them. Really, they were only one more "class" risen from an unreckoned "mass." They looked down upon the unskilled and unorganized workmen of their own towns, and of course upon the farm peasants, with contempt as bigoted and cruel as that felt for themselves by the nobles above them.

**Moreover, these organized townsmen were really**, as concerned themselves, *two estates*. In many a town the aristocratic merchant gild and the more democratic craft gilds not merely were jealous of each other, but actually struggled with each other in ferocious civil wars for control of the city government.<sup>1</sup> In 1302 at Magdeburg, in Germany, the democratic party, gaining the upper hand for a moment, burned ten aristocratic aldermen at the stake at one time. Slow indeed has been the progress from narrow brotherhoods of clan or class or place toward a wider and truer brotherhood of man.

**For a time it looked as though all Europe might come to be dominated by leagues of "free cities,"** like ancient Greece.

<sup>1</sup> In many towns the "aldermen," or town council, came to be chosen by the town's gilds. A gild hall then became the town hall, as in London.



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# **DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT. (About 1400.)**

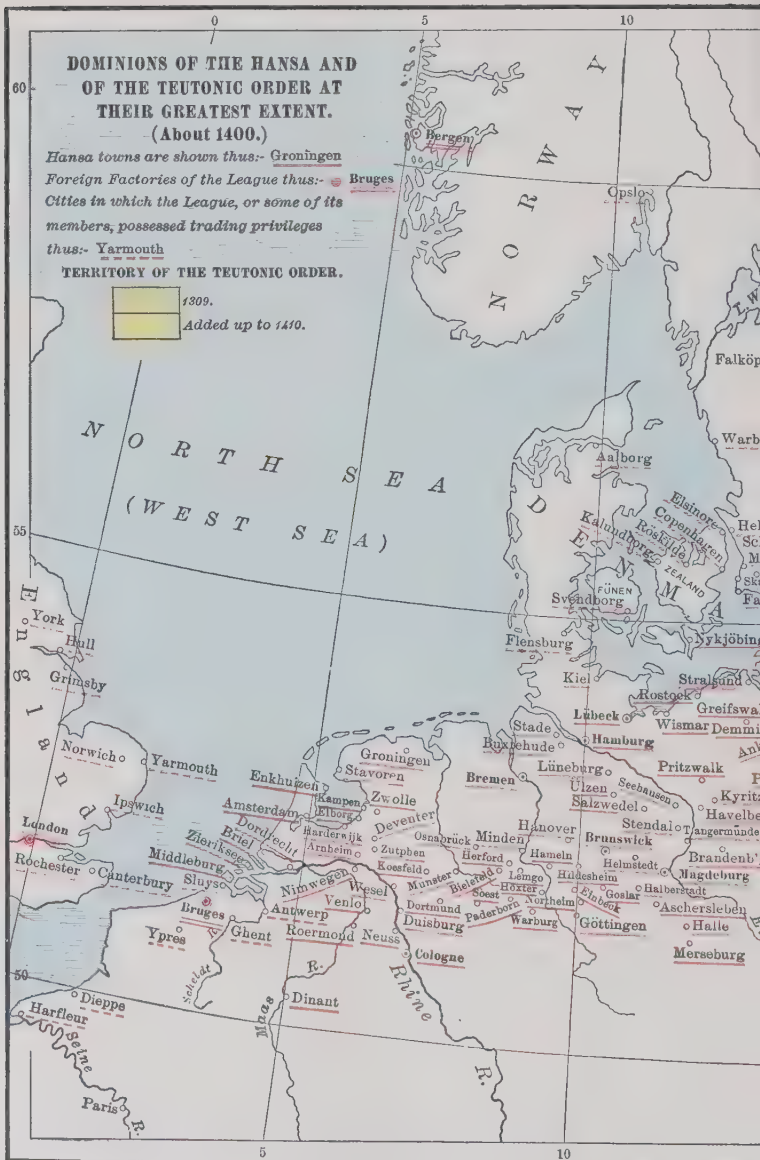
*Hansa towns are shown thus:—* Groningen

*Foreign Factories of the League thus:—* Bruges

*Cities in which the League, or some of its  
members, possessed trading privileges*

*thus:—* Yarmouth

**TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.**







*The Hanseatic League* comprised eighty cities of North Germany. Originally it had grown up to protect trade against pirates and robbers, but in the fourteenth century it had become one of the Great Powers of Europe, making treaties and waging successful wars with the mightiest kings. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship on the northern seas, and over Hansa colonies, or "factories," in every important foreign trading city from London to Novgorod (map after page 514). The League owned fisheries and mines; and in its ports and its foreign posts there met, for exchange, furs and hides from Russia, grain from Poland, amber from the Baltic coasts, metals of Saxony, wines from the Rhine vineyards, wool and tin of England, cloths of Holland, and more distant products from East and South.

**A Hansa "factory" was a city within a city.** It had its own walls and garrison and government, independent of those of the rest of the town within which it lay. In London this Hansa settlement was known as the *Steelyard*, and the coin ("pound") of those "Easterlings" (from the "East Sea"—the Baltic) became the "pound sterling" in English currency. Our word "sterling" to-day testifies to the trustworthy character of Hanseatic wares and trade.

**Similar unions of "free cities" appeared in other lands**—such as the Lombard League which defeated Barbarossa (page 485). The romantic stories of several of these leagues would be pleasant telling, but our space will not let us dwell longer on what was to prove after all **only a passing phase of medieval life.** In Italy, by 1350, nearly every city (except Venice and Genoa) had fallen under the rule of some tyrant. In France, and a little later in the reviving Christian kingdoms in Spain, they came under the despotic rule of the monarchs. In Germany many of them kept their political independence as "free cities"; but they were not strong enough to establish order outside their own walls, and so they suffered always from the general political anarchy about them (page 488). In England



the towns never secured the extreme independence which they possessed for a time in nearly every other land.<sup>1</sup>

The failure of the cities to become the dominant organizing force in Europe was, no doubt, fortunate. Medieval cities could not *by themselves* have created a *lasting* basis for order and liberty, any more than the city-states of ancient Greece had been able to do so. It was well that, first in England and then in other lands, they became instead merely one element of a more comprehensive *national* life.

So far, in treating of the towns, we have noticed only the fairly well-to-do classes. **But in nearly every town**, below the skilled artisans of the gilds, **was a sediment of unskilled labor**. In the larger places this class was likely to sink into a "dense slough of misery, squalor, and dull despair," fit to breed both disease and crime. At first the church had seemed unable to grapple with the needs of these unfortunate masses, either spiritual or physical. Neither parish priest nor secluded monk was fitted to look after their welfare. **But early in the thirteenth century there appeared two new orders of religious workers** — the Franciscan and Dominican brotherhoods.

*The Franciscans* (1209) took their name from their founder, *Francis of Assisi*, known later as *Saint Francis*. He was moved by a passionate pity for the ignorant, dying, despairing dregs of the population in the medieval Italian towns about him. A little group of eleven youths caught the inspiration of his lofty enthusiasm and self-renunciation. Francis walked to Rome and secured sanction for his plans from Innocent III, and the little band of "brothers" (*friars*) began their mission.

They went forth, two and two, to the poor and the outcasts,

<sup>1</sup> Even in England, town courts punished offenses by ducking in the pond, by fines, imprisonment, flogging, or even by clipping off hand or foot or ears or head, or by hanging in chains on the town gallows at the city gate. English towns, however, did *not* fix their own weights and measures or coin money, or raise *mercenary* armies for their own private wars, as towns did on the continent. And before 1500 they had begun to lose to the growing national government the most extensive of the powers just mentioned.

living from day to day in the midst of noisome wretchedness, to act as healers and preachers. They nursed lepers, ministered to the poor, and, with short, homely, fervent speech, preached to all the love of Christ and the call to turn from sin. They gave themselves utterly to serve their suffering fellows. Money they would not touch. Literally, they were barefooted beggars, with one garment, living from day to day upon chance alms.

*The Dominicans* (1215) grew out of the zeal of *St. Dominic* to convert the Albigenses (page 478) from their heresy. Dominic was a powerful and fiery preacher, learned in all the theology of the age. Thus, while the Franciscans in origin were missionaries to lighten the sufferings of the poor, the Dominicans were preachers to the more intellectual classes. The Franciscans (Gray Friars) were the gentler, the Dominicans (Black Friars) the sterner, in character.

The "begging friars" spread swiftly over all Europe. In 1221, only six years after the founding of the order, Dominicans reached England. The friars were not merely monks. The monk lived in a quiet cloister, and his first care was for his own soul. The friar went wherever he could find most suffering and sin, to save the souls and heal the bodies of others. He was a *missionary monk*.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*, 57-95; Green's *English People*, I, 206-225; Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, 1-52. There is also an excellent chapter in Van Loon's *Story of Mankind*. Hewes' *Swords on the Sea* is a splendid story of trade rivalry between Genoa and Venice. All readers will delight in Gibson's *Goldsmith of Florence* and the first episode in Komroff's *Coronet*.

EXERCISE. — We spoke, on page 510, of *drawing* water at the town well: What sort of well do you picture in your mind's eye? a faucet to be turned? or a pump? or a bucket to be let down by a rope and hauled up?

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### LEARNING AND ART IN THE FEUDAL AGE

The "Dark Ages" saw a brief gleam of promise in the time of Charlemagne, and some remarkable Irish and English schools flourished in Alfred's day. But these were points of light in a vast gloom. On the whole, for six hundred years, **the only schools were those connected with monasteries or cathedrals**, — most of them unspeakably poor, and attempting only to fit for the duties of the clergy.

The best cathedral schools *claimed* to teach the "seven liberal arts" of the ancient education (page 321). They did teach students to talk a barbarous sort of Latin, and gave some practice in *writing it* and in *reasoning*. This instruction was a shrunken survival of the Roman *trivium* — language, rhetoric, and logic. Even slimmer was the pretense to teach the Roman *quadrivium* of sciences. As Dr. Munro has summed it up in his *Middle Ages*, — "In *arithmetic* the students were taught to keep simple accounts; in *music*, what was necessary for the church services; in *geometry*, a few of the simplest problems; in *astronomy*, enough to calculate the date of Easter." There was *no study of nature*, and there were almost no textbooks. There was no inquiry and no criticism or discussion. The teacher dictated (in Latin) dry summaries, word by word. Students wrote these down and committed them to memory.

About 1100, Europe began to stir from this intellectual torpor. *Some of the new towns set up trade schools*, to fit for everyday life, and in these the instruction was given in the language of the people instead of in Latin. In the *church schools*, too, the teachers began to draw some real scholarship from Arabian universities and from the Greek learning that still lingered at Constantinople. Here and there teachers ventured to add

lectures on theology, medicine, law. Then suddenly the Cathedral School of Notre Dame in Paris began to grow into the first medieval university when *Peter Abelard* taught there, about 1115.

Abelard was from a noble family in Brittany, but he chose the life of a churchman rather than that of a knight. He was an attractive youth, with a brilliant and restless mind and with the gift of simple and graceful speech. He came to the Paris school as a student; but his teachers soon declared him their master in learning and in eloquence, and at twenty-two he began to lecture to eager crowds on theology and philosophy and the principles of right living. A cruel disappointment in love, and the jealous hatred of rival teachers, drove him from Paris. Thousands of students followed him, however, from place to place; and when he sought solitude for a time, as a hermit, they covered the desert about him with their reed huts, and heaped their offerings before his retreat.

Such an experience proved that Europe was hungry for knowledge, if only it knew where to seek for it. The impulse Abelard had given to the school at Paris was not lost. Other teachers flocked thither, to satisfy the remaining students whom his fame had drawn together; and soon a new body of teachers in theology and philosophy, as well as in the seven "arts," grew up about the cathedral school, *but wholly separate from it*. Before 1150, several hundred "masters" were offering instruction in the "Latin Quarter" of Paris. At first each taught students who came to him in his *own dwelling*, collecting his fees from them as best he could; but about 1150, the masters organized, so as to confer degrees and to establish common rules. This marks the beginning of a definite "University of Paris," with a recognized "faculty." Before long, the university began to have buildings and lecture halls, but for a while the students gathered eagerly around their teachers on the banks of the Seine, kneeling in the dust or mud so as to hold their writing tablets on one knee. During that time King Philip Augustus (page 477) did them the favor of ordering that when the straw that carpeted his palace floors was changed (once a week, pos-

sibly) the old straw should be sent across the river and spread out where the "university" met.

The students ranged from boys of fourteen to gray-bearded men, and came from all parts of Europe. Those from the same country grouped themselves together for mutual protection and companionship; and each such group became known as a "nation." (A "nation," however, sometimes included students from several adjoining countries, — like the "English nation," which contained men from all the north of Europe.) The government of the university was in the hands of the faculty, but there was some self-government by the students. The nations elected "deans" and "proctors" to look after discipline. The university was a "Republic of Letters."

When the teachers organized, they copied the form of the gilds (page 513). The professors, or "doctors," were "masters." They licensed the more advanced students, after the completion of the course in "arts," as "bachelors in arts," authorized to teach the younger students in those courses from which they themselves had graduated. These bachelors corresponded to the journeymen of the trade gilds, while the more elementary students corresponded to apprentices. The forms of public examination, and of graduation from one of these three stages to another, were copied, too, from gild customs.

A university always had a course in "arts," based on the old *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and the majority of students went no further than this. But graduates of this course were offered one or more professional courses, — law, medicine, or theology. Paris, we have seen, specialized in theology (which included philosophy). The *University of Salerno*, in southern Italy, grew out of a monastery school, a little after 1100, when Constantine the African<sup>1</sup> gave new importance there to the study of medicine. Soon the school received a charter from Robert Guiscard (page 485). About the same time, the *University of Bologna* became known as "the Mother of Laws," because a

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<sup>1</sup> This Constantine was a Greek scholar who had studied in Arabian universities.



famous teacher of Roman law there used for a textbook a rediscovered copy of the Justinian code (page 373). Thus it has been said that the needs of the body gave rise to Salerno, the needs of men in society created Bologna, and the eternal needs of the soul originated Paris.

All these early universities had *grown up out of voluntary associations of students and teachers*. By custom, they established certain rights and privileges for themselves, and *afterward* they got these rights confirmed by charters from some king. The next great step was taken in 1224, when the Hohenstaufen Frederick II, King of Sicily, *created* by charter the University of Naples, *to combine all branches of instruction*, "in order that those who hunger for knowledge may find *within the kingdom* the food for which they yearn, and not be forced to go into exile to beg the bread of learning in strange lands." **This University of Naples was distinctly a "state university."** The government appointed the professors, endowed chairs, and issued degrees in the different professions.

**Before 1400, some fifty universities dotted Western Europe.** Some single institutions claimed to have twelve thousand or even twenty thousand students. For a long time, a university had little in the way of buildings. It could move easily; and, by threats of doing so, it often compelled its town to put up with much student turbulence. Sometimes one did move, or part of one. A secession from Paris to Oxford in England first made that place a real university town.

**When the university did not move, the individual students very commonly did.** All life — except that of the agricultural village — was *fluid* in the *late* Middle Ages. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen, were always on the move, but the poor scholar begging his bread on his travels was the typical wanderer of them all. Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Bologna, to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher — and to see the world by the way; and often they traveled in considerable bands, with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder. The fact that

Latin was the language of all universities encouraged this freedom of movement. The first public stagecoaches grew up to meet the needs of this student travel.

Thus, before 1300, another figure had come into European life: *alongside peasant, knight, priest, townsman*, there moved now in cap and gown *the lay student or learned "doctor,"* the forerunner of the modern "professional man."

The universities, unhappily, did not make good their promise. Abelard had been a fearless seeker after truth. Alone among the scholars of his age, he dared to call "reason" the test of truth, even in the matter of church doctrines. But the church condemned this heresy, and forced the rising universities to abandon "reason" for "authority." This stifled all inquiry. When the intellectual rebirth of Europe finally came, after 1300, it came from outside university walls.

*deduction* — **The kind of arguing used in the medieval universities is called scholasticism.** It was like the reasoning we use in geometry, — *deducing* a truth from given premises or from axioms. This method ignores observation and experiment and investigation, and has no value, by itself, except in mathematics. It has never discovered a truth in nature or in man. The men of the universities (*Schoolmen*) did not use it in mathematics. They tried to use it by turning it upon their own minds, and their arguments were mainly quibbles upon verbal distinctions. Much time they spent in playing with such questions as "If a spirit has no body, how many of them can dance at one time on the point of a needle?" Some centuries later, about the year 1600, Francis Bacon (an English thinker) referred to this "degenerate learning" that "did reign among the Schoolmen. . . ." "For if the wit of men . . . work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless and bringeth forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

The last of the famous Schoolmen was *Duns the Scot*, who died in 1308. In that day there was no higher praise for a

young scholar than to call him "a Duns." Some centuries later, when a true scientific method had come in, that term became our *dunce*.

No doubt there were many men, whose names we have never heard, who were trying through those weary centuries really to study into the secrets of nature in a scientific way, by experiment. **The greatest man of this kind before 1300 was Roger Bacon**, an English Franciscan (not to be confused with his



GATE OF ST. GEORGE, ANTWERP, as pictured in a Dutch woodcut of about 1550; reproduced in E. S. Bates' *Touring in 1600*, published by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, who kindly permit the use of the picture here. Note the skating and the "covered wagon."

later countryman, *Francis* Bacon, named just above). While Duns Scotus was admired and courted by all the world, Roger Bacon was living in loneliness and poverty, noticed only to be persecuted or reviled. He spent his life in pointing out the lacks of the Schoolmen's method and in trying to teach true scientific principles.

Bacon's favorite home and place for study was a small round tower that stood, until just a few years ago, on a bridge across the River Thames at Oxford. But for fourteen precious years

he was shut up in dungeons, because the government thought his teachings dangerous, and at many other times his work had to stop for months or years because he could not find, or could not afford to buy, some necessary book.

Bacon experimented much with an *explosive powder*. The Chinese had used something of that kind for centuries in their "fire-crackers," and it is thought that Bacon's interest was aroused by learning of this. At all events he found that "if a man wish to make a big flash and a loud noise, he can do so by mixing together saltpeter and charcoal and sulphur, and then touching fire to it." Bacon experimented also with *steam*. In time to come, he prophesied, wagons and ships would move "with unbelievable speed" without help from horses or sails. He felt sure, too, that men would learn to fly. It is believed that he used lenses as a telescope, and certainly he wrote upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west from England (page 570). His *Great Work* was a cyclopedia of the knowledge of his time on geography, mathematics, music, and physics. In his reading he had learned how Chinese sailors used the magnetic compass at sea, when out of sight of land, to show direction. In 1258 Brunetto the Latin, once tutor to Dante (page 489), visited Bacon at Oxford and wrote back to a friend in Italy:

Among other things he showed me a black, ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising quality of drawing iron to it; and if a needle be rubbed upon it and afterward fastened to a straw, so that it will swim upon water, it will instantly turn to the pole star. . . . Therefore, be the night never so dark, neither moon nor stars visible, yet shall the sailor by help of this needle be able to steer his vessel aright. *This discovery, so useful to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master mariner dare use it, lest he fall under imputation of being a magician; nor would sailors put to sea with one who carried an instrument so evidently constructed by the devil.* A time may come when these prejudices, such hindrances to researches into the secrets of nature, will be overcome; and then mankind will reap benefits from the labor of such men as Friar Bacon, who now meet only with obloquy and reproach.

In the early Middle Ages it had been a dangerous thing to know much. A little science had found its way into



Europe from the universities of the Saracens in Spain, and here and there some lonely scholar had tried to experiment with chemicals and medical drugs — as Bacon did. But men of that kind who lived before 1300 were likely to be stoned on the streets by boys or even put to death as wizards by the courts. Ignorant people said that such a man practiced “Black Art.” How could he know so much more than the rest of us, they reasoned, unless he had paid the Devil to teach him? And if a serious and fatal explosion happened in his laboratory, then the neighbors were sure they had seen the Devil come for his soul, with thunder and lightning, leaving the smell of brimstone behind him. Bacon died a little before 1300, while such superstitions still hindered investigation and study, and he left no immediate disciples; His writings, however, were to inspire scholars of a later age — and to play a part in starting Columbus on the voyage that discovered America.

Latin was not only the language of all learning (it had to be, if a scholar wished scholars of other lands to read his works): it was also, until about 1200, the sole language of any kind of literature (except for the songs of wandering minstrels). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, in various lands, *popular poetry of a high order began to appear in the language of everyday speech*: the *Song of the Cid* in Spanish; the love songs of the troubadours in French and of the minnesingers in German; similar songs of Frederick II (page 487) and the *Divine Comedy* of Dante in Italian; and, toward 1400, the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer in New English, with Wyclif’s translation of the Bible (page 531) into the same tongue.

Classical<sup>1</sup> art was lost, through the Dark Ages, as completely as classical learning. *Medieval painting* existed only in rude altar pieces, representing stiff saints and Madonnas, and even the flowing draperies could not hide the artist’s ignorance of how to draw the human body. On a minute scale, to be sure,

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<sup>1</sup> The word “classical” is used in this way to indicate anything pertaining to ancient Greek or Roman times.



there was some better work. Monks "illuminated" missals with tiny brushes in brilliant colors, and sometimes with beauty and delicacy. (See page 555 and frontispiece.)

The greatest advance made during the Middle Ages was in architecture. Until after 1100 that art used the *Romanesque* style, based upon old Roman remains, and characterized by the *round arch*. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the



FLYING BUTTRESSES, NORWICH CATHEDRAL.  
— Notice also the sculptured figure just under the arch of the buttress — where it cannot be seen from the ground.

Romanesque gave way to a new French style, called *Gothic*, and architecture, especially in churches and cathedrals, reached one of its most glorious periods.

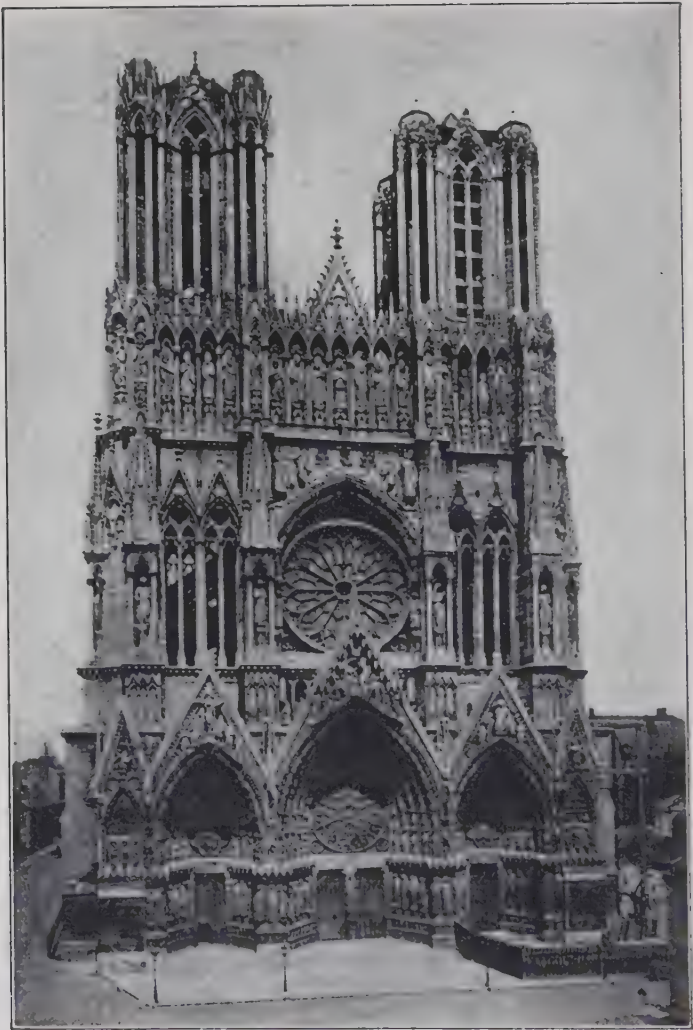
At bottom, the change lay in a better way of carrying the weight of the huge stone roof. The early architects had done this by massive walls; but they dared not weaken these by cutting out large windows, and the buildings

were dark and gloomy. The architect of the twelfth century was a better engineer, and he invented two new devices to carry the roof. (1) *He gathered its weight at certain points* — by using *converging arches* — instead of leaving it, as before, distributed equally along the whole length of the wall. And he rested these arches, at the points of convergence, on *groups of mighty pillars*. (2) To help these pillars bear the *immense burden*, he added *arched props* (flying buttresses) *against the outside of the wall* at the critical points. These met the *side thrust* of the roof's weight, and left only the direct vertical burden for the pillars.

As a consequence of these changes in engineering, Gothic architecture changed the old round arch into a lighter, more varied, and more graceful *pointed arch*. It used the old Greek *columns* with greater freedom and variety, — since the columns



AMIENS CATHEDRAL — the nave, looking toward the altar. The side aisles are just beyond the pillars and arches shown here. (Cf. Plan of a Basilica, page 351.) The lofty vaulted roof was wholly of stone — without the steel reinforcement that would be used to-day. The chairs are, of course, a modern addition. In the days when the cathedrals were built people stood or knelt for the service.



CATHEDRAL OF REIMS, with its famous rose window, as it was before the World War. The original building was finished in the thirteenth century, but additions have been made and parts rebuilt at various times since then. It was severely damaged by the German bombardment of the town in 1914, but since the war it has been restored.

now did the work of walls to so great a degree. Rounded roofs gave way to *loftier and curiously vaulted ceilings*, where the ribs of converging arches intersected one another in ingenious ways. The *tower* replaced the Roman dome; and heaven-pointing *spires* were added, borrowed perhaps from the Saracens. The weight of the roof was so well cared for that it was safe now to pierce the walls with row on row and group after group of *tall windows*, giving the building an effect of lightness and complexity. New chances for ornament, too, were found in the *tracery* (openings in the stonework about doors and windows to reduce the weight), in the *moldings* of the many window frames, and in the use of *stained glass* — since there could now be windows enough to admit the necessary light even through darkened glass. Externally, the *flying buttresses* themselves were made into a strikingly beautiful architectural feature; and the niches about the portals were filled with *countless sculptured forms of saints*. A close inspection shows these rough cathedral sculptures to be vastly inferior to the marble-sculptured forms of athletes in which ancient art had delighted, and the medieval workman carved only in limestone or sandstone. Still, he made up for his lack of skill and for his poorer material by expressing a greater range of feeling and more of human life. Especially did he give full play to a rude humor — as when perhaps he carved a monkey on a monk's back, clinging to his ears, or when he formed the grotesque gargoyles through which the gutters of cathedral roofs discharged rain water.

The total result was a *new* architecture. A Gothic cathedral is one of the world's treasures. Such buildings were the finest expression of the life of their time. They were "religious aspirations in stone."

EXERCISES. — What traces of Gothic architecture has your town? Read Kelly's *Trumpeter of Krakow*, — a good story of a medieval scholar. Compare the education of a boy and young man in the Europe of 1200 with that of an ancient Athenian and with a European's in 1000 A.D.



PART VI

FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE  
REFORMATION

CHAPTER XXXVII

ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1300-1520

We left the story of England with the great Edward who had had the wisdom to adopt and perfect the Parliament of the glorious rebel Simon. His son, Edward II, was a weak king who left the government to vicious favorites — until, in 1327, Parliament made use of its growing strength to depose him. Then Edward III began the Hundred Years' War with France (1338-1453).

On the surface, the war was a struggle between kings for prestige and territory, but at bottom it was a struggle for advantages in trade. Every country in that day shackled foreign merchants with absurd restrictions and ruinous tariffs. English merchants wanted to sell their wool freely in Flemish towns and to buy Bordeaux wines freely in the south of France, and the easiest way to get access to those French markets seemed to be to conquer France.

The war was waged on French soil. The English won brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, ravaging peasant crops and burning peasant homes in the usual fashion of "chivalrous" warfare, and bringing home much plunder. "No woman," boasts an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, featherbeds, and utensils, from French cities." Victorious warriors, too, brought home many broad gold pieces paid as ransom by captured French nobles. The whole century of meaningless slaughter had just one gleam of promise for the future



world. That came from *the battle of Crécy in 1346*. — An English army was trapped by five times its number. But the English yeomen — men of the six-foot bow and yard-long shaft feathered from gray-goose wing — coolly faced the ponderous mass of French knights, repulsed charge after charge of that gallant



BATTLE OF CRÉCY. — From a 14th-century manuscript. Gunpowder was used in this battle (see page 566), but in so unimportant a way that this picture leaves it out altogether.

chivalry, and won back for the world the long-lost equality of the footman with the feudal horseman in war. (See page 471.)

For a time soon after Crécy, the war languished because pestilence was slaying men faster than steel could. **The Black Death**, most famous of famous plagues, had been devastating the continent for years, moving west from Asia. At least a third of the population of Europe was carried off by it. Soldiers

home from campaigns in France brought it to England, where, almost at a blow, it swept away half of the nation.

This loss fell most heavily, of course, upon the working classes, but it helped those left alive to rise out of serfdom, — a movement already well under way there. The lack of labor doubled wages, too, and so brought in a higher standard of living.



HALL OF A LARGE MANOR HOUSE. — From an English manuscript of the fifteenth century.

True, **Parliament tried**, in the interest of the landlords, to keep down the laborers by foolish and tyrannical laws, — forbidding them to leave the parish where they lived or to take more wages than had been customary in the past, and ordering them under cruel penalties to serve any one who offered them the old wage. But when a landlord was anxious to harvest a standing crop, he did not dare try to take advantage of such laws. Instead, to keep his serfs from running away to other landlords, he made more and more favorable terms with them, and *gradually allowed them to exchange all their personal services for a fixed rent in money.*

In the latter part of Edward's long reign, however, the peasants were stirred by bitter discontent. The change from serfdom to freedom had begun even before the Black Death. That event hastened it; but still it was spread over a century. This seems swift, to a student ages later; but to the suffering laborers of that century — father, son, grandson, great-grandson —

it was terribly slow. Each gain made them doubly impatient with the burdens that remained. They felt, too, many cases of bitter hardship and tyranny, — where a lord, by legal trickery or by downright violence, forced half-freed villeins back again to serfdom.

**Another set of causes added to this smoldering discontent.**

The huge wealth of the church and the worldliness of the great churchmen were becoming a common scandal. Even the gentle Chaucer (page 456), court poet though he was, wrote in keen raillery of these faults. More serious and less happy men could not dismiss them with a jest. The priest, *John Wyclif*, a famous lecturer at the University of Oxford,



JOHN WYCLIF.

preached vigorously against such abuses and finally attacked some central teachings of the church. He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation (page 438) and insisted that even ignorant men might know the will of God, through the Bible, without priestly intervention. Accordingly, with his companions, he made the first complete translation of the Bible into English, and his disciples wrote out many copies (printing was still a century in the future) to distribute throughout the land.

These disciples called themselves "poor preachers." Their enemies called them *Lollards* (babblers). Some of them exaggerated their master's teachings against wealth and called for the abolition of all rank and property. *John Ball*, one of these "mad preachers," attacked the privileges of the gentry in rude rimes that rang through England from shore to shore, —

"When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?"

"This priest," says Froissart, a contemporary chronicler, "used often-times to go and preach when the people in the villages were coming out from mass; and he would make them gather about him, and would say thus: 'Good people, things go not well in England, nor will, till everything be in common and there no more be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve, . . . but they are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs, while we shiver in rags; they have wine, and spices, and fair bread; and we, oat cake and straw, and water to drink; they dwell in fine houses, and we have the pain and travail, the rain and the wind in the fields. From our labor they keep their state. Yet we are their bondmen; and unless we serve them readily, we are beaten.' And so the people would murmur one with the other in the fields, and in the ways as they met together, affirming that John Ball spoke truth."

In 1377 Edward's grandson, **Richard II**, came to the throne as a mere boy; and, while the government was in confusion, and England in this seething discontent, Parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing unfairly upon the poor. This match set the realm ablaze — in the *Peasant Rising of 1381*. With amazing suddenness from all sides, the peasants, rudely armed, marched upon London; and in a few days king and kingdom were in their hands.

The special demand of the peasantry was that all labor-rents should be changed into fixed money rents. They sacked some castles and manor houses, destroying the "manor rolls," the written evidence of *services* due on the estate; and they put to death a few nobles and their lawyer tools. Women and children were nowhere injured, and there was no attempt at general pillage and massacre, such as usually go with insurrections by the oppressed peasantry in other lands.<sup>1</sup> *The revolt was marked by the moderation of men who had a reasonable program of reform.*

Unhappily the peasants lacked organization. Their chief leader, *Wat the Tyler*, was murdered treacherously, in a conference — "under a flag of truce," as we would say. "Kill!" shouted Wat's followers; "they have murdered our captain!" But the young Richard rode forward fearlessly to their front.

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<sup>1</sup> Conan Doyle's *White Company* gives a vivid picture of a rising in France.



"What need ye, my masters!" he called; "I am your king and captain." "We will that you free us forever," shouted the peasant army, "us and our lands; and that we be never more named serfs." "I grant it," replied the boy; and by such pledges and by promise of free pardon he persuaded them to go home. For days a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises.



A REAPER'S CART GOING UPHILL. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*; from a fourteenth-century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the roads. The steepness of the hill is, of course, exaggerated, so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, bearing to each one a copy of the king's treacherous charter, **the property classes rallied and took a bloody vengeance.** Parliament declared, indeed, that Richard's promise was void, because he *could not* give away the gentry's property — the services due them — without their consent. Richard caught gladly at this excuse. Quite willing to dishonor his word to mere villeins, he marched triumphantly through England at the head of forty thousand men, stamping out all hope of another rising by ruthless execution of old leaders. Seven thousand men were put to death in cold blood. The men of Essex met him with copies of his charters, declaring that they were free Englishmen. "Villeins you were," answered Richard, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide, and not your old bondage, but a worse."



History has preserved a splendid story of one of the martyred heroes. Early in the rising, the peasants of St. Albans (in Essex) had wrung charters from the monastery which had previously owned their town — in so legal a way that even the royal courts could not ignore them. The leader of the St. Albans villagers, *Grindecobbe*, was now condemned to death, for his part in the rising, and was then offered his life if he would persuade his townsmen to give up the charters. Grindecobbe turned to his fellows only to bid them take no thought for him but to hold firm their rights. "I shall die for the freedom we have won, counting myself happy to end my life by such a martyrdom. Do then as if I had been killed in battle yesterday."

Such steadfastness was not in vain. Soon the movement toward the emancipation of villeins began again with fresh force; and, by 1450, villeinage had passed away from England forever.

Then the fifteenth century, and also the opening years of the sixteenth, became a golden age for English peasantry. The small farmer lived in rude abundance. Even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin or near it, and good wages for his labor on a neighboring landlord's fields. A yeoman's house had now usually added a second room to the original hovel, and often an upper story — a low attic, or loft — where the children slept when old enough to climb the ladder that led to it. Chimneys and fireplaces added to the comfort of such houses, as did also small windows with little glass panes, or perhaps only with oiled paper to let in a dim light. Some of these houses had floors of wood or of stone. Pewter dishes replaced wooden bowls and spoons, and the elder and more dignified members of a family often slept on feather beds, instead of on heaps of loose straw, and rested their heads on feather pillows instead of on wooden "bolsters." Toward the close of this period, Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of England, boasted of this prosperity — as compared with the condition of peasants in France: "They [English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance

with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woollens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things needful to make life easy and happy."

Thus the yeomen and other villagers of that age knew their land as "Merrie England." On Sundays and on other Holy Days, after the church service, they met on the village green for play and sport. Cock-fighting and bear-baiting were particularly popular — as such "sports" were

to remain for some centuries. But most of the games after all were much like those played to-day on our school grounds, except that in the fourteenth century they were played by grown men and women. *Morris dancers* were hung about with little bells ("Rings on her fingers, bells on her toes") that jingled a gay tune. *Prisoners' Base* was a common game. So was *Blind Man's Buff*. (The word "buff" came from the fact that the players "buffed," or buffeted, the "blind man" with coats,

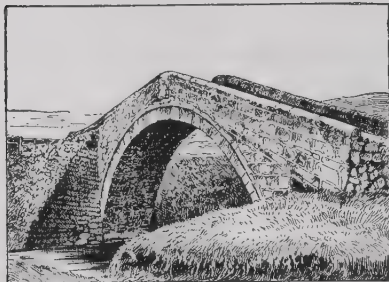
or scarfs or hoods, to draw him away from some player he was about to catch. See page 539.) Our *baseball* and *football* were both favorites — in rather primitive forms. In the spring every one played *marbles*. *Wrestling* and *archery matches* were favorite contests, and often traveling actors gave a *play* on a rude outdoor stage. Always the gayest day of all the year was *May Day*, as for hundreds of years before. All the night of that day, in every village, the young people danced about the village Maypole, to tunes played by the village fiddler, after they had chosen a "Queen of the May."

The nobles and gentry and the people of the court had entertainments of their own, — tennis, croquet (which they called "pall mall"), fencing, bowling, and the game from which golf has descended, as well as hunting, hawking, and fishing. Cards and dice, too, were much used. Ladies played upon many kinds of musical instruments.



PEASANT GIRLS PLAYING "BOB-CHERRY" with a hanging apple (as girls still play every Halloween). — From an English manuscript of the fourteenth century.

The growth of Parliament during the Hundred Years' War was almost as important as the rise of the peasants out of bondage. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask for many grants of money. Parliament



A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY BRIDGE IN RURAL ENGLAND, near Danby in Oxfordshire. — From Jusserand's *English Way-faring Life*.

supplied the king generously, but it also took advantage of his needs to secure new powers for itself.

(1) It established a custom (never since lost) that granting taxes to the king should be the *last* business of the session — to come only *after* the king had made satisfactory reply to Parliament's petitions for changes in the laws. (Or, as the matter is phrased

in more technical terms, the principle was established that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply.")

(2) When Edward, in his old age, let control slip into the hands of tyrannical ministers, the *Good Parliament* of 1376 "impeached" and removed them from office, using the same forms that have been followed ever since in impeachment of officials in all English-speaking lands.

(3) When Edward's successor, his grandson *Richard II*, tried to overawe Parliament with his soldiery, the Parliament of 1399 *deposed* him, electing a cousin, *Henry of Lancaster*, in his place.

The first two kings of this new family, the Lancastrian Henrys IV and V, were strong men, but their title to the throne rested on that election by Parliament. **Parliament, therefore, was able to confirm and even extend all these recent gains and to add still others.** The kings had sometimes managed to get their own favorites elected to Parliament unfairly; but now the House of Commons secured the right to judge of the election of its members. It also made good its claims that all money

bills must originate with it (since it represented most of the people who were to pay the taxes) and that the king's officers must report to it at its next session *how they had spent the money granted*. (In every American state legislature and in our Congress, to-day, all money bills must originate in the "lower" house.) Repeatedly, too, Parliament compelled the king to dismiss unpopular ministers and appoint others satis-



THE PARLIAMENT OF 1399, which deposed Richard II. — From a contemporary manuscript. The faces are probably portraits.

factory to it, and several times it passed laws to determine the succession to the throne. Freedom of speech in Parliament (even in criticizing the royal government) and freedom of its members from arrest except by order of Parliament itself became recognized privileges.

The preceding paragraph speaks of Parliament's passing *laws*. Until the time of the Lancastrians, all that any Parliament had ever done in that way was to *ask* the king to make a law of some specified kind. When the king had promised to do so, and after Parliament had granted him money and adjourned, the royal ministers, in putting a request into the form of a law, inserted words sometimes which defeated the real purpose of Parliament.

But under Henry V (in 1414), instead of sending "petitions" to the king, Parliament began to pass "bills." The king had to accept or reject these as they stood. The wording could not be changed without amendment by Parliament itself.

Thus, by about the year 1400, the whole nation had come to feel "the liberties of Englishmen" a precious inheritance. With right they believed their freedom superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. Wrote Sir John Fortescue (page 534), for the instruction of Henry's son:

A king of England at his pleasure cannot make any alteration in the laws of the land without the consent of his subjects, nor burden them against their wills with strange impositions. . . . Rejoice, therefore, my good Prince, that such is the law of the kingdom you are to inherit, because it will afford both to you and to your subjects the greatest security and satisfaction. . . . [The king] is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws. For this end *he has the delegation of power from the people*, and he has no just claims to any other power.

**After twenty-five years of peace, Henry V renewed the war with France.** That land was in confusion, under the rule of a crazy king, and Henry won swift successes. A victory at Agincourt recalled the day of Crécy; and Henry's infant son (afterward Henry VI of England) was crowned King of France at Paris.

But the English triumph was brief. The long struggle was forcing the peoples of France into a feeling of nationality. **An unschooled peasant girl, Joan of Arc, inspired by this new patriotism, freed her country.** Joan saw "visions," and thought that divine voices called her to her task. With great difficulty she secured a small body of troops with which she promised to relieve Orleans. The English had nearly reduced that place to surrender, and it was the last French stronghold in the northern half of the kingdom. Joan won a surprising victory, which her followers believed miraculous. The French people then rose in one mass to follow the "Holy Maid of Orleans." Victory followed victory, until the English had lost all France except Calais.





JOAN OF ARC BRINGING AID TO ORLEANS. — A modern painting. Before the end of the war, Joan fell into the hands of the English and was tried and burned as a witch. Her purity and gentle firmness and steadfast endurance confounded her persecutors. "We are lost," exclaimed one of them; "we have burned a saint!" The French king, to his shame, had made no effort to rescue her, but history places her foremost among French heroes. In 1920 Pope Benedict XV canonized her (placed her among the "saints" recognized by the church). Says a French historian, — "French patriotism blossomed in Joan of Arc and sanctified itself with the perfume of a miracle."



*Ewing Galloway*

CHURCH OF ST. MACLOU, ROUEN.—It was in the market place of Rouen that Joan of Arc was burned as a witch (see over). The short street down which we look in this cut toward the front of the cathedral has been “modernized” and rebuilt in quite recent times. Originally the buildings extended to the outer edge of what is now the raised sidewalk, and the quaint medieval houses of that time on each side extended their upper stories over part of the remaining space. This change shows one of the simplest ways by which medieval cities have adapted themselves to modern needs and ideas.

France came out of the Hundred Years' War, after unspeakable suffering among the poor and vast destruction of property, with a new patriotism that began to bind her people into a true nation and with her kings stronger than ever. Her industrious peasantry — not for the last time — amazed Europe by restoring prosperity swiftly to a desolated land. **Louis XI** (1461–1483) kept up an efficient standing army, with a train of artillery (a new arm soon to be explained) that could batter the



In the fourteenth century this English sport was known as "Hodman [or Hoodman] Blind." Why? See page 535.

castle of any rebellious feudal lord about his ears. This "Louis the Cunning," however, was fonder of trickery than of open war, because it was cheaper. By disgraceful intrigues he succeeded in adding to his realm both *Provence* (in the southeast) and *Burgundy*, on the northeast. At his death he left **France the richest, most orderly, most united, and most powerful country of Europe.**

**England finally drew out of the war with France because of civil wars at home.** When Henry VI, the last Lancastrian king, came to the throne, he was less than a year old. Rival groups of great lords quarreled continuously with one another to get control of the boy-king, and the misrule of some of them roused much discontent — especially in the rising towns whose industries and trade called for settled government. Even when Henry grew old enough to act for himself, he proved too gentle

and too weak to restore firm order; and finally a great noble, the Duke of York, came forward to claim the crown.

Thus began the Wars of the Roses,<sup>1</sup> to ravage England from 1454 to 1471. Their story is told in Shakespeare's historical plays. They were not, however, so completely a struggle for power by rival factions of feudal lords as he represents them. Instead, in large part, they were the final struggle, in England, between feudalism and the towns. The feudal forces were strongest in the north, and, on the whole, fought for the Lancastrians: the new towns were mainly in the south. The towns won, in the victory of the Yorkist prince *Edward IV*. The leaders of the old nobility, on both sides, had been swept away, during the bloody strife, in battle or by assassination in prison or by the headsman's ax on the scaffold.

The middle classes of England, however, were not yet strong enough to really control the government. On the death of Edward, his young children (one of whom had become "*Edward V*") were murdered secretly by an uncle, who then mounted the throne as *Richard III*. The despotism and cruelty of this last of the Yorkist kings soon turned England against him. Then, in 1483, *Henry Tudor* (connected by birth with the old Lancastrian line) put himself at the head of a popular rising and became king as *Henry VII*.

The new Tudor monarchs, Henry VII and his son Henry VIII after him, were more nearly absolute than any preceding English kings since William the Conqueror. England, like France, entered the modern period under what is sometimes called "a New Monarchy." Still *these Tudors* were not "divine-right" kings, like those in France, and they *were shrewd enough to cloak their power under constitutional forms* — and so did not challenge popular opposition. True, they called Parliament much less often than the Lancastrian kings had — and only to use it as a tool. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the

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<sup>1</sup> The Yorkist and Lancastrian families were both descendants of Edward III, through different sons of that king. The Lancastrian kings had had a *red rose* for their emblem: their Yorkist rivals took for theirs a *white rose*.



kings *seemed* to rule through it, saved the forms of constitutional government. At a later time, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain that, in crushing the feudal forces, **the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete than men had dreamed of in earlier times.**



FOR FURTHER READING. —

There is a lot of excellent and entertaining fiction for the topics dealt with in this chapter, and it may be well to let selections from it take the place of all other reading at this point. If students have not already read Stevenson's *Black Arrow*, they should certainly do so now. Scott's *Quentin Durward* and Anne of Geierstein, Bulwer's *Last of the Barons*, and (especially) Clemens' (Mark Twain's) *Joan of Arc* will be enjoyed by all high school pupils. Here and there will be a student who will delight in Shakespeare's historical plays on the period — from *Richard II* through *Richard III*. There is a striking chapter on the "Black Death" in

HENRY VII's "BEDESMEN." — King Henry gave a sum of money to the abbot and monks of Westminster Abbey in London, in return for which they were "for ever" to lodge and feed thirteen poor men — who were to repay the king by praying daily for him. This picture is part of the initial letter in the deed from the king. It represents the abbot and three monks and some of the bedesmen behind them — each with the king's emblem (rose and crown) on the shoulder.

There were three or four hundred such small "foundations" in England in the Middle Ages. Some of them still exist. Along with the usual monastery care of the helpless, they took the place of modern "poor houses."

Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars* (referred to in the preceding chapter of this book also), and stories of the Hundred Years' War may be read, as told by a contemporary, in Lanier's *The Boy's Froissart*. Charles Reade's *Cloister and Hearth* is one of the best historical novels ever written (and one of the most thrilling). It should be read either at this point or in connection with chapter xxxix. There is much good material in Munro and Sellery's *Readings in Medieval Civilization* and in Robinson's *Readings*, I. Eileen Powers' picture of the life and character of an English trader (in her *Medieval People*) will give the student vivid and probably new ideas of the age.



## EXERCISES

1. Three marked gains by Parliament under Edward III and Richard II are listed on page 536: make your own list of the *new* gains under the Lancastrians that are mentioned on pages 536-538, numbering them distinctly.

2. Catch-word reviews of: (a) growth of Parliament in England; (b) royal power in France.

3. Do you suppose it would have made any difference in the success or failure of the Lollards if printing had been discovered by Wyclif's time?

4. The English started the Hundred Years' War: did they get the results that they wanted? Were the real results more or less important than the English aims? Compare this war with the Crusades in a like respect.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

### THE CONTINENTAL STATES, 1300-1520

This chapter necessarily sums up an enormous number of facts, *convenient for future reference*, in very compact form. It should be read once, carefully, perhaps in class; but students should not be held responsible for details, as they may be for the story in the preceding chapter. It would be an excellent exercise, however, to extend the "parallel column" record (suggested on pages 489, 505), with addition also of new columns.

The thirteenth-century conflict between Popes and Emperors (ch. xxxiii) left the Popes victorious. But in France and England the new national patriotism soon began to rebel against papal authority in *temporal* matters. Neither people nor kings questioned the spiritual authority of the Pope, but they did demand that he should not interfere with their governments.

The conflict was hastened by the Hundred Years' War. The kings needed money, and were trying to introduce systems of national taxation in the place of the unsatisfactory feudal revenues. The clergy had been exempt from feudal services, but they owned so much of the wealth of the two countries that the kings insisted upon their paying their share of the new taxes. But *Pope Boniface VIII* (1296) issued a bull forbidding any prince to impose taxes on the clergy without papal consent, threatening excommunication, too, against clergy who paid.

When the English clergy, in obedience to this papal decree, refused to pay taxes, Edward I outlawed them. To outlaw a man was to put him outside the protection of the law: he could not bring suit to recover property or damages, and offenses against him were not "crimes." In comparison with this practical "excommunication" by the state, the old clerical excommunication was stage thunder. The clergy paid.

France was the scene of a still sharper contest. As it progressed, Boniface set forth the old claims of papal supremacy over princes. "Whoever resists this power," said one of his bulls, "resists the ordination of God. . . . Indeed we declare . . . that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." King Philip IV treated these claims with contempt, and the Estates General of 1302, *even the clerical Estate*, pledged their lives to defend the "ancient liberties of the French nation." Philip forbade the payment of *any* revenues from his realm to the Pope. Boniface threatened to depose the king. A few days later, a company of French soldiers made Boniface prisoner; and the chagrin of the old man at the insult probably hastened his death.

**Philip secured the election of a French Pope, who removed the papal capital from Rome to Avignon**, in southern France. Here the Popes remained for seventy years, in **the Babylonian Captivity of the church**. Politically they sank into mere tools of the French kings, and the enemies of France could not be expected to show them reverence. In Italy, too, the Papal States fell into anarchy, in the absence of their ruler.

In 1377, to save that papal territory, Gregory XI visited Rome. This act brought on a greater disaster even than the exile itself. Gregory died while at Rome. The cardinals were obliged at once to choose a successor. They were Frenchmen (all high church offices had been given to Frenchmen during the Captivity); but even French cardinals yielded to the savage demands of the people of Rome and chose an Italian — who at once established himself in the old papal seat at Rome. A few months later, however, the cardinals assembled again, declared that election void because made under compulsion, and chose a French Pope, who promptly set up his court at Avignon. The rival Popes excommunicated each other, each devoting to the devil all the supporters of the other. **Which one should good Christians obey?**

**This condition, too, encouraged other disunion movements.** *The Wyclif movement* in England (page 531) took place toward

the close of the exile at Avignon. The church declared Wyclif a heretic, but he was protected during his life by one of King Edward's sons. Soon after Wyclif's death, however, the Lancastrian monarchs began to persecute his followers. In 1401, for the first time, an Englishman was burned for heresy. The Lollards finally disappeared. But meantime, the seeds of the heresy had been scattered in a distant part of Europe. Richard II of England had married a princess of Bohemia, and some of her attendants *carried the teachings of Wyclif to the Bohemian University of Prague*. About 1400, *John Hus*, a professor at Prague, became a leader in a radical "reform" much after Wyclif's example, and the movement spread rapidly over much of Bohemia.

Great and good men everywhere, especially in the powerful universities, began now to suggest a General Council as the only means to restore unity of church government and doctrine. **Finally one of the Popes called the Council of Constance (1414).** Five thousand delegates were present, representing all Latin Christendom. With recesses, the Council sat for four years. It induced one Pope to resign his office, and it deposed the other claimants. Then it restored unity by electing a new Pope, **Martin V**, to rule from Rome.

Next the Council turned its attention to restoring church doctrine. John Hus was present, under a "safe conduct" from the Emperor. His teachings were declared heresy, but neither persuasion nor threats could move him to recant. "It is better for me to die," he said, "than to fall into the hands of the Lord by deserting the truth." Despite the Emperor's solemn pledge for his safety, Hus was burned at the stake, and his ashes were scattered on the Rhine (1415). Wyclif's doctrines, too, were condemned; and, to make thorough work, his ashes were disinterred from their resting place and scattered on the river Swift.

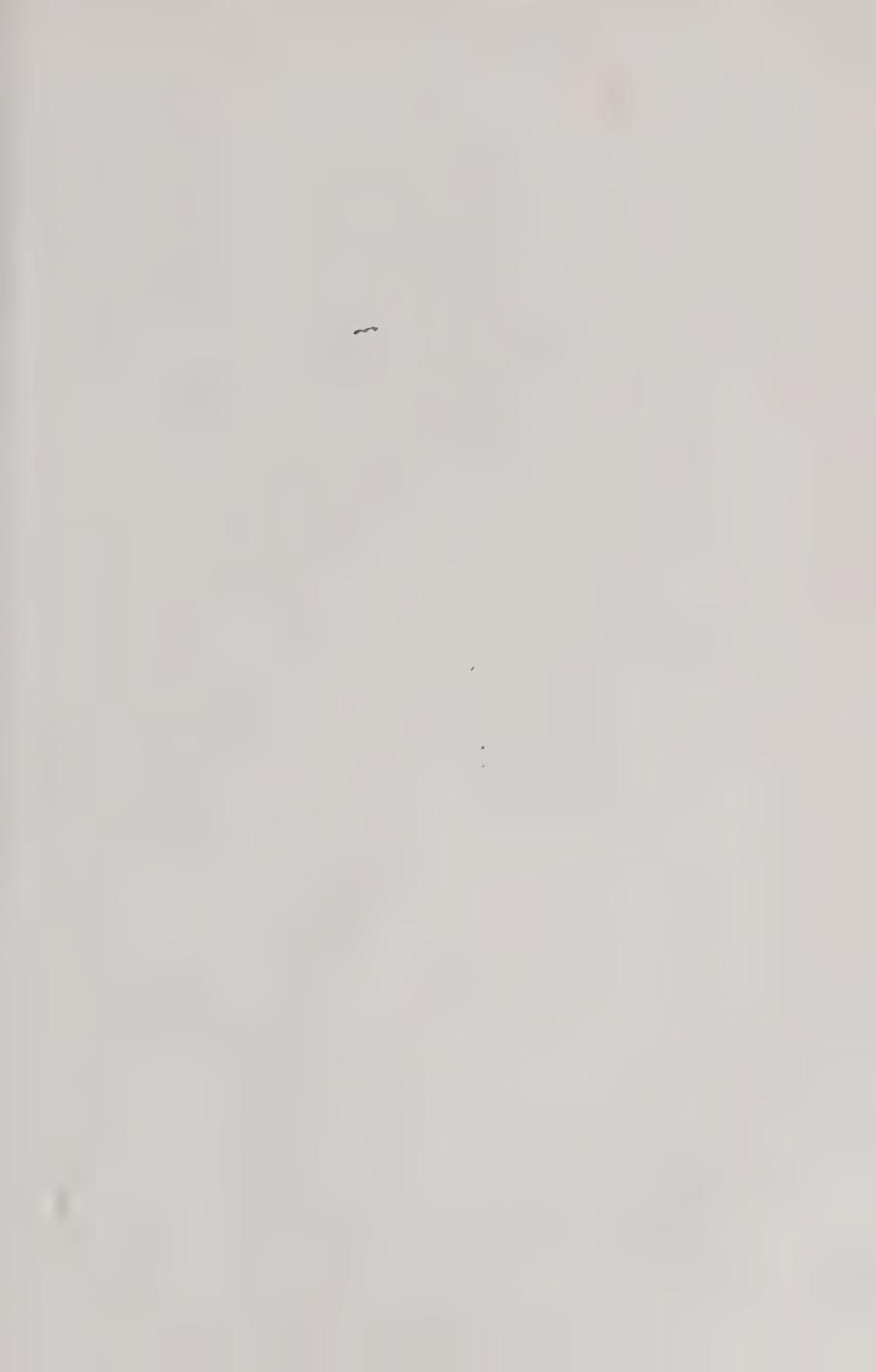
**These vigorous measures did not wholly succeed.** Hus became a national hero to Bohemia. That country rose in arms against the church. A crusade was preached against the heretics, and years of cruel war followed; but some survivals of

Hussite teachings lasted on into the period of the Protestant Revolt a century later. Moreover, **the papacy never regained its earlier authority over kings.** Nicholas V (1447) showed himself a learned scholar eager to advance learning, as well as a pure and gentle man. Pius II (1455) strove to arouse a new crusade against the Turks, who had at last captured Constantinople; but his complete failure proved (in his own words) that Europe "looked on Pope and Emperor alike as names in a story." Some of the succeeding Popes, like the notorious Borgia (Alexander VI, 1492-1503), were busied mainly as Italian princes, building up their temporal principality by intrigue and craft such as were common at that day in Italian politics.

The "**Holy Roman Empire**," it has been explained, had come to mean merely *Germany*. The anarchy of the "fist-law" period, to be sure, was checked in 1273 by the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg ("Hawks' nest") as Emperor. (German kings, so chosen, now began to use the title *Emperor* without ever going to Rome to be crowned.) Rudolph was a petty count of a rude district in the Alps, and the princes had chosen him because they thought him too weak to rule them. The king of Bohemia, indeed, refused to recognize him as Emperor. Rudolph attacked Bohemia, and seized from it the duchy of Austria, which until the end of the World War remained the chief seat of Hapsburg princes. In other ways he showed the now-familiar Hapsburg zeal to widen his personal domain. "Sit firm on Thy throne, O Lord," prayed one bishop, "or the Count of Hapsburg will shove Thee off." At the same time, however, Rudolph gave earnest attention to restoring order, so far as his power reached. Along the Rhine alone he demolished a hundred and forty robber castles, and he once hanged twenty-nine robber knights at one execution.

After Rudolph's death, the seven great princes of the Empire, who had come to be an Electoral College, passed the throne from family to family — until, in 1438, after a long line of Bohemian rulers, the imperial dignity came back to the Hapsburgs by the election of Albert, Duke of Austria. From this





# GERMANY

ABOUT 1550

SCALE OF MILES

0 10 20 40 60 80 100

KINGDOM  
OF  
ENGLAND

52

NORTH  
SEA

50

48

## REFERENCE

- Boundary of Empire
- Hapsburg Territories
- Ecclesiastical Territories
- Imperial Cities

Duchy of Burgundy

County  
Charolles



Longitude East 8 from





time, so long as the title endured, *the "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire" was of the House of Austria.*

The last medieval Emperor was Maximilian I (1493-1519), the one romantic hero of the Hapsburg race. He made a noble effort to bring Germany abreast of England and France, but failed utterly, because of the selfishness of the German nobles. **Germany entered the Modern Age a loose confederacy of petty sovereign states** (as described on page 488) **grouped about Austria.**

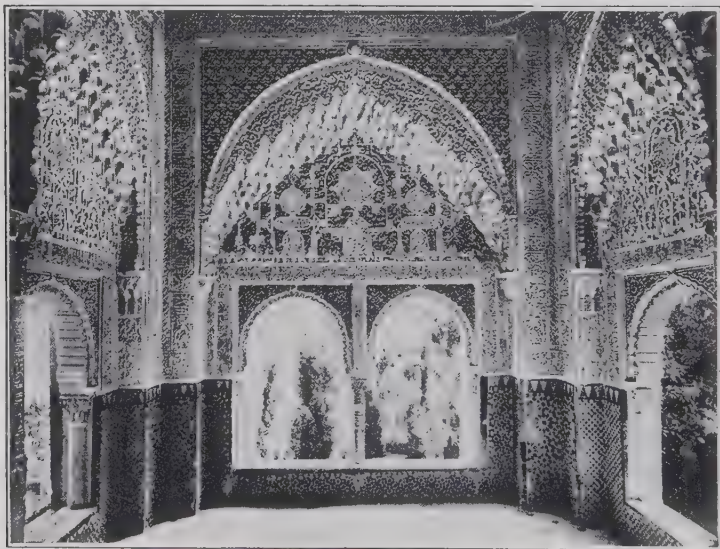
**The development of Spain** had been separated from that of the rest of Europe by the Mohammedan conquest of 711 (page 389). For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees." A few resolute Christian chiefs, however, in the remote fastnesses of the north-western mountains had never submitted to the Moors, and in these districts several little Christian principalities soon *began* the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against infidel. The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, unfitted for industrial civilization, intensely patriotic, and blindly devoted to the church.

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, Portugal, Aragon, and Castile. Nearly a century later, the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon united the two larger states, and in 1492 their combined power captured Granada, the last Moorish stronghold. In the year in which Columbus discovered America under Spanish auspices, Spain at home achieved national union and national independence.

The feudal lords of the early Spanish kingdoms had been notably independent of the monarchs. In each petty state they elected the king — and took an oath to obey him in forms



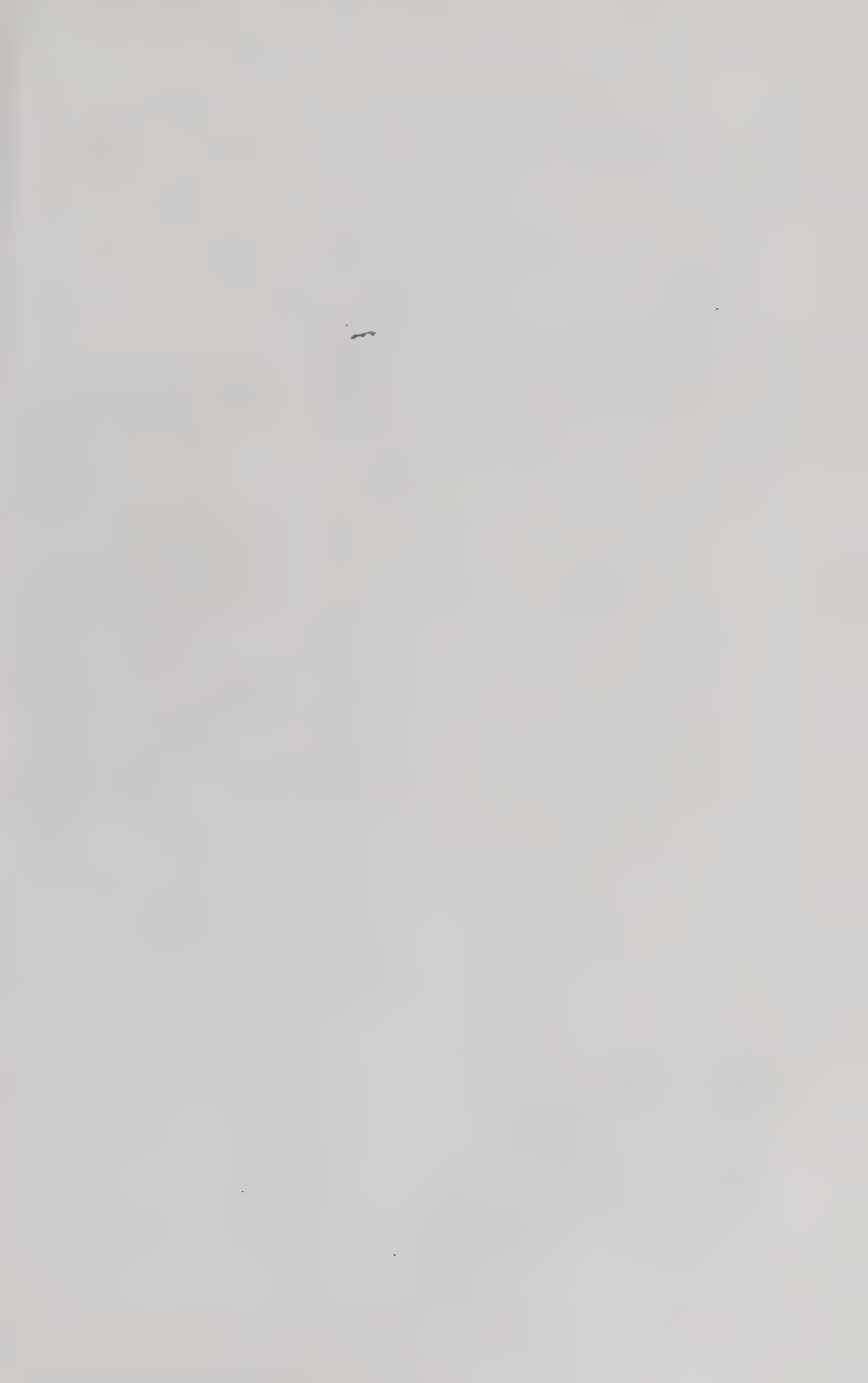
like this: "We, who are each of us as good as thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not." The towns, too, had won remarkable charters, and in the various kingdoms they sent representatives to the assembly of Estates, or the "Cortes," a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these

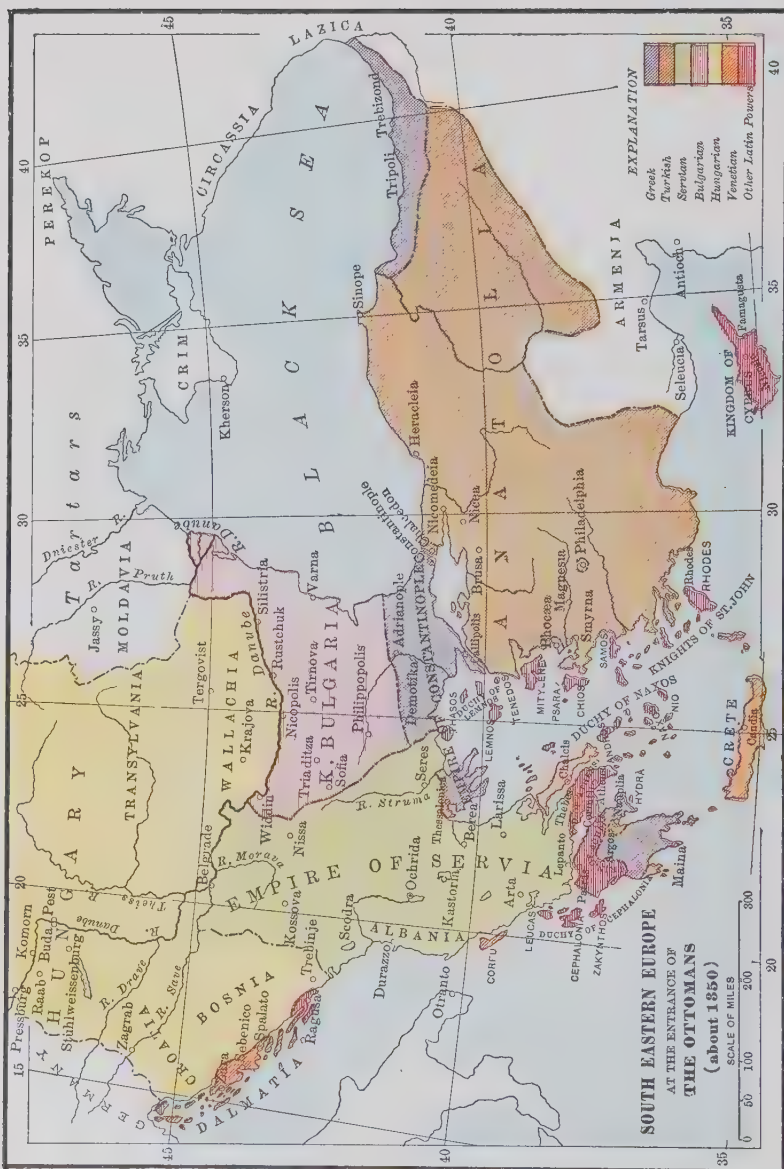


WINDOW IN THE MOORISH PALACE OF THE ALHAMBRA AT GRANADA.

privileges, and during the next two reigns, **the Spanish monarchy, financed by treasure from Mexico and Peru, became the most nearly absolute in Europe.**

While the civilized Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, **barbarous Mohammedan Turks were gaining Southeastern Europe.** They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont first in 1346. Constantinople held out for a century more, a Christian island encompassed by seas of Mohammedanism. But at *Kossova* (1389), the Turks completed the overthrow of the Serbs, and a few years later a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Hungarians and Poles. Finally, in 1453,

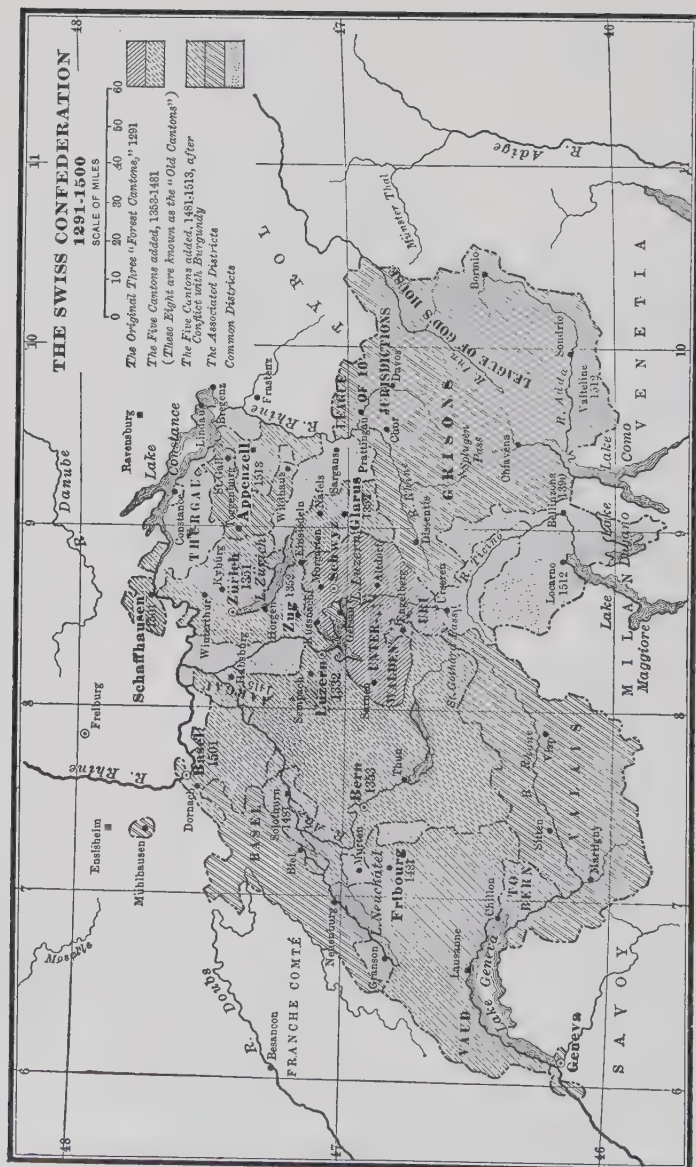




*Mohammed the Conqueror* entered Constantinople through the breach where the heroic Constantine Palaeologus, last of the Greek Emperors, died sword in hand.

The Turks remained a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, who always struggled against their rule. Constantinople was the capital of their empire. That empire continued to expand for a century more (until about 1550), and for a time it seemed as though nothing could save Western Europe. *Venice on sea, and Hungary by land, were long the two chief outposts of Christendom*, and, almost unaided, they kept up ceaseless warfare to check the Mohammedan invaders. For a time, Hungary was conquered, and then Austria became the bulwark for Western Europe.

Switzerland began to grow into a political state just before the year 1300. The brave and sturdy peasantry, in their mountain fastnesses, had preserved much of the old Teutonic independence. Some small districts (cantons) in the German Alps had belonged to the Hapsburg counts. When Rudolph of Hapsburg became duke of distant Austria, he left these possessions to subordinate officers. These agents oppressed the Swiss by extortion and tyranny; and, in 1294, the three "Forest Cantons" — *Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden* — formed a "perpetual league" for mutual defense (map, page 550). For two centuries, from time to time, the Hapsburgs invaded Switzerland with powerful armies, in order to reduce the mountaineers to subjection, and soon the *league against oppression* by the lord's agents became a *league for independence*, against the lord himself. Freedom was finally won, after the long struggle had been marked by two famous victories, — *Morgarten* (1315) and *Sempach* (1386), — battles to which belong the myths of William Tell and of Arnold of Winkelried. Meantime other cantons had rebelled against their lords and joined the alliance. The new members — among them Bern, Zürich, and Luzern — were small city-states, wealthier and more aristocratic than the rural cantons. The union remained a loose confederacy, to manage foreign wars, until the French Revolution.





Except for the ninth-century invasions and for the brief empire of Knut of Denmark (page 449), **Scandinavia hardly touched the life of the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages.** The northern lands, however, had a romantic history of their own. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Good, Hakon the Old, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint. In 1397 the three kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark by **the Treaty of Kalmar.** Each country was to keep its own laws and government, but for foreign affairs the three joined in “perpetual union.” In practice this “union” made the northern states dependencies of Denmark. Sweden soon established her independence again under her hero king, *Gustavus Vasa*. Norway remained dependent, but restless, until modern times.

**The Netherlands** (Low Countries) did not form an independent state in the Middle Ages. They were made up of a group of provinces, some of them fiefs of the Empire, some of them French fiefs. The southern part has become modern Belgium; the northern part, modern Holland. The land is a low, level tract, and in the Middle Ages it was more densely packed with teeming cities than any other part of Europe.

The inhabitants were a sturdy, freedom-loving, slow, industrious, persistent people. Ghent claimed eighty thousand citizens able to bear arms, while Ypres is said to have employed two hundred thousand people in the weaving of cloth. Wealth so abounded that the “counts” of this little district excelled most of the kings of Europe in magnificence. Many of the cities, like *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*, were built on land wrested from the sea by dykes, and they took naturally to commerce. In their markets, the merchants from Italy and the south of Europe exchanged wares with the Hansa merchants of the Baltic. And the Netherland towns were workshops even more than they were trading rooms. “Nothing reached their shores,” says one historian, “but received a more perfect finish: what was coarse and almost worthless, became transmuted into something beau-

tiful and good." Matthew of Paris,<sup>1</sup> a thirteenth-century English chronicler, exclaimed that "the whole world was clothed in English wool *manufactured in Flanders*."

During the Hundred Years' War, the dukes of Burgundy became masters of Flanders. When Louis XI of France (page 539) seized the rest of Burgundy from its last duke, Charles the Bold, the Flemish towns wisely chose to remain faithful to



HALL OF THE CLOTHMAKERS' GILD AT YPRES, — begun in 1200, completed in 1364. This beautiful example of early Gothic for the use of a great industrial organization was destroyed when Ypres was bombarded during the World War.

Mary, the daughter of Charles. In return for their fidelity, an Estates General of the provinces secured from Princess Mary a grant of *The Great Privilege*, the "Magna Carta of the Netherlands" (1478). This document promised: (1) that the provinces might hold Diets at will — composed, as before, of nobles and elected burgesses; (2) that no new tax should be imposed but by the central Diet, the "Estates General"; (3) that no war should be declared but by the consent of that body; (4) that

<sup>1</sup> The name, Matthew of Paris, signifies that this English monk had studied at the University of Paris.

offices should be filled by natives only; and (5) that Dutch should be the official language. Mary married the young Maximilian of Hapsburg (page 547), and **the Netherlands passed to the House of Austria**. Ere long they were to wage one of the most famous of wars, to save these liberties.

**The rise of "national states" under their "new monarchies" is the *political* change that marks the close of the Middle Ages.** At the moment it seemed a disaster to many great and good men who had their minds fixed, like the Italian Dante, on the old ideal of a united Christendom (page 489). But, since the days of the Roman Empire, Europe had never known a true union. *The real mission of each of the new monarchies, whether the monarchs saw it yet or not, was to weld all the classes within its land into one people with a common patriotism.*

Powerful monarchies had grown up in England, France, Spain, and Austria. Like governments had appeared on a smaller scale in Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. Two small lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, were loosely connected with the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy. Two great lands had no part in the movement: until 1250, Germany and Italy had been the center of interest, but their claim for universal rule had left them broken in fragments. Not for centuries were they to reach this new form of national government. *Leadership, therefore, passed from them to France, Spain, and England*, — the three countries in which the new movement was most advanced.

Just at the close of our period, the rulers of one of those three great monarchies was tempted (as Otto the Saxon had been six centuries before) to abandon his true work in a vain effort to become master of a world empire. That story must be told briefly.

In Italy, by 1450 the many petty divisions had been brought under one or another of "Five Great States," — the Kingdom of Sicily in the south (called at times "Sicily and Naples," or "The Two Sicilies"), the Papal States in the center, and Milan, Florence, and Venice in the north. This movement

toward unity, however, had not gone far enough to make Italy safe. *In 1494*, as heir to a title approved by the Popes in their old struggle with the Hohenstaufen (page 488), Charles VIII of France claimed the crown of Sicily. He crossed the Alps and marched victoriously from end to end of the peninsula, regulating at will not only the southern kingdom but the northern states as well. But behind him gathered insulted Italian foes; Ferdinand of Aragon advanced a rival claim to Sicily; and Venice joined the anti-French party. Charles secured his retreat into France by a desperate battle, but **Spain was left mistress of Sicily and Naples.**

Just before, Ferdinand had secured the Balearic Isles and Sardinia. Spain therefore was now undisputed mistress of the commerce of the western half of the Mediterranean. To men of that day, this extension of Spain's power on the east seemed vastly more important than that on the west at the same time by Isabella and Columbus.

In our own day (since the World War), Spain and France are again rivals for the control of that western Mediterranean basin, but now either can hope to secure it only by alliance with Italy, not by conquest.

**And then swift steps brought the Hapsburg power within sight, seemingly, of a world-monarchy.** Ferdinand of Aragon had married one daughter to the young English prince soon to become Henry VIII, and another to Philip of Hapsburg, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (page 553). From this last marriage, in 1500, was born a child, Charles.

While yet a boy, Charles succeeded his father as ruler of the rich provinces of the Netherlands. In 1516 he succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand as king of Sicily and Naples and also as king of Spain, with the gold-producing realms in America that had just become Spain's. Three years later he succeeded his other grandfather, Maximilian, as the hereditary ruler of Austria with its many dependent provinces. Then, still a youth of nineteen, Charles became a candidate for the title of Emperor, which Maximilian's death had left vacant, and his



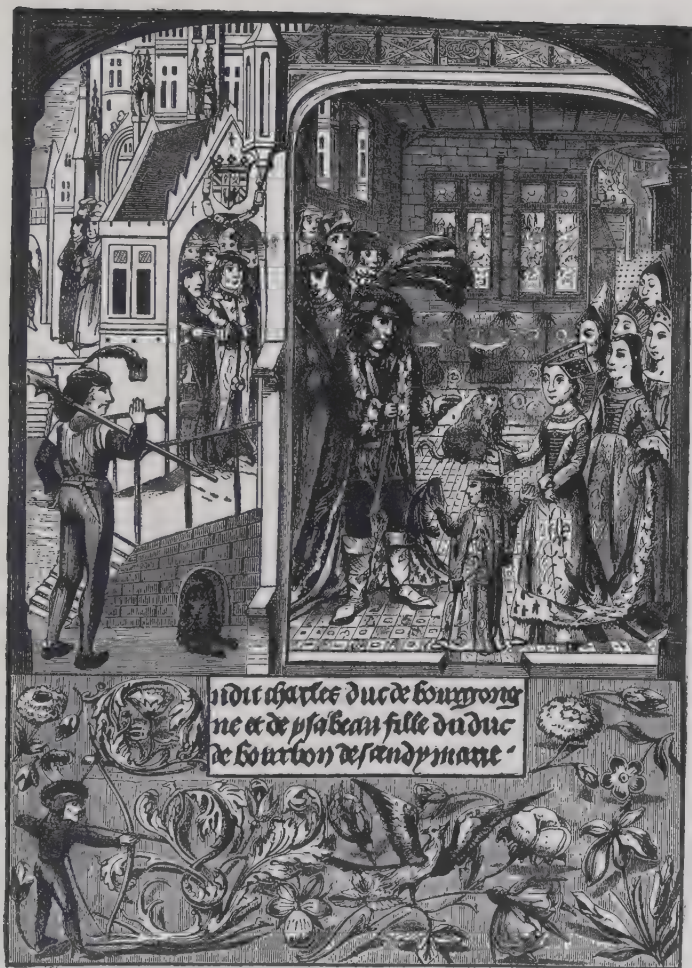


ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing in the foreground Maximilian of Austria, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip (page 554). The original is in brilliant colors. Cf. page 526.



wealth (or that of his Flemish merchants) enabled him to win against his rivals, Francis I of France and Henry VIII of England.

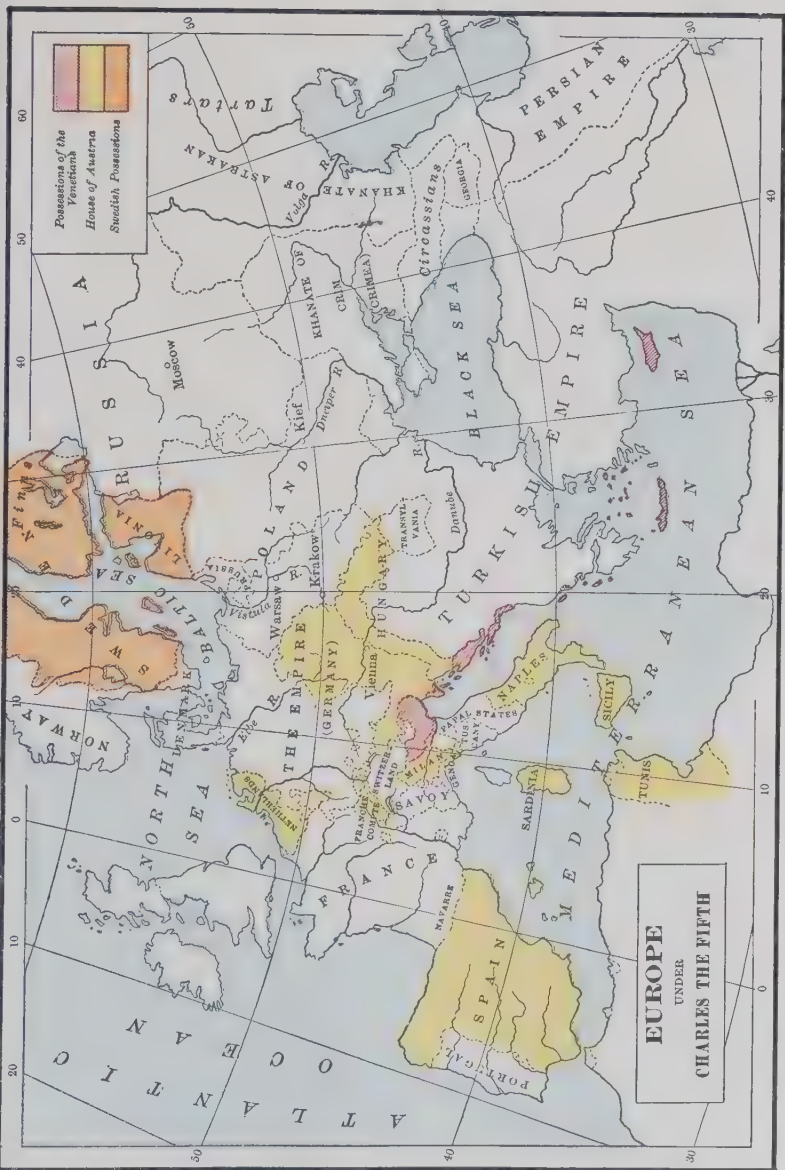
Thus Charles I of Spain, at twenty, became also Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This election gave him a claim to lordship over the parts of Germany and Italy not previously his. His hereditary possessions made it seem possible, too, that he might make his claim good — and so more than restore the Empire of the first great Charles (Charlemagne).

Compact France, at first, was his only obstacle (page 539); and no time was lost by Charles and the French Francis in joining battle. The battle of Pavia left Francis a captive and France apparently at the Hapsburg's feet. *But just then* (1520) *an obscure monk in Germany* burned a papal bull, starting a movement which split Europe at once into opposing camps and *rendered forever vain the dream of restoring the old imperial unity of Christendom*. When a world union comes, we see now, it is to come as a union of *free peoples*.

This chapter has been concerned with *political* changes in the closing centuries of the Middle Ages. We must turn back once more to note the *intellectual* change in that same period — a change that ended the Middle Ages and prepared the way for that revolt within the church.

#### EXERCISES

1. The student to-day finds it hard to understand that Austria and Bohemia were parts of Germany for many centuries. Compare carefully the map of the Holy Roman Empire after page 484, with the same areas as shown on the map after 546.
2. Discuss the value of Dante's idea of a universal empire compared with the value of the new nation-states of 1500, and again as compared with the modern League of Nations.
3. How did the government of the Netherlands about 1500 resemble that of England? Was it as much like the government of any other European land of that time?





## CHAPTER XXXIX

### THE RENAISSANCE

#### THE TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES

**The Age of Feudalism** (page 411) covered five hundred years — from 800 to 1300. The first three centuries (800–1100) were a continuation of the “Dark Ages,” after the brief promise of the day of Charlemagne. In those gloomy three hundred years we noted the grim feudal system at its height, the medieval church, serf labor, the destructive strife between empire and papacy, and, at the close, the Norman Conquest of England.

The year 1100 was the threshold over which we passed from those centuries of gloom to two centuries of fruitful progress. That Age of the Crusades saw also the rise of towns, of universities, of popular literatures, of Gothic architecture in cathedrals and town halls, of the growth of France out of feudal fragments into one kingdom, and of the rise of courts and of Parliament in England.

The year 1300 was another milestone of progress, introducing an age of still more rapid advance. *The period 1300–1600 we call the Age of the Renaissance.* The preceding two chapters have dealt with political and industrial changes during the greater part of that period. It remains for us to consider now those more vital characteristics that earn for the period its name. Those centuries are marked by a “rebirth” of a long-forgotten way of looking at life. That old way had expressed itself in the art and literature of the ancient Greeks. Accordingly, the men of the new age were passionately enthusiastic over all remains of the classical period. The *fundamental* characteristic of the Renaissance, however, was not its devotion to the past, but its joyous self-trust in the present. The men of

the Renaissance cared for the ancient culture because they found there what they themselves thought and felt.

Between those classical times and the dawn of the Renaissance there had intervened nearly a thousand years. Those "**Middle Ages**" had had **three marks** that interest us here. (1) *Men lacked originality*: even the learned followed slavishly in the footsteps of some intellectual master. (2) *Man as an individual* counted for little: in all his activities he was part of some guild or order or corporation. (3) Interest in the future life was so intense that many good men neglected the present life: beauty in nature was little regarded, or regarded as a temptation of the devil.

**The Renaissance changed all this.** For blind obedience to authority, it substituted the free inquiring way in which the Greeks had looked at things. Men developed a new self-reliance and self-confidence, and a fresh and lively originality. And they awoke to delight in flower and sky and mountain, in the beauty of the human body, in all the pleasures of the natural world.

This transformation — one of the two or three most marvelous changes in all history — began in Italy. It reached its climax there about 1550. (In England it had hardly begun until 1500, and did not reach its height until Shakespeare's day — toward 1600.)

**Italy was the natural home for a revival in literature and art.** That land, we have seen, had lagged behind in the movement toward national unity and firm government; but her many turbulent towns afforded just so many centers for intellectual activity — somewhat as in ancient Greece. Moreover, Italy in geography as in history was closely related to the old classical world. Vergil had been read by a few Italian scholars all down the Middle Ages. The Italian language was more like the old Latin than was any other European language; and (in part because of the continuity of town life in that land), more manuscripts of ancient Greek and Roman writers survived in Italy than elsewhere in Western Europe.



It was in strange and dangerous neglect, it is true, that such manuscripts survived — but many of them were still there, to be found when wanted, stored away and forgotten in moldy chests in damp cellars or dark attics. For nearly a thousand years there had been no one in Western Europe who could read the old Greek, and for almost as long no one had much cared to read the old Latin books. The clergy (the only people of that period who *could* have read even the Latin) looked upon all the old literature preceding the victory of Christianity as worthless, if not dangerous (page 353 f.) — except for here and there a strange exception, like Vergil and the little that was known of Aristotle.

True, when a monk found a bundle of ancient manuscripts, he did feel it a treasure — but not for the learning or literature there inscribed. What he valued was the *material* on which the writing stood. Papyrus had become very costly, and after Egypt fell to the Turks it was hardly to be had at any price. For centuries the only other material to write upon had been vellum and parchment (such as high-school diplomas are sometimes printed upon now). These materials were prepared with great pains from the skins of calves and sheep, and were extremely high-priced. From any precious “find” of old manuscripts the fortunate monk, therefore, would carefully erase the ancient writing (perhaps a treatise by Archimedes or a tragedy by Sophocles) so that he might inscribe the recovered papyrus with the legend of some saint or miracle connected with his monastery. In some cases this later writing has been cautiously removed in modern times, and the ancient writing faintly restored, by chemical processes; but a vast deal of the old literature was hopelessly lost through decay or through this pious monkish industry; and if the revival of interest in classical learning and literature had been delayed a little longer, a great deal that we now possess could never have been recovered.

The man who did most to start a movement to save what could still be saved of the beauty and learning of the ancient literature was an Italian poet, *Petrarch* (1304–1374). Petrarch himself

wrote much beautiful and famous verse in the new Italian language (as a still greater Italian, Dante, had done indeed more than fifty years before him), and he invented a new *form* of poetry, which we call the *sonnet* and which has been much used ever since his time. But his real service to the world was not in writing verse. His poetry had given him popularity and influence; and he used that influence to bring about an intellectual revolution. With tireless zeal he attacked the superstitions and the false science of the Schoolmen and ridiculed the universities as "nests of gloomy ignorance." He saw that the best way to advance true learning was to get back once more to the foundations that had been laid by the old Greeks and build upon them. And he did succeed in starting a widespread and enthusiastic search for classical manuscripts and for other remains of the old Romano-Greek civilization.

This new enthusiasm for the classics became known as *Humanism* (Latin, *humanitas*, culture). Before 1450, the Humanists in Italy had recovered practically all the literary remains we now have of the Latin authors, and a large part of the surviving Greek manuscripts. One of Petrarch's disciples, *Boccaccio*, wrote the first dictionaries of classical geography and of Greek mythology, and brought back into Italy the study of Greek.

With all their zeal for Greek manuscripts, and for Latin translations of them, most of the early Humanists were ignorant of the Greek language, as Petrarch himself was; but after the year 1400, the knowledge of that tongue grew rapidly. Greek scholars were invited to the Italian cities and were given professorships in the universities. The increasing danger in the Greek Empire from the Turk (page 548) made such invitations welcome, and the high prices paid by princely Italian collectors drew more and more of the literary treasures of Constantinople to the Italian cities. Many a fugitive scholar from the East found the possession of some precious manuscript the key to fortune and favor in Italy<sup>1</sup> — perhaps by its winning him a place as secretary to an Italian prince. This movement was suddenly

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<sup>1</sup> The value of such a manuscript furnishes an important element in the plot of George Eliot's *Romola*.



POPE JULIUS II. with a group of friends, viewing the *Apollo Belvedere*, a Greek marble which had just been dug up in an Italian excavation. Michael Angelo stands on the far left, and the youthful Raphael on the right. — From a painting now in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington. — the work of a modern German artist. The statue represents Apollo in the act of repelling barbarian Gauls who were approaching his temple at Delphi (see page 179).



ST. PETER'S (ROME) TO-DAY. — This greatest of churches was not completed until far into the seventeenth century, but it owes most of its glory to the work upon it of artists of the late Renaissance period, like Raphael and Michael Angelo. The form is that of a cross, surmounted, at the junction of the arms, by a dome 138 feet across, the dominating feature of the building and probably the most famous dome in the world. The architecture is Renaissance, reviving many classical features.

The building on the right, in the upper view, is the Vatican Palace the papal residence to-day and for centuries past.

accelerated (for a time) when Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453 (page 549). "Greece did not perish," said an Italian scholar; "it emigrated to Italy."

At first, Humanism had been stoutly resisted by the universities, but it finally captured them and established a "new education." Until about 1400 a university education had contained no Greek and had given little acquaintance with the great Latin authors. The courses in "arts" were now broadened so as to furnish a true classical training. Medieval Latin was replaced by the refined style of Cicero, and Greek thought and knowledge and the grand and beautiful conceptions of Greek and Latin literature were gradually absorbed into our modern thought — which they still color.

With the rebirth of delight in beauty, painting and sculpture were reborn into the world, and painting, at least, reached a perfection never before known. Italian painting culminated in the years from 1470 to 1550. To these eighty years belongs the work of *Leonardo da Vinci*, *Michael Angelo*, *Fra Angelico*, *Perugino*, *Raphael*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *Giorgione*, *Titian*, *Tintoretto*, and *Correggio*. Each town had its able artists, but nearly all the greatest masters, like most of those just named, belonged to Florence or to Venice. Many of these men practiced more than one art. Thus, Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, and sculptor, as well as painter, and he was not without fame as a poet.

Da Vinci, too, excelled in all these ways, and, as his writings prove, knew more about botany, chemistry, and physics than any man who followed him for a hundred years. Among his various useful inventions is the wheelbarrow. He *tried* to build steam engines and flying machines — possibly taking hints for both from Roger Bacon, whose *Great Work* was one of his favorite books. Men had much to learn, it is true, before the airplane could be a success. Leonardo's tools were too clumsy, and his materials neither light enough nor strong enough. He did, however, make a flying toy — a "machine bird" that could be wound up for short flights.



It is necessary to understand, also, that the work of all these famous painters and artists and sculptors rested upon, and perhaps grew out of, **a widespread appreciation and interest among the people.** Rich Italian merchants spent money freely for beautiful paintings as well as for Greek manuscripts. Popes and bishops ordered lovely carvings and paintings for the new churches that were being built. Kings and princes invited artists to their courts to paint portraits of the royal family or perhaps religious pictures for the palace chapel. The common people of the towns, too, not only in Italy but also in Holland and Germany, loved beautiful things, and often they voted large sums from the town treasury to get some famous artist to come and adorn their town hall or their church with paintings. Sometimes, when such a painting was finished, the whole town would turn out in a great procession to see it and to do honor to the artist.

A little later than this wonderful outburst of art in Italy, there came the great periods of Dutch and Spanish painting. New developments in these lands were made possible by new methods of preparing oil paints (invented by the Van Eycks in Holland), so that it became possible to paint upon canvas, instead of only on walls and ceilings. About the same time engraving of copper plates and "woodcuts" came into use.

**There was an evil, pagan side to the Italian Renaissance.** The men of the new movement, having cast off old restraints and beliefs, fell often into gross and shallow unbelief and into shameless self-indulgence. Delight in beauty sometimes sank into gross sensuality. Morals declined, and for a time Italian society sank lower than the old pagan world. The "Men of the Renaissance" were always polished and elegant and full of robust vitality; but many of them went to their goal recklessly by any means, and some of them were perfidious monsters.

This side of the Renaissance was typified by the Italian *condottieri*, — roving captains of bands of soldiers of fortune.

These chieftains sold their services to any city with a price to pay, — and then betrayed it, on occasion, or seized it for themselves, if convenient. Such was the source of most of the Italian “ tyrants ” (page 515) of the time. Many of them were generous patrons of art and learning; but their marked characteristics were indomitable will, reckless scorn of danger, powerful minds, and absolute freedom from moral scruple — which led them to extremes of cruelty and treachery whenever such measures seemed useful to them. Like traits show a few years later in the Spanish conquerors of the New World, — Cortés, Pizarro, Balboa, and their fellows. The scores of English sea-kings of the next century — Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Grenville (who fought the fight of “ the one and the fifty-three ” <sup>1</sup>) — belong to the same order of men *except* that in them cruelty is refined into sternness, and perfidy is replaced by lofty honor, through the greater moral earnestness of the Renaissance in the North.

**For the Renaissance was mainly artistic and literary in the south of Europe, and mainly scientific and religious in the north.** In Italy, Petrarch and his followers had begun a careful study of old and corrupted documents to restore their original form. A little before 1500 this “ New Learning ” from Italy was welcomed in England by an eager group of young scholars known as the “ Oxford Reformers,” who saw in the new “ historical criticism ” a means of correcting errors that had crept into religion. Most important among this group were *Erasmus* (a Hollander living in England) and *Sir Thomas More*.

The influence of Erasmus extended throughout Europe; and his name was probably the most widely respected one in that age. In 1516 he published the New Testament *in the original Greek*, with a careful Latin translation. His Greek text was prepared more carefully, and undoubtedly was much nearer the original gospels, than any the Middle Ages had known, and it was accompanied by critical notes. Now, for the first time, ordinary scholars could test satisfactorily the accuracy of the

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<sup>1</sup> Read Tennyson’s poem, *The Revenge*.

common Latin translation (the Vulgate) in use in the church. Afterward Erasmus edited the writings of many of the early Christian Fathers — to show what they really thought and believed. In another sort of works — as in his famous *Praise*



ERASMUS, a portrait by Holbein.

*of Folly* — with keen and graceful ridicule, he lashed the false learning and foolish methods of the monks and Schoolmen. He has been called “the Scholar of the Reformation.” His writings did furnish Luther (page 579) with much material ready for use against the old religious system; but Erasmus was not himself a revolutionist. Instead, he worked, with beautiful charity and patience and largeness of view, for reform *within* the great mother church.

Sir Thomas More was one of the noblest Englishmen of any age. He was a distinguished scholar — his learning brightened by a gentle and pervading humor — and a man of great personal charm. It was at his house that Erasmus wrote his *Praise of Folly*. More’s own influence was given to reform in society rather than in religion. In the year that Erasmus published his Greek Testament, More issued his *Description of the Republic of Utopia* (“Nowhere”). He portrays, with burning sympathy, the miseries of the English peasantry, and points accusingly to the barbarous social and political conditions of his time by contrasting with them the conditions in “Nowhere” — where the people elect their government (which accordingly is devoted solely to their welfare), possess good homes, work short hours, enjoy absolute freedom of speech, high intellectual

culture, and universal happiness, with all property in common. *Utopia* was the first of the many modern attempts to picture in fiction an ideal state of society. (Cf. page 187.)

The new intellectual movement was marked by several new inventions or by the first practical use of them.

Two, in particular, made certain kinds of everyday work easier. (1) *The spinning wheel* was a vast improvement upon earlier ways of twisting and stretching thread by hand with "whorl" (page 6) or with distaff (page 81). The housewife found it less burdensome thereafter to clothe her family. (2) *Sawmills* were first used, so far as we know, in Germany soon after 1300. (This invention has a special interest for us. Very few sawmills were built in Europe for three hundred years after the invention. But almost as soon as Englishmen settled in America, lumber became one of the chief things they found it paid to send back to England — because the English forests were giving out — and so sawmills were built quickly on every stream in New England.)



SIR THOMAS MORE, — from a Rubens copy of a portrait by Holbein.

Two other inventions of the same period are important because they revolutionized society at large. *Gunpowder* (page 524), which found its first serious use in the wars of Charles V and Francis of France (page 556), gave the final blow to feudalism by "making all men the same height." And *printing* did more to build up a new society than gunpowder could to destroy the old.

1. When the early experimenters mixed saltpeter and charcoal and sulphur in their laboratories (page 524), they did not think of the mixture as *gun*-powder, for as yet there was no gun. But they did know that the powder had a strange power to scatter things by its explosion.



*Underwood and Underwood*

THE SPINNING WHEEL may still be found regularly in use in Switzerland, as this photo shows, as well as in parts of the Balkans and Scandinavia.

Then, some fifty years after Bacon died, it occurred to some forgotten genius that if this powder could only be put at the *closed* end of a strong tube, and exploded *there*, its power might drive an iron or stone ball out of the open end with great violence — and so make an altogether new kind of “hurling engine” for war. In 1346, in the *battle of Crécy* the English used “several small bombards,” said a writer of that day, “which, with fire and noise like God’s thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses*” of the French nobles. These first cannon were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops, and the powder was still very weak. About a century later there were cannon good enough to batter down the walls of feudal castles, and some infantry were armed with muskets, clumsy indeed, but capable of sending bullets through any armor of the time. Then lords no longer built useless “castles”: instead they began to construct spacious palaces or country houses, with broad galleries and richly decorated rooms lighted by many windows. (Compare the pictures facing pages 608 and 609.) The possession of firearms, too, made it easy, a little later, for the first small bands of Europeans to seize America from the natives.

2. For many centuries, we know now, the Chinese had printed



books from blocks, — *one block for a page*. A printer took a block of wood, the size of the page he wanted, and cut out on its face the words and sentences — just as men soon cut wooden blocks to make the kind of pictures that we call woodcuts. The wood was cut *away* from the letters, so that they were left *raised*. Then ink could be spread on this block, and if a page of paper were pressed down upon it, the page would be “printed.”

Sometime during the fourteenth century, this kind of printing reached Europe, probably through the Moors in Spain. It was cheaper than making books by pen and ink,



A BOMBARD. — From a sixteenth-century German woodcut.

because many copies of a page could be made from one block. All the copies, too, were just alike — without mistakes by a careless copyist. But when the printer had run off all the copies he wanted, the *very costly block was good for nothing more*. It could not be used in printing any other book, where the words were arranged differently, because *it was all one piece*. About 1450, however, a German block-printer, *John Gutenberg*, thought out a better way. He cut out *each letter separately*; then he bound these very small blocks, or *type*, together in words, enough to fill a page. When he had printed as many copies of this page as were wanted, he separated all the type and used them *over and over*, in new combinations, for other pages or to print other books. Soon, too, Gutenberg learned to “cast” his type out of *metal*, by running melted metal into molds that he had cut. Then he completed his work by inventing a “printing press,” to press the paper evenly and quickly upon the page of type. (This first press was worked up and down by a “screw,” much like the press used by Benjamin Franklin in America three centuries later.)

We have just been talking about "paper" instead of papyrus. Even Gutenberg's inventions would have been of little use, if, just before, Europeans had not found from the Moors in Spain how to make a cheap paper out of cloth and old rags.

Movable type, the screw-press, and cheap paper reduced the price of books at once to a twentieth of their old cost. Within a few years every city in Europe had its printing shop.



GUTENBERG showing the first page from his press to his daughter. — A modern painting. The press itself (worked by a screw and lever) is partly visible back of Gutenberg's assistant. Gutenberg had secured money to carry on his experiments from a certain John Faust, who became his partner. Faust sold the first printed books and came to be looked upon as a wizard and a dealer in "black art," because people could not understand how he got so many copies of a book so quickly unless the Devil helped him!

In 1474, *William Caxton*, an Englishman who had been studying in Germany, brought a press to England,<sup>1</sup> and before the year 1500, at Venice alone, three thousand different books had been printed, — probably a thousand copies of each. Europe had millions of books, where, fifty years before, it had only hundreds. The invention came, too, at a fortunate moment —

<sup>1</sup> Among Caxton's first books was an edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

just in time to preserve and spread the recovered classical learning and the new thought of the Protestant Revolt (page 580).

**There are only two other inventions of this period about which we may stop to speak.** (1) About 1600, Dutch scientists had improved Roger Bacon's "plaything" arrangement of far-seeing lenses into a fairly effective small telescope, which soon revealed other worlds in the heavens and enabled men to understand the movements of sun and stars better even than the Greeks had ever done.<sup>1</sup> And (2) more than a century earlier, sailors had learned at last to use Roger Bacon's terrifying "magnetic needle" — until it became, in truth, "the mariner's needle" and pointed the way to the discovery of a New World on this old earth.

*This last tremendous result was connected with new geographical discoveries and with growing commercial demands.*

The ancients had *played* with the notion of sailing around the earth. Aristotle speaks of "persons" who held that it might be possible, though Strabo (page 322) suggested that one or more continents in the Atlantic *between* Europe and Asia might prevent it. But during the Middle Ages men had come to believe that the known habitable earth was bounded on all sides by an uninhabitable and untraversable world, — on the north by snow and ice; on the south by a fiery zone of burning sands and boiling waters; on the west by watery wastes stretching down an inclined plane, up which men might not return; and on the east by a dim land of fog and fen, the abode of strange and terrible monsters.

These false views had been *partly* corrected by a better geographical knowledge of Asia, gained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Louis IX of France sent Friar Rubruk as ambassador to the court of the Tatar Khan in central Asia (1264 A.D.); and the friar on his return reported that he had heard of a *navigable ocean east of Cathay* (China), with a marvelously wealthy island, Zipango (Japan). This rumor made a

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<sup>1</sup> Bacon had prophesied that this would come to pass, but apparently he was never able himself to get good enough lenses.

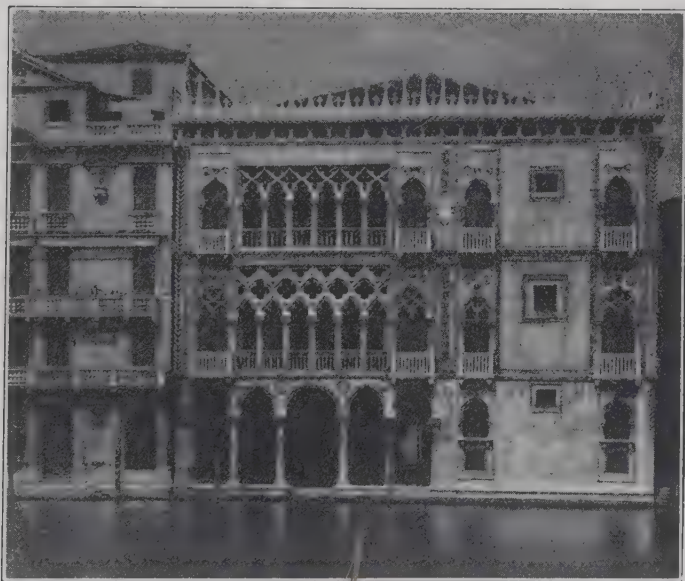
leap in men's thought. Friar Bacon in England (page 524) at once raised the question whether this eastern ocean might not be the same as the one that washed Europe on the west and whether men might not reach Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic. Indeed, Bacon wrote a book to support these conjectures, adding many opinions of the Ancients; and extensive extracts from this volume were copied into a later book, which was to become a favorite of Columbus. (The library at Seville in Spain preserves a copy of this volume, with marginal notes in Columbus' handwriting.)

The student must notice that, in taking up this topic, we have gone back to a point preceding the *beginning* even of the Renaissance. This speculation shows that medieval *scholars* understood the sphericity of the earth. Saracenic schools had preserved the old Greek knowledge in this matter, and some European thinkers had been familiar with it, even in the "Dark Ages."

When Bacon wrote upon the possibility of sailing west to Asia, he was still a young man. Many years later, **three Venetian merchants gave the European world other new facts about geography.** Two adventurous brothers of a well-known *Polo* family, with a young son of one of them, had left Venice for the East not long after the mission of Rubruk. For many long years Venice had heard nothing of them and had given them up for lost. But in fact, trading from land to land, they had at last made their way through Asia to the court of the Great Khan (the Mongol Emperor who then ruled China and much of central Asia, page 644).

There they traded for more than twenty years, winning vast riches and becoming favorite officials of the Emperor. But when they asked permission to return to Venice, the Khan was unwilling to let them go. Soon after, however, he wished to send his daughter as a bride to the king of Persia. The route by land was thousands of miles long, with mighty mountain ranges and desolate deserts to cross, besides being beset by innumerable savage tribes; so the expedition was to take a

longer but safer and quicker route by sea. The Khan knew of the fame of Venice as a sea power; and now he put the trusted Polos in charge of the expedition, — telling them, also, that when they had delivered his daughter to the Persian potentate they were at liberty to go on to their “neighboring” European home.



PALACE OF A NOBLE VENETIAN FAMILY. — Note the likeness of the arches and of the stone tracery to the same features in the Ducal Palace — on page 504.

This was done. The company took ship at Peking, sailed south in an *eastern* ocean along the coast of China, passed through the straits into the Indian Ocean, and, at the end of a two-year voyage, arrived at the head of the Persian Gulf, in territory that many European merchants had visited by caravan.

Back in Venice, the Polos, in their strange and travel-worn Chinese clothing, found it hard at first to get any one to believe their wonderful tales, or even to accept them as Venetian citizens. But they managed finally to gather a large company to



a splendid feast. There they appeared in rich Venetian robes, and, at the close, they brought out their ragged Chinese coats, ripping the seams to pour forth upon the tables heaps of flashing diamonds and glowing rubies and gleaming pearls — after which deed their wildest stories were no doubt readily accepted.

Bacon died that same year (1294) without having heard those stories. For that matter, in spite of the stir in Venice, few people anywhere else knew anything certain about the Polo reports for several years. The Crusades were still going on, and the Renaissance movement was yet to begin. Vague rumors floated about in European inns, where traveling merchants and pilgrims gathered, that some one had *heard* a strange and unbelievable story from some one else — who had said that he had *heard* it from some one else, and so on. No one knew just how much to believe. In those days merchants and travelers did not write out full accounts of their discoveries.

But, by a happy accident, a few years later, **Marco Polo *did* get his story into writing.** Venice and Genoa were fighting each other for the control of the trade through the Mediterranean (page 574). In one of the battles, Marco Polo was taken prisoner. He was kept some time in Genoa. There he entertained his fellow prisoners with long accounts of his adventures in Asia, and one of the company, being a professional scribe, wrote them down. Later they were published as *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*. Even then, for more than a century, the book was known only to scholars — still relatively few in number. But, after the inventions of Gutenberg, it was one of the first volumes put into print — to become soon one of the most widely read books of the closing years of the fifteenth century, and a favorite of Christopher Columbus. It told marvelous tales, some of them rather exaggerated, about Japan with its golden palaces, and about the huge Empire of Cathay (China), with its stores of jewels and gold, its rich and populous cities many times larger than any that Europe knew about, and its huge fleets for trading with the “twelve thousand seven hundred islands” that lay in the open ocean south and west.

**The return voyage of the Polos** had done more than confirm Rubruk's rumor about a navigable ocean east of Asia: it **proved also that one could sail from that ocean into the Indian Ocean**, which Europeans had known about since Alexander's day (page 191), but which had long been regarded as a landlocked lake. The many islands, too, of which Polo told as fringing that ocean toward the east, contained, among other groups, the *Spice Islands*, which Europe was mad to reach. Why not, then, directly by sea, along some new route on the Atlantic to the south or west?

From the time of the Polos it was natural for inquiring minds to *ask* such questions — as indeed Friar Bacon had done even before. Two hundred years later, new conditions regarding trade with the East set some practical and enterprising Europeans to trying seriously to *solve* those problems.

**Chief among all articles** that could still be obtained only from the Orient **the Europeans valued spices**. Cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, and pepper were used both to preserve foods — as we use them still in pickling — and also to keep people from noticing strong tastes and disagreeable odors of other food that would be wholly unacceptable to our more fastidious palates and nostrils to-day. Kings gave pepper to their favorites as the choicest of presents, and wealthy merchants sometimes left small boxes of it to their friends in their wills. And when such spices finally became not merely luxuries but necessities for all decently well-to-do people, they still came only at appallingly high prices. The merchants of northern Europe bought their spices from the Italians. The Italians got them from Greek, Turkish, or Saracen merchants in Constantinople, Egypt, or Palestine. These merchants, in turn, had first to import them from India or from the more distant Cathay. Indeed, the spices came, as they had in Roman times and as they still do for the most part, from a group of islands in the ocean southeast of China, known to Europe, by rumor, as the Spice Islands.

**All this trade was beset by uncertain perils and certain oppressive tolls.** At times, indeed, the Turks had shut off all such

trade through their dominions — and, in the fifteenth century, their advance seemed to threaten Europe with its complete loss. Constantinople, the emporium for the route by the Black Sea, fell to them at the middle of the century, and thereafter each year their power crept farther south in Asia, endangering the remaining route by the Red Sea. Such trade as there was was monopolized by Venice and Genoa, who fought each other for it but joined in wringing monopolistic profits from Western Europe for all its commodities. **The question was forced home to Western Europe** (now that Bacon and the Polos had once suggested it) **whether a new route could not be found**, free from tolls and oppression by either Asiatic Mohammedan or Italian Christian.

To try to solve that problem by actual practice called for high courage. The ships of that day, it is true, were much larger and better than those of the eleventh-century Vikings. Indeed, during the Crusades, they had probably become fully equal to the best commercial vessels of Roman times. The sailors, too, had at last learned how to tack, and to use a greater variety of sails, so that they could utilize the winds much better than the Phoenicians or Greeks had ever done. Moreover, as we have noted, they now had both the compass, to show direction, and also rude instruments to determine latitude at sea. But their best vessels were still not a hundredth the size of an ordinary merchant ship of to-day, and their best instruments lacked the nice precision of those of more modern times. Worst of all, nearly all common sailors, and even many ship-captains, were still deeply influenced by the old superstitions about the dangers of unknown seas. If we can realize these conditions, we must be amazed at the swift progress that the fifteenth-century mariners made in solving that problem of new trade routes to the East.

One of the recovered Christian principalities in the Spanish peninsula, *not* joined to the new Spanish kingdom of Ferdinand and Isabella (page 547), was *Portugal*. **Under Prince Henry the Navigator, the people of that little seacoast state** had already



COLUMBUS BEFORE ISABELLA





been building up a Portuguese empire in Africa and in the islands of the Atlantic (Azores, Canary, and Verde<sup>1</sup>); and about 1470 they began to attempt to reach India by sailing around Africa. In 1486 a Portuguese captain, *Bartholomeu Dias*, while engaged in this attempt, was carried far to the south in a storm, and, on his return to the coast, *he found it on his left hand as he*

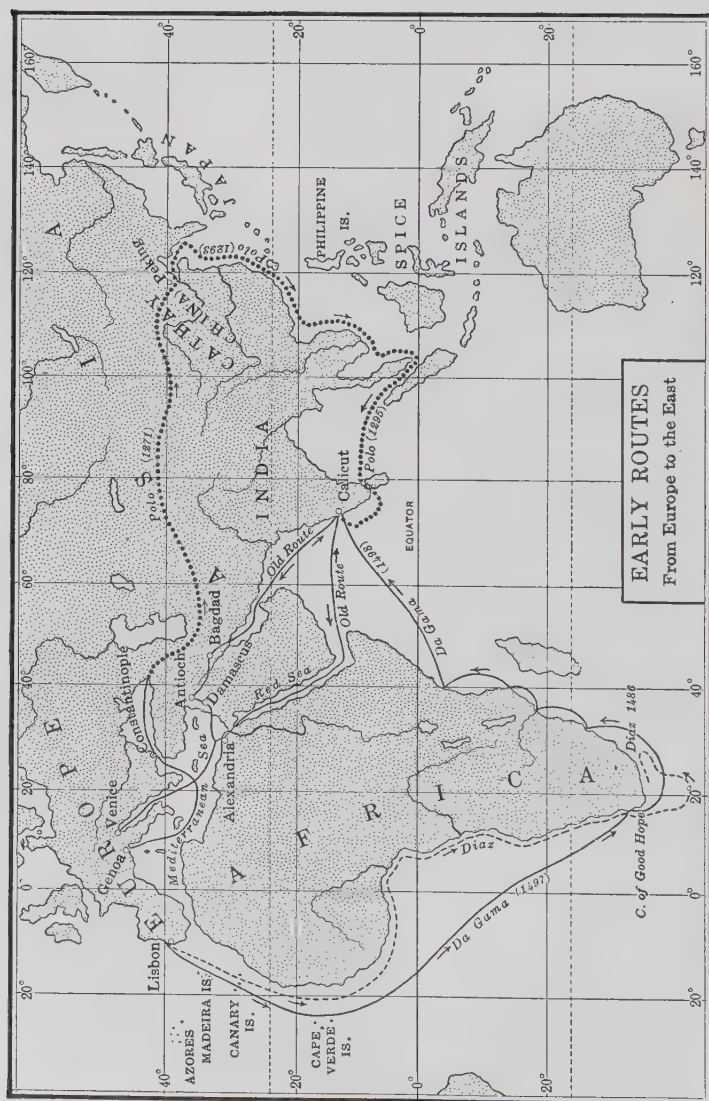


DANGERS LIKELY TO BE MET IN DISTANT SEAS, as a German artist pictured them in a woodcut of 1575. One ship has just been seized by a monstrous sea-serpent. Floating casks hint that another has been sunk or devoured, and a third would seem to have little chance to escape.

The picture is reproduced from an old German book in E. S. Bates' *Touring in 1600*, published by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston; and, through the courtesy of those publishers, its use is permitted here.

sailed northward. He followed it several hundred miles, well into what he was confident was the Indian Ocean. He was eager to keep on to India, but his terrified sailors compelled him to turn back to Portugal. India was not actually reached until the expedition of Vasco da Gama in 1498, after more memorable voyages in another direction.

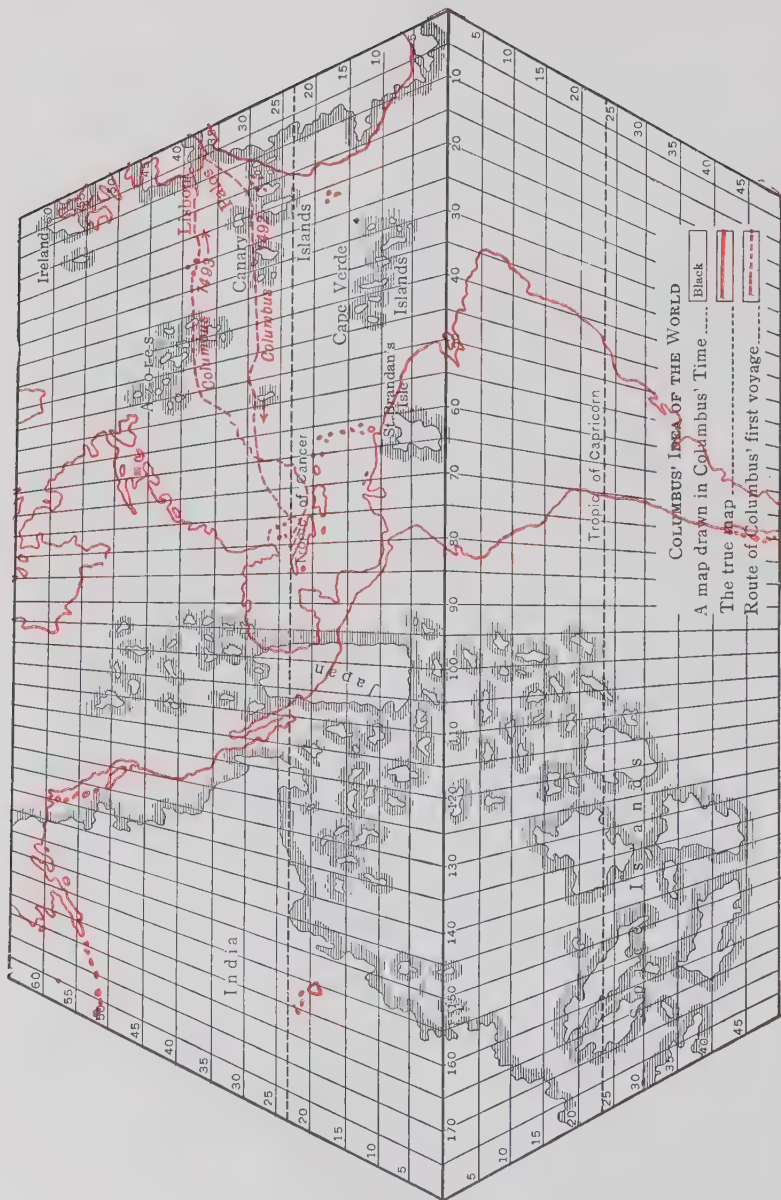
<sup>1</sup> The name "Cape Verde" indicates the surprise of the discoverers (1450) at verdure so far south.



The map *in black* on the reverse of this page was drawn for Columbus by a distinguished Italian geographer, *Toscanelli*. That scholar got his ideas from studying reports of European traders and travelers. He made one serious mistake. Like all scholars in that day, he thought the earth somewhat smaller than it really is, and, on supposed scriptural authority, he took it for granted that six sevenths of the surface was land — instead of only one fourth. Therefore he felt sure that Asia reached eastward toward Europe much farther than it really does. His map puts Japan only a trifle farther from Europe than Columbus actually sailed. (Notice also the many islands that Columbus expected to sail past before reaching the mainland of India.)

If Columbus had not accepted that error about the extent of Asia, it is not likely that even he would have tried the voyage at all. He had little doubt that the Portuguese were going to get their route around Africa, but that route was proving much longer than had originally been hoped. Columbus expected to find a *shorter* route. He was mistaken, we know now, in thinking the distance directly west to Asia from Europe less than by the route around the Cape of Good Hope, but that fortunate mistake led him to find America.

Compare Toscanelli's map with the true map as we now know it (*in red*) superimposed upon his.



One of the sailors with Dias in 1486, when in that way he rounded the Cape of "Good Hope," was a Bartholomew Columbus, whose brother *Christopher* also had sailed on several Portuguese voyages. Now, however, for some years, Christopher Columbus had devoted himself to the more daring theory that India could be reached by sailing west into the open Atlantic. Portugal, well content with her monopoly of African exploration, refused to assist him to try his plan. Henry VII of England also declined to furnish him ships. But finally, the high-minded Isabella of Castile, while the siege of Granada was in progress, fitted out his small fleet, and in 1492 Columbus revealed to Europe the continent of America — soon to be a chief factor in that "New World" toward which the old earth was now so swiftly spinning. That discovery, along with the religious revolution discussed in the next chapter, may be said to have closed medieval times and begun modern history.



Ewing Galloway

COLUMBUS' FLAGSHIP, the *Santa Maria*. Authorities vary as to its exact size, placing it from 90' x 20' to 114' x 26'. Like the Pilgrim *Mayflower*, it was no larger than an Athenian trireme (page 163), but its sails were more efficient.

### EXERCISES

1. Select events from this chapter that should go into your "Time Line."
2. Arrange a time-order test of important inventions and discoveries.
3. Make a list of "key names" for this period. (Or a group of students may prepare such a list and test the class upon them.)
4. Does the Age of the Renaissance resemble more our age or the two hundred years before 1300? If you have now answered that question while thinking only of the scholars and leaders of the Renaissance, answer it again while thinking of the masses of the people.
5. Do you see any resemblance between "block printing" (page 567) and the ancient use of seals (pages 51, 54)?



## TO TEACHERS

Many of the schools using this two-book *Progress* series prefer to close the first year's work at the point reached by the preceding chapter. Possibly a still larger number think it best to carry the first year's work through some three centuries more — up to the French Revolution. To meet the wishes of that second class of schools, the following chapters deal with that additional period. But, in as much as the topics of the early modern period are so intimately related to the later modern Europe, those chapters are to be repeated, with even greater detail, in the opening part of *Modern Progress* — the second volume of the series. Partly for that reason, and partly because of limits of space in this volume, those additional chapters in the following pages give an extremely condensed treatment and omit wholly certain important topics which are to find consideration in the succeeding volume.

## PART VII

### FROM COLUMBUS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

#### CHAPTER XL

##### THE REFORMATION

*The old order changeth, yielding place to new,  
And God fulfills himself in many ways  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.*

— TENNYSON.

##### I. LUTHERANISM

All the later references to the church have involved some mention of abuses growing up within it. Good Christians lamented those abuses. A few broad-minded, genial men, like Erasmus, strove earnestly to *reform* them. Less patient, more impetuous men broke away in a revolt which divided Western Christendom into hostile camps for centuries and which is called the Protestant "Reformation."

The revolt began in Germany. That land had a special grievance. It was a poor country; but, since it lacked a strong government, its little, hard-won wealth was drained away to richer Italy by extortionate papal taxes of many sorts. A like abuse existed in other countries, but nowhere else so seriously, because all the "new monarchies" protected their subjects from it in greater or less degree (pages 543, 544). From peasant to prince, the German people had long grumbled as they paid, and they needed only a leader to rise against papal control.

Martin Luther (1483-1546), son of a Thuringian peasant-miner, became that leader. Luther was a born fighter, — a

straightforward, forceful man, with a blunt homely way that sometimes degenerated into coarseness. Erasmus addressed scholars and polite society: Luther spoke to the plain people. His effective preaching, as an Augustinian friar, had attracted the attention of Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony, who made him a professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg.

Luther's revolt *began* in his opposition to the sale of indulgences. The Pope was completing St. Peter's Cathedral (facing page 561) with great magnificence. To raise money for that purpose, a German archbishop had licensed John Tetzel, a Dominican, to grant indulgences. The practice was an old one, arising easily out of the doctrine of "penance." The authorized teaching of the church was that, in reward for some pious act — or for the gift of money for a pious purpose — a sinner *who had truly repented and who had, so far as possible, atoned for his sins*, might have the punishment due *in purgatory* remitted by the church. The ignorant masses, unable to read the Latin documents, often thought that such an "indulgence" was an *unconditional* pardon, and some "pardoners," who peddled such "letters," encouraged this error. Tetzel was a special offender in this way. A rude German couplet, ascribed to him, runs, "The money rattles in the box; the soul from purgatory flies." More than a hundred years before, the bright-souled Chaucer had given the only bitter lines in his *Canterbury Tales* to the Pardoner with his wallet "bret-full of pardons, come from Rome all hot." Now a visit of Tetzel to Wittenberg, with a batch of these papal letters, aroused Luther to more vehement protest.

On a Sunday in October, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the Wittenberg church ninety-five "theses" (statements) against the practice of *selling* indulgences, upon which he challenged all comers to debate. That door was the usual university bulletin board where it was customary for one scholar to challenge others to debate. But Luther's act had consequences far beyond the university. The theses were *in Latin*, the regular university language; but the printing press scat-

tered copies broadcast *in German*, and in a few days they were being discussed hotly over all Germany.

Soon, however, this matter dropped out of sight. The papal legate in Germany reprimanded Tetzel sternly for his gross mispractice, and the church corrected the abuse. But, meanwhile, Luther had adopted more radical opinions. In 1519 he *denied the authority of the Pope, appealing instead to the Bible as the sole rule of conduct and belief*. Then when at last a papal bull ordered him to recant and to burn his heretical writings, **Luther burned instead the papal bull** before the town gate in **December, 1520**, while a crowd of students and townsfolk brought fuel for the bonfire.

Luther *tried* to substitute one authority for another. He had no intention of advancing freedom of thought. But the Bible is capable of many interpretations. Luther's appeal to the Bible as the sole authority meant Luther's understanding of the Bible. In the mouth of another man, however, the same appeal meant that other's understanding of the book. So, *unintentionally*, the Protestant revolt came to stand for *the right of individual judgment*.

**The Pope appealed to the young Emperor, Charles V** (page 556), **to punish the heretic**. Germany was in uproar. The Emperor called an imperial Diet <sup>1</sup> at Worms (1521) and summoned Luther to be present, pledging safe conduct. Friends tried to dissuade Luther from going, pointing to the fate of Hus a century before (page 545), but he replied merely, "I would go on if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." At the Diet he was confronted with scornful contempt by the great dignitaries of the church and of the Empire. But to the haughty command that he recant, he answered firmly, "Unless I am proven wrong by Scripture or plain reason . . . my con-

<sup>1</sup> The German *Diet* in early times contained only nobles. In the fourteenth century, representatives of the "free cities" were admitted. Then the Diet sat usually in three houses, Electors (the seven great princes), Princes (of second rank), and City Representatives. It never gained any real place in the government of the Empire.

science is caught in the word of God. . . . Here I stand. As God is my help, I can no otherwise."

Charles kept his pledge, and Luther departed in safety. A month later the Diet pronounced against him the "ban of the Empire," ordering that he be put to death, and his writings burned. But the friendly Frederick of Saxony, secretly, had had him seized on his way homeward and carried into hiding in



LUTHER AT THE DIET OF WORMS.

the castle of Wartburg. Most of his followers mourned him as dead, but in this refuge Luther translated the New Testament into strong and simple German. While he was still in hiding, his teachings were accepted by whole communities. Priests married; nuns and monks left their convents; powerful princes joined the new communion, sometimes from honest conviction, sometimes as an excuse for seizing church lands.

In 1522, Luther left his safe retreat to guide the movement again in person and to restrain it from going to extremes that he disliked. Changes in religion, he urged, should be made only *by the governments*, not by the people. He preserved all that he could of the old church services and organization, establishing them on essentially the basis on which they still stand in Lutheran lands. By 1530 that church had won North Germany.



In 1529 another Diet by a divided vote reaffirmed the decree of Worms. Against this condemnation the Lutherans presented a formal protest — which gave them the name *Protestant*.

Charles V was a zealous churchman, and if his hands had been free, he would have crushed Lutheranism at its birth. But while the Diet of Worms had been condemning Luther, the Spanish towns had been rising in revolt and Francis I of France was seizing Italian territory (page 556). Soon, too, Solyman the Magnificent (the Turkish Sultan) invaded Austria. Charles promptly crushed the ancient liberties of the Spanish towns, but the wars against France and the Turk, with only brief truces, filled the next twenty-three years (1521-1544).

When Charles *did* find his hands free for Germany, Protestantism was too strong even for his power, and he was forced to accept the **Peace of Augsburg** (1555), *which left each prince of the Empire free to choose the religion for his province*. (The people were expected docilely to accept the religion of their ruler.)

The Protestants in their danger had sought aid from the French king, and **France for her reward had seized some German districts**, including the city of Metz. Chagrined at the loss, and disheartened by the split within the Empire, **Charles abdicated** his many crowns in 1556. His brother *Ferdinand* became ruler of Austria, and soon after was chosen Emperor. Charles' son, *Philip II*, received the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, and Spanish America. **There were now two Hapsburg Houses**, one in Spain, one in Austria.

## II. CALVINISM — IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

While Lutheranism was winning North Germany and Scandinavia, **another form of Protestantism, Calvinism, was growing up in Switzerland** and, for a time, in France.

This movement was started in 1519 (the year *before* Luther burned the papal bull) by *Zwingli*, a priest at Zürich in German Switzerland. Zwingli, like Luther, was of peasant birth. He was far more radical than Luther, *refusing to keep anything of the old religion that he did not think absolutely commanded by the Bible*.

Zwingli's teachings were accepted rapidly by the rich "city cantons" of Switzerland, both German and French, like Zürich and Bern. But the peasant "forest cantons," the core of the original confederation (page 549), remained Catholic. In a battle between the two parties, in 1531, Zwingli was killed; but his work was soon taken up — and carried further — by the man whose name has come to stand for the whole movement.

**John Calvin** was a young French scholar of sternly logical mind. He is the father of **Puritan theology** and of the **Presbyterian church**, with its system of synods and presbyteries. This church government and doctrine he built up at Geneva.

Geneva was a French town in the Swiss Alps. It was not yet a member of the Swiss confederation, but it had recently become a free city-republic by rebellion against its overlord. That overlord had been a Catholic ecclesiastic; and so Geneva was now ready to accept Protestant teachings. In 1536, Calvin, a fugitive from France because of his heresy, found refuge there and soon became an absolute dictator over both the church and the civil government. Geneva became a Puritan "theocracy," "with Calvin for its pope."

Calvin took the law of Moses rather than the spirit of Christ for the basis of his legislation. He harshly repressed innocent sports and amusements like dancing, but his writings influenced profoundly his own and future times. Ardent reformers from all Europe flocked to Geneva to imbibe his teachings, and then returned *to spread Calvinism in their own lands*. From Geneva came the seeds of *Scotch Presbyterianism*, of *the great Puritan movement within the English church* (soon to be treated), of *the leading Protestant movement among the Dutch*; and of the *Huguenot church of France*. It is from the French Calvin, not the German Luther, that modern liberal Protestantism has sprung. True, Calvin did not believe in democracy, and he taught that for "subjects" to resist even a wicked ruler was "to resist God"; but, in spite of this teaching, in the course of historical movements, Calvinism became the ally of political freedom in Holland, England, and America.

### III. CATHOLICISM KEEPS THE SOUTH OF EUROPE

For a time, Protestantism promised to win also the south of Europe ; but **Spain, Italy, France, Bohemia, and South Germany were finally saved to Catholicism.**

This was *mainly* because the old church quickly purged itself of old abuses. At first Erāsmus and other Humanists had been interested in the work of Luther. But when it became plain that that movement was breaking up the unity of Christendom, they were violently repelled by it. They continued to work, however, with even greater zeal than before, for *reform within the church*. Reform was finally carried out by the **Council of Trent** (1545-1563). That great body did not change Catholic forms ; but it defined some doctrines more exactly, and infused a greater moral energy into the church.

The new religious enthusiasm within the Catholic world gave birth, also, to several new religious orders. The most important of these was the "Order of Jesus" (Jésuits), founded in 1534 by *Ignatius Loyola*, a gallant Spanish gentleman of deep religious feeling. The Jesuits stood to the friars somewhat as the friars stood to the older monks. Holding fast like the friars to an intensely religious private life, *they represented a further advance into the world of public affairs*. Their members mingled with men in *all* capacities. Especially did they distinguish themselves as *statesmen* and as *teachers*. Their schools were the best in Europe, and many a Protestant youth was drawn back by them to Catholicism, while their many devoted missionaries among the heathen in the New World won vast regions to Christianity and Catholicism.

Unhappily, less praiseworthy forces had a share in the victory of Catholicism. Religious wars, we shall see (page 595 f.), in large part kept France, Bohemia, and South Germany Catholic, and elsewhere the final success of the Catholic church in crushing out Protestantism was due in part to *the Inquisition*.

That institution had arisen three centuries before, in connection with the crushing of the Albigensian heresy (page 478). When open resistance ceased in desolated Languedoc, the Pope

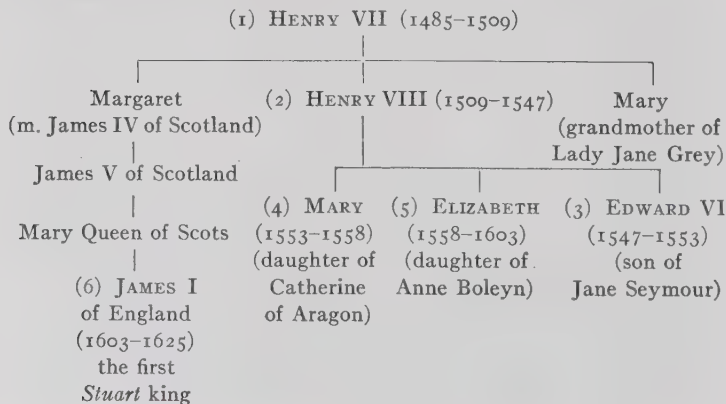
set up a special court to hunt out and exterminate any *secret* heretics remaining there. Soon afterward, *this court*, enlarged and reorganized, *became a regular part of the government of the church for suppressing heresy*. In this final form it is commonly known as the *Spanish Inquisition*, though it held sway also in Portugal and Italy. *Persecution of unbelievers was characteristic of the age. It disgraced every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic*. But no Protestant land possessed a device so admirably calculated to accomplish its purpose as the Inquisition.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Beard's *Martin Luther*, or (briefer but excellent) Lindsay's *Luther and the German Reformation*; Ward's *The Counter-Reformation*; Robinson's *Readings in European History*, for source material. Parkman's histories, especially *Pioneers of New France* (chs. v and vi) and *Jesuits in North America* (ch. ii), contain interesting accounts of Jesuit missionaries. If available, the scholarly *Catholic Encyclopedia* should be consulted for its articles on "Luther" and "Indulgences."

#### IV. ENGLAND AND THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

In England Henry VIII<sup>1</sup> had at first shown himself zealous against Luther, and had even written a book in opposition to Luther's teaching, in return for which the Pope had conferred

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 311. The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family. (Three of Henry VIII's wives, by whom he had no children, are not shown.)



upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." A little later, however, Henry desired a divorce from his wife, the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V (page 554). Catherine's only child was a girl (Mary), and Henry was anxious for a son. More to the point, he wished to marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court.

After long negotiation, ~~the~~ Pope refused to grant the divorce. **Thereupon Henry put himself in the place of the Pope so far as his island was concerned,** and secured the divorce from his own courts. The clergy and people were then forbidden, by an act of Henry's well-disciplined Parliament, to make any further payments to "the Bishop of Rome" (1532), and an "Act of Supremacy" declared Henry the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." When Parliament passed these laws, Lutheran doctrine had just been put into complete form in the Augsburg Confession; and Calvin was about to take up Zwingli's work.

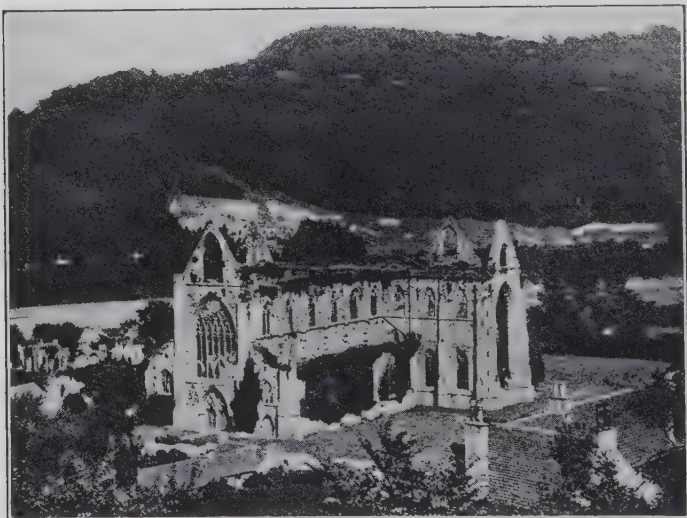
**Thus in England, separation from Rome was due at first to personal motives of the monarch.** *So far there had been no attack on the religious doctrines of the old church; and Henry wished none.* But his chief advisers, especially Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had pronounced his divorce, had strong Protestant leanings, and so *some additional measures were secured.* The doctrine of purgatory was declared false; an English Bible was placed in every church; and parts of the old Latin service were replaced by an English service.

**Most of England accepted these changes calmly.** Even the clergy made no serious resistance, as a class, to the overthrow of the Pope's power. The monasteries, however, were centers of criticism. Henry determined to root out resistance, and to enrich himself, by their utter ruin; and, at the king's wish, Parliament dissolved the seven hundred such institutions in England. A little of their wealth was set aside to found schools and hospitals (in place of the work in such lines formerly done by the monasteries themselves), but Henry seized most of the monastic lands for the crown. Then he parceled out parts of them, shrewdly, to new nobles and the gentry. Thousands of influen-



tial families were enriched by such gifts, and became centers of hostility to any reconciliation with Rome that would ruin their private fortunes.

These changes were as far as Henry would go; and, to the close of his long reign, he beheaded "traitors" who recognized papal headship, and burned "heretics" who denied papal doc-



RUINS OF TINTERN ABBEY TO-DAY.

trines. In one day, in 1540, three "heretics" and three "traitors" suffered death. The most famous martyr was the Catholic Sir Thomas More (page 564).

Henry was succeeded by his son **Edward VI.** The new king was a boy of nine, and during his short reign the government was held by a rapacious clique of Protestant lords. Partly to secure fresh plunder, these men tried to carry England into the full current of the Protestant movement. Priests were allowed to marry. The use of the old litany, and of incense, holy water, and the surplice, was forbidden. The *English Prayer Book* was put into substantially its present form, under the direction of Cranmer (page 587), and articles of faith were adopted which inclined toward Calvinistic doctrine.

Henry had had Parliament fix the order in which his children should be entitled to succeed him; and so when Edward died at fifteen, **the throne passed to his elder half-sister, Mary**, daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Mary was an earnest Catholic with an intense *personal* repugnance, too, for the Protestant movement, which had begun in England by the disgrace of her



THE ABBEY CHURCH AT ST. ALBANS, — one of the few structures of this kind in England in a state of good preservation.

mother. The nation was still overwhelmingly Catholic in feeling. The Protestants were active, organized, and influential; but they were few in numbers, and Mary had no difficulty in doing away with the Protestant innovations of her brother's time. But *she wanted* more than this: she wished to undo her father's work, and *to restore England to its allegiance to the Pope*. Parliament readily voted the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, but it refused stubbornly to restore the church lands. Finally the Pope wisely waived this point. Then the nation was solemnly absolved, and received back into the Roman church.

**But Mary destroyed her work by marrying Philip of Spain**, son of the Emperor Charles V, **and by a bloody persecution of Protestants**. All English patriots dreaded, with much reason,

lest little England be made a mere province of the world-wide Spanish rule; and even zealous Catholics shuddered at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition, looming up behind the queen's hated Spanish bridegroom.

Mary's persecution in itself was quite enough to rouse popular hatred. *In a few months*, more than two hundred and seventy martyrs were burned, — nearly half the entire number that suffered death for conscience' sake (avowedly) in all English history. Catholics had died for their faith under both Henry and Edward; but *there had been no such piling up of executions*; and, moreover, most of those Catholic victims had been put to death, *nominally* at least, not for religious opinions but as detested traitors. The executions, too, with a few exceptions, had taken place not by fire but by the more familiar headsman's ax. England had taken calmly the persecutions by those preceding sovereigns, but it was now deeply stirred. The most famous martyrs were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Ridley and Latimer. "Play the man, Master Ridley," called Latimer to his companion as they approached the stake; "we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

Mary died after a troubled reign of five years. As Henry's parliaments had arranged, she was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth.

**Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.** From her father, she had a strong body, a powerful intellect, an imperious will, and dauntless courage, and from both parents, a sort of bold beauty and a strain of coarseness. She had grown up in Henry's court among the men of the New Learning, and was probably the best educated woman of her century, — speaking several languages and reading both Latin and Greek. She has been called "a true child of the Renaissance," too, in her freedom from moral scruple. To Elizabeth, says a great historian, "a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty."

She was often vacillating in policy; but she was a keen judge of men, and had the good sense to keep about her a group of

wise and patriotic counselors. Above all, she had a deep love for her country. After more than forty years of rule, she said proudly, and, on the whole, truly, — “ I do call God to witness, never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my subjects’ good.”



SHAKESPEARE'S THEATER, *The Globe*.—This structure was built in 1599 and was burned in 1613 by a fire caused by discharge of “cannon” in a presentation of the play *Henry VIII*. English towns were just beginning to have theaters for indoor plays in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Plays were still given only by day. (Why?) The poor found place not in the gallery, as now, but in “the pit” — on the floor just in front of the stage. The crowd there might get wet from a sudden shower, because, far above them, the roof was left open, so as to get light for the stage. They had to stand, also, for there were no seats in the pit. Most of the spectators sat in the balconies, and very important people were given chairs on the stage itself — where their remarks often interfered with the actors.

And England repaid her love with a passionate and romantic devotion to its “Virgin Queen.” Except for her counselors, men knew little of Elizabeth’s deceit and vulgarity and weaknesses. They saw only that her long reign had piloted England safely through a maze of foreign perils, and had built up its power and dignity abroad and its unity and prosperity at home, while her court was made glorious by splendid bands of statesmen, warriors, and poets. Except for the “Oxford Reformers”

(page 563), England had lagged behind in the early Renaissance, but now *the Elizabethan Renaissance* gave that land a first place in the movement. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene*. And **the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama**, with *Shakespeare* as the most resplendent star in a glorious galaxy that counted such other shining names as *Marlowe*, *Greene*, *Beaumont*, *Fletcher*, and *Ben Jonson*. Possibly even more important was the scientific progress of *Harvey* (page 603) and of *Francis Bacon* (page 604). Amid the petty squabbles of succeeding reigns, England looked back with longing to "the spacious days of great Elizabeth."

When Elizabeth came to the throne, at least two thirds of England was still Catholic in doctrine. Elizabeth herself had no liking for Protestantism, while she did like the pomp and ceremonial of the old church. She wanted neither the system of her sister nor that of her brother, but would have preferred to go back to that of her father. But the extreme Catholic party did not recognize her mother's marriage as valid, and so denied Elizabeth's claim to the throne. This forced her to throw herself into the hands of the Protestants. She gave all chief offices in church and state to that active, intelligent, well-organized minority, and **the "Elizabethan Settlement" established the English Episcopal church much as it still stands**. At about the same time, *John Knox* brought Calvinism from Geneva to Scotland, and organized *the Scotch Presbyterian church*.

Early in Elizabeth's reign, an "Act of Uniformity" had ordered all people to attend the Protestant worship, under threat of extreme penalties; but for many years this act was not enforced strictly, and Catholics were permitted to have their own services, if concealed by some pretense of privacy. But after Catholic plots against her throne began, Elizabeth adopted stronger measures. Many leading Catholics were fined and imprisoned for refusing to attend the English church. Under a new law, too, Catholic priests, and others who made



converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, were declared guilty of *treason*. Many martyrs suffered torture on the rack and death on the scaffold, but Protestant England looked upon them as traitors rather than martyrs.

England was constantly threatened by the two great powers of Europe, Catholic France and Spain. Neither, however, was willing to see the other gain England; and by skillfully playing off one against the other, Elizabeth kept peace for many years, gaining time for England to grow strong.

Gradually it became clear that the real foe was Spain. Then Elizabeth secretly gave aid to the Dutch, who were in rebellion against Philip II of Spain (page 595), and English adventurers like Francis Drake sailed on their private account, half pirate fashion, to attack Spain in the New World. Finally Philip launched his "**Invincible Armada**" for the conquest of England (1588). English ships of all sorts — mostly little merchant vessels hastily



DRAKE'S *Golden Hind*, the first English ship to circumnavigate the globe. See also facing page 594.

transformed into a war navy — gathered in the Channel; and, to the amazement of the world, the small but swift and better handled English vessels completely outfought the great Spanish navy in a splendid nine days' sea fight. Spain never recovered her supremacy on the sea, — *and the way was prepared for the English colonization of America.*

To the chagrin of Spanish king and Roman Pope, the mass of English Catholics had proved more English than papal, and had rallied gallantly to the queen; and, for young Englishmen, *the splendid struggle made Protestantism and patriotism seem much the same thing.* **The rising generation became largely Protestant;** and before Elizabeth's death, even the Puritan

doctrines from Geneva and from Presbyterian Scotland had begun to spread widely among the people.

**Ireland, the third part of the British Isles, remained Catholic.** Henry II (page 460) had tried to conquer Ireland; but, until the time of the Tudors, the English really held only a little strip of land ("the English Pale") near Dublin. The rest remained in the hands of native chieftains, but constant war rooted out the old beginnings of Irish culture.

Henry VIII established English authority over most of the island and destroyed the monasteries, the chief remaining centers of industry and learning. Shortly before the Armada, Spain made attempts to use the island as a base from which to attack England. Alarmed to frenzy by this deadly peril at their back door, **Elizabeth's generals then completed the military subjugation with atrocious cruelties.** Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were killed, or perished of famine in the Irish bogs, and great districts of the country were given to English nobles and gentry. Incessant feuds continued between the peasantry and these absentee landlords, and the Irish nation looked on the attempt to introduce the Church of England as part of the hated English tyranny. As English patriotism became identified with Protestantism, so, even more completely, **Irish patriotism became identified with Catholicism.**

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *English People* remains the best general account for this period. Creighton's and Beesly's lives of *Elizabeth* are good short biographies. Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* portrays vividly the feeling of Protestant England toward Spain and the rivalry upon the sea.



ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE ON BOARD THE GOLDEN HIND.



## CHAPTER XLI

### A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS

When **Philip II** succeeded his father (page 583) as king of Spain and of the Sicilies and as master of the Netherlands, he **was the most powerful and most nearly absolute monarch in Europe.** The Spanish infantry were the finest soldiery in the world. The Spanish navy was the unquestioned mistress of the ocean. Each year the great "gold fleet" filled Philip's coffers from the exhaustless wealth of the Americas. In 1580 the ruling family in Portugal died out, and that throne (with Portugal's East India empire) was seized by Philip.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish boast that the sun never set upon Spanish dominions was literal fact.

Philip himself was a plodding, cautious toiler — despotic, cruel, unscrupulous. Charles V had disregarded the old liberties of the Netherlands (page 552) and had set up the Inquisition there with frightful consequences. **Philip continued his father's abuses in that country,** without possessing any of his redeeming qualities in Dutch eyes. He was a foreign master — not a Hollander by birth as Charles had been — and he ruled from a distance and through Spanish officers. Finally, Protestant and Catholic nobles joined in demands for reform and especially that they might be ruled by officers from their own people. Philip's reply was to send the stern Spanish general, *Alva*, with a veteran army, to enforce submission. *Alva's Council of Blood* declared almost the whole population guilty of rebellion, and deserving of death with confiscation of goods. This atrocious sentence was enforced by butchery of great numbers — especially of the wealthy classes — and in 1568 a revolt began.

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<sup>1</sup> Portugal reëstablished her independence, by revolt, in 1640.



**The struggle between the little disunited provinces and the huge world-empire lasted forty years.** In the beginning the conflict was for political liberty, but it soon became also a religious struggle. It was waged with an exasperated and relentless fury that made it a byword for ferocity even in that brutal age. City after city became the victim of indiscriminate rapine and massacre at the hands of Spanish soldiery, but in the end the stubborn heroism of the Dutch people saved not themselves only but also the cause of Protestantism and of political liberty for the world.

**William, Prince of Orange, was the central hero of the conflict.** Because he foiled his enemies so often by wisely keeping his plans to himself, he is known as *William the Silent*, and his persistency and statesmanship have fitly earned him the name "the Dutch Washington." Again and again he seemed to be crushed, but from each defeat he snatched a new chance for victory.

**The turning point of the war was the relief of Leyden.** For many months that city had been closely besieged. The people had devoured the cats and rats and were dying grimly of starvation. Once they murmured, but the heroic burgomaster (mayor) shamed them, declaring they might have his body to eat but while he lived they should never surrender to the Spanish butchers. All attempts to relieve the perishing town had failed. But fifteen miles away, on the North Sea, rode a Dutch fleet with supplies. Then William the Silent cut the dykes and let in the ocean on the land. Over wide districts the prosperity of years was engulfed in ruin; but the waves swept also over the Spanish camp, and upon the invading sea the relieving ships rode to the city gates. Dutch liberty was saved.

**Holland had been fighting England's battle as well as her own:** only the Dutch war had kept Philip from attacking England. Englishmen knew this; and, for years, hundreds of English volunteers had been flocking to join the Dutch army. Elizabeth herself had many times helped the Dutch by secret supplies of money, and at last, in 1585, she sent a small English army to their aid. This was the immediate signal for the

### at the Truce of 1609



Spanish Armada. Then the overthrow of Spain's naval supremacy (page 593) added tremendously to Holland's chances.

True, the ten southern provinces of the old Netherlands finally gave up the struggle, and returned to Spanish allegiance. (They were largely French in race and Catholic in religion. Protestantism was now completely stamped out in them. After this time, they are known as the *Spanish Netherlands*, and finally as modern *Belgium*.) But **the seven northern provinces** — Dutch in blood and Protestant in religion — maintained the conflict, and **won their independence as The United Provinces, or the Dutch Republic.**

The government consisted of a representative "States General" and a "Stadholder" (President). The most important of the seven provinces was Holland, by whose name the union was often known.

The most marvelous feature of the struggle between the little Dutch state and Spain was that **Holland grew wealthy during the contest**, although the stage of the desolating war. The Dutch drew their riches not from the wasted land, but from the sea, for during the war they plundered the possessions of Spain in the East Indies. The little republic built up a vast colonial empire, and, especially after Spain's naval supremacy had been engulfed with the Armada, it held almost a monopoly of the Asiatic trade for all Europe. One hundred thousand of the three million people of Holland lived constantly upon the sea.

Moreover, either their success in so heroic a war or their new-won prosperity in trade stimulated the Dutch to a wonderful activity. Holland taught all Europe scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as the science of navigation, and in the seventeenth century her presses put forth more books than all the rest of Europe.

**On the other hand, Spain sank rapidly into a second-rate power.** The bigot, Philip III, drove into exile the Christianized Moors, the descendants of those Mohammedans left behind when the Moorish *political* power had been driven out. They had numbered perhaps a twentieth of the entire population of

Spain — and had been the foremost agriculturists and almost the sole skilled artisans. Their pitiless expulsion was a deadly blow to the prosperity of Spain. For a time the wealth she drew from America concealed her fall. But after the Armada she never played a great part in Europe, and, *living on the plunder of the New World*, she failed to develop the industrial life which alone could furnish a true prosperity. Moreover, the Inquisition steadily “sifted out the most flexible minds and the stoutest hearts,” until a once virile race sank into apathy and decay.

**Another religious struggle (1562–1598) long desolated France** — between the Huguenots (the French Calvinists) and their persecutors. This strife was complicated by personal rivalries between groups of great lords, and, even worse than the other wars of the period, it was marked by assassinations and treacheries — the most horrible of which was the famous *Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day* (August 24, 1572) in which 10,000 Huguenots perished.

The Huguenot leader, however, young **Henry of Navarre**, escaped, and, on the death of the childless French king in 1589, he became heir to the throne. Philip of Spain, to prevent his accession, gave aid to the Catholic lords — but now Philip met the third of the great leaders on whom his schemes went to wreck. Henry drove the Spanish army in shameful rout from France in a dashing cavalry battle — in which his own white plume marked the front of the French charge. Then, to secure Paris, which he had long besieged, and to give peace to his distracted country, he accepted Catholicism, declaring lightly that “so fair a city” was “well worth a mass.” In 1598 **Henry's Edict of Nantes established toleration for the Huguenots**, and handed over to them certain towns, to hold with their own garrisons, as security for their rights.

Henry's son, Louis XIII, came to the throne in 1610 as a boy of nine. **Anarchy again raised its head, but France was saved by the commanding genius of Cardinal Richelieu**, the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu was a sincere patriot,

and, though he was an earnest Catholic, his statesmanship was guided by political, not by religious, motives. He crushed the great nobles and he waged war upon the Huguenots to deprive them of their garrisoned towns, which menaced the unity of France. But when he had captured their cities and held the Huguenots at his mercy, he kept toward them in full the other pledges of the Edict of Nantes. At the same time, he aided the German Protestants against the Catholic Emperor, in the religious war that was going on in Germany, and so secured a chance to seize territory from the Empire for France.

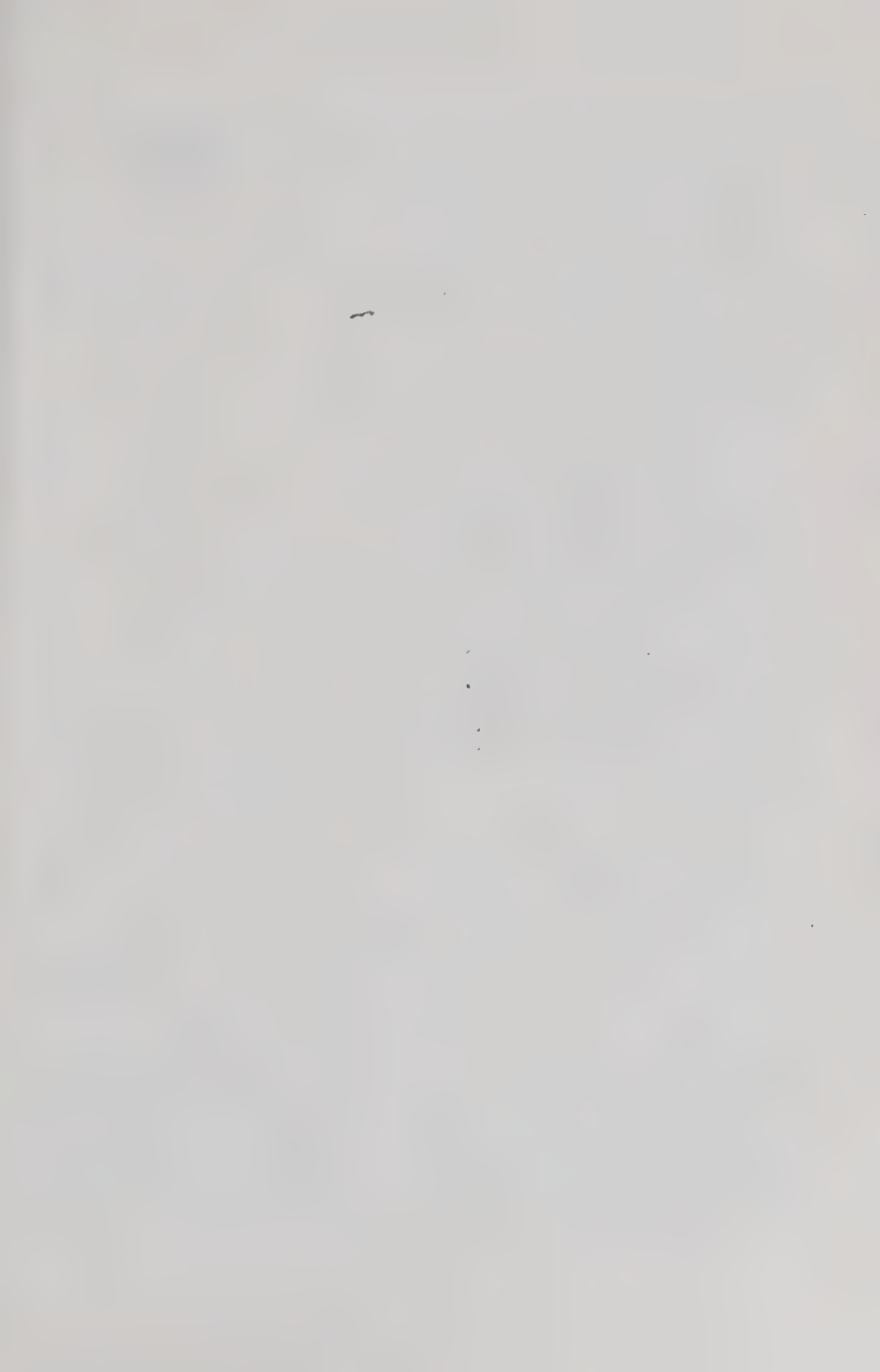
The period of the religious wars in the Netherlands and France had been a period of uneasy peace in Germany; but now came in that land the last of the great religious wars — just a hundred years after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg.

In this **Thirty Years' War** (1618-1648), the Protestant German princes showed themselves disunited and timid. But first Denmark and then Sweden entered the field in behalf of the Protestant cause, and at last (1635-1648), for more selfish reasons, Catholic France also under Richelieu threw its decisive weight against the Hapsburgs who had long ringed France about with hostile arms.

The war was marked by the careers of four great generals, — *Tilly* and *Wallenstein* on the imperial side, and *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of Sweden, "the Lion of the North," and *Mansfeld*, on the side of the Protestants. Gustavus was at once great and admirable, but he fell at the battle of Lützen (1632) in the moment of victory. Thereafter the struggle was as dreary as it was terrible. Mansfeld and Wallenstein from the first deliberately adopted the policy of making the war pay, by supporting their armies everywhere upon the country, but during the short career of Gustavus, his blond Swede giants were held in admirable discipline, with the nearest approach to a regular commissariat that had been known since Roman times.

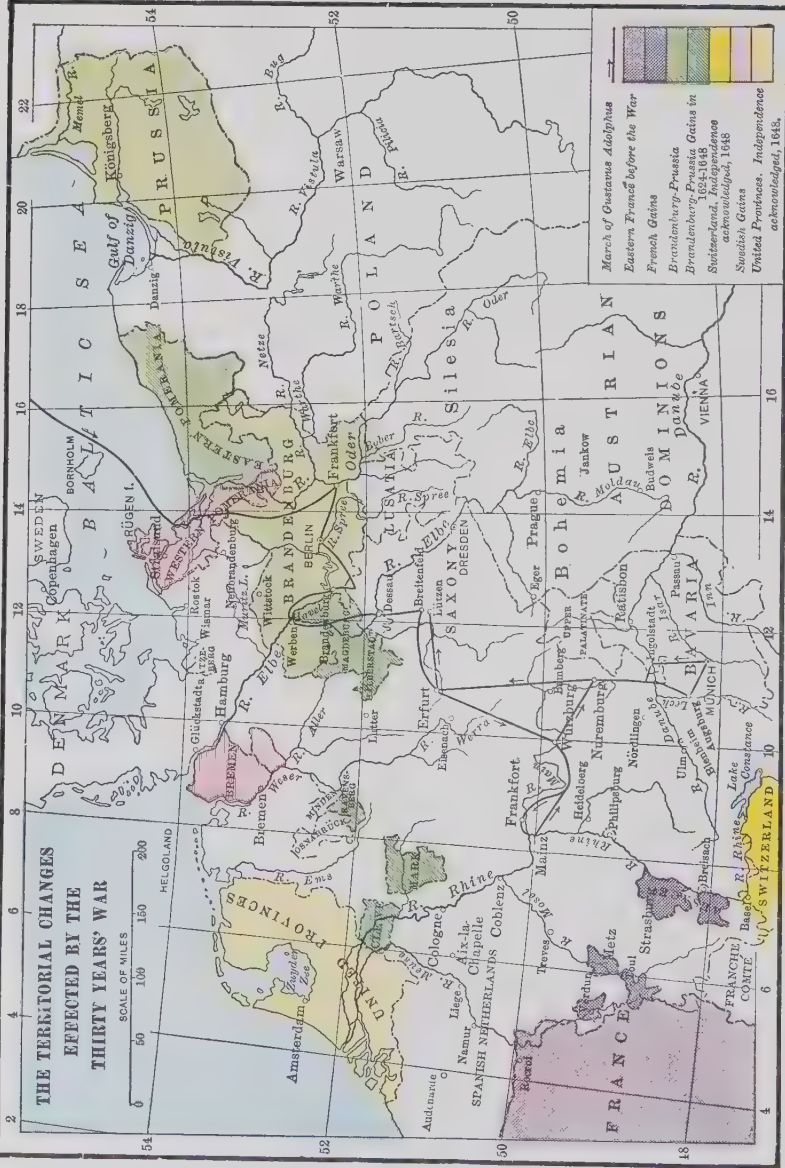
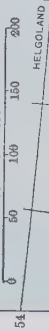
The calamities the war brought were monstrous. Season by season, for a generation, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers





# THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

SCALE OF MILES



March of Gustavus Adolphus  
 Eastern France before the War  
 French Gains  
 Brandenburg-Prussia  
 Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1648  
 Switzerland, Independence  
 Swedish Gains  
 United Provinces, Independence acknowledged, 1648.

and to draw them to outrage and torture his family ; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half of the population and two thirds of the movable property of Germany were swept away.* Populous cities had shriveled into hamlets, and, for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

**The Peace of Westphalia** — drawn up in 1648 by a congress of ambassadors from nearly every European power — contained (1) provisions for religious peace in Germany, (2) territorial rewards for France and Sweden ; and (3) provisions to secure the independence of the German princes against the Empire.

1. *The principle of the Peace of Augsburg* (page 583) *was reaffirmed and extended.* Each sovereign prince in Germany was to choose his religion, and his subjects were to have three years to conform to his choice or to withdraw from his realm.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Sweden*, which was already a great Baltic power, extending around both the east and the west shores of that sea (map facing page 556), *secured also much of the south coast*, with control over German commerce. *France annexed most of Alsace*, with some fortresses on the German bank of the Rhine. (The congress also expressly recognized *the independence of Switzerland and of the Dutch Provinces.*)

3. The Empire lost more than mere territory. The separate states were given the right to form alliances with one another *or even with foreign powers.* The imperial Diet became *avowedly* a gathering of ambassadors for discussion, not for government : no state was to be bound by decisions there without its own consent.

**The religious wars left the Romance<sup>2</sup> South of Europe Catholic and the Teutonic North Protestant.** France emerged,

<sup>1</sup> Many of the South German Protestants were then driven into exile by their Catholic lords. This was the first cause of the coming to America of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

<sup>2</sup> *Romance* is a term applied to those European peoples and languages closely related to the old Roman rule — like the Italians, Spanish, and French. (See also page 373.)

more united than ever, quite equal in power to any two states of Europe. England and Sweden had both risen into "Great Powers." Two new federal republics had been added to the European family of nations, — Switzerland and the United Provinces, and the second of these was one of the leading "Powers." *The danger of a universal Hapsburg Empire was forever gone.* Spain, the property of one Hapsburg branch, had sunk to a third-rate power: the Holy Roman Empire, the realm of the other branch, was an open sham. Far to the east loomed indistinctly a huge and growing Russian state.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *The Student's Motley* is an admirable and brief condensation of the great history of the Dutch Republic. Willert's *Henry of Navarre* is a brilliant story.

EXERCISE. — Dates to be added to the list for drill, — 1492, 1520, 1588, 1648.



HENRY IV OF FRANCE (page 599) — visited unexpectedly by the stately Spanish ambassador. "Is your Excellency a father?" asked the king; and, being answered in the affirmative, he added, "You will then understand the importance of my finishing this game." A modern painting by Jean Ingres.





DEATH OF GUERRERO ASSAULTING AT LIBRAN. — A painting by Ludwig Braun. Guerrero had advanced too far and was surrounded by a group of the enemy's horse. Soldiers still wore armor, though firearms were used.

## CHAPTER XLII

### SCIENCE AND TRADE AFTER 1500

The hundred years of ruinous religious wars and bloody persecution was also an age of splendid advance in science and in trade — changes which were to modify the life of men and women in the future more than the wars of Wallenstein and Gustavus.

#### I. SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

The true astronomy of Aristarchus (page 191) had long been lost, and all through the Middle Ages men had believed the earth the center of the universe with sun and stars revolving around it. But in 1543 a Polish astronomer, Copernicus, published a book proving that the earth was only one member of a solar system which had the sun for a center.

From fear of persecution, Copernicus had kept his discovery to himself for many years — until just before his death, when the “religious wars” were just beginning. Those wars themselves checked study and discovery in parts of Europe, and persecution, for a while, repressed scientific discoveries in Catholic countries. At the opening of the Renaissance (page 546) the Popes had been the foremost patrons of the new learning, but now the reaction against the Protestant revolt had thrown control into conservative hands, and the church used its tremendous powers to stifle new scientific discoveries.

Still much was done. In Elizabeth's day in England, the physician, *William Harvey*, discovered the truth about the circulation of the blood, and so made modern medicine possible. For centuries men had believed that the bright blood of the arteries and the dark blood of the veins were two *distinct* systems (one from the heart, the other from the liver). Harvey

proved that this was all one system and that the dark blood was purified in the lungs.

In Italy **Galileo** discovered the laws of falling bodies and of the pendulum (as they are now taught in our textbooks on physics), invented the thermometer, and, in 1610, with the recently invented telescope, he **demonstrated the truth of Copernicus' teachings** by showing the "phases" of the planet Venus in its revolution about the sun. True, Galileo was summoned to Rome by the Pope, imprisoned, and forced publicly to recant his teaching that the earth moved around the sun, as contrary to Scripture; but, as he rose from his knees, he is said to have murmured, "None the less, it does move."

More important, too, than any specific discovery about sun or human body was the discovery of *a new way of finding out truth* about the world. For centuries scholars had tried to learn only by reading ancient *authorities*, and perhaps by *reasoning* a little further, in their own minds, upon what these authorities taught. But the new discoveries had been made in another way, and now **Francis Bacon** in England **set forth convincingly the necessity of experiment** to discover new facts. Before 1700, too, in Italy, France, and England, scientific societies had been founded (usually at first under the patronage of monarchs) to encourage scientific investigation.

## II. BUSINESS BECOMES A FORCE IN THE WORLD

**A second great change was the growing influence in human life of what we call *business*.**

Even after the Crusades had given a marked impulse to trade, there long continued several special hindrances to its growth. First ranked the contemptuous violence of the feudal baron, who long continued to look on the trader as an escaped serf. Then, at sea, the daring merchant lacked not only lighthouse beacons and charts to mark dangerous reefs, but also — until about 1400 — even the now indispensable mariner's compass, to say nothing of other nautical instruments. In case of shipwreck, too, nearly all shores swarmed with murderous pirates, led often by some neighboring noble.

And when the patient trader had carried his diminished wares past all these perils to people who wished to buy, too often **the would-be customers had no money**. Wealth they had, perhaps, in land or in goods, but not in any portable form that the trader could afford to take in pay. In Europe the ancient mines of gold and silver were exhausted, and there was no supply of precious metals from which to coin enough money for the demands of trade.

Worse still, — a large part of what little money there was remained in hiding, buried perhaps in the earth for safe keeping. The man who had coin, but who did not need to use it himself, had no inducement, as now, to lend it to some one who did want to use it. **Interest ("usury") was unlawful**. The whole Christian world believed that God forbade man to take pay for the use of money. Therefore the Jews (outside this Christian faith) were the only money-lenders of the Middle Ages until almost the close; and they, robbed at every turn themselves by king and baron, loaned only at ruinous rates rising usually to about fifty per cent a year.

In spite of all obstacles, **trade had grown slowly from the Crusades to Columbus**. Even in the Dark Ages, Venice and Genoa and a few other Italian cities had kept some of their ancient trade with the Orient — by fleets of ships that met the Arabian caravans on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; and after the Crusades this trade spread west from Italy down the Rhine through Germany and France and the Netherlands, and thence across the Channel to England, and, through the Hansa merchants, even to the Baltic lands. (See the trade routes on the map after page 542.) This trade had made life over in Western Europe, not merely by bringing in new luxuries and comforts, but much more by stirring men up to *new activities* and by awakening *new energies*. The isolation of the old manor and village life vanished, and its dull apathy went with it. To satisfy desires for the new foreign products, the people of the village must themselves produce more than before, and usually something different from before, in

order to have wherewith to buy. So new manufactures were built up; and soon, in many places, the men of the West began to manufacture for themselves the coveted glassware and silks and velvets and fine linens which at first had come only through rare traders. *Life became more hopeful and more strenuous*, as well as vastly more comfortable.

This improvement had been helped along in the thirteenth century by a quaint device adopted by rich Italians (known then in England as *Lombards*) to *evade* the medieval belief about "interest." They established moneyed colonies in the chief towns of Europe, such as "Lombard Street" in London, which, as a money center, is to-day second only to Wall Street in New York. Through agents in these "colonies," rich Italians loaned money on good security, without interest, *for a short time* (a week or a month, perhaps); but, when not repaid on time, they then exacted a heavy penalty, previously agreed upon, *for each month's delay*. The Christian world found it convenient to accept this subterfuge, but it was still some centuries before the old beliefs and laws against usury were *openly* abandoned. In other respects, too, **the Lombards revived for Western Europe the elementary banking system of the old Roman Empire** (page 317 f.), which had never died entirely in Italy and the Greek Empire.

How new geographical knowledge in the next century and new conditions in the Oriental trade led to the demand for new trade routes, and how that demand played a part in the raising of the curtain upon new worlds, east and west, has been told. **And then indeed**, after 1500, and especially after 1600, **did trade come into its kingdom**. The new monarchies (page 553) stamped out feudal plunder and soon checked feudal tolls; the growing banking system furnished credits and security; and the rich mines of Mexico and Peru poured a steady stream of gold and silver into Spain, whence the needed coin filtered into other parts of Europe to fertilize trade. The merchants, each with his retinue of adventurous and loyal ship-captains at sea and of skilled and trusted clerks on land, rose suddenly



into a new estate — as distinct from the ordinary burgher as the burgher three centuries before had seemed from the villein. In 1350, a royal inquiry listed only 169 merchants in England. In 1600, twenty times that number were occupied with the Holland trade alone, while large stock companies of other merchants were trading with Russia, India, and North America. France, Holland, England, Sweden, Denmark, each had its “East India Company,” and most of these countries had trading companies, chartered by the kings, to trade with other distant regions. Single merchants, too, sometimes owned large fleets for such trade, like Shakespeare’s Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice*.

**Another result of the sudden increase of gold and silver was a rapid rise of prices.** In that seventeenth century, men had to think a great deal about the “high cost of living,” but they did not understand the cause as well as we do now. Between 1500 and 1700, Europe received from America three times as much of the precious metals as it had altogether in the days of Columbus. *Money was so much more common that it became cheap.* It took much more gold to buy a cow or a bushel of wheat in 1700 than in 1500.

The skilled artisans (who got high prices for the things they manufactured and sold) prospered, but mere wage-earners suffered. Wages did rise, but not as soon or as fast as prices did. Landlords, too, found that the price of farm products (which they had to sell) rose more slowly than the price of manufactured articles that they had to buy — so that many of that important class became “hard-up.” These facts had much to do, as we shall see, in sending good emigrants to America.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Clive Day’s *History of Commerce*, or Her-  
rick’s *History of Commerce and Industry*; Draper’s *Intellectual Development of Europe*.

## CHAPTER XLIII

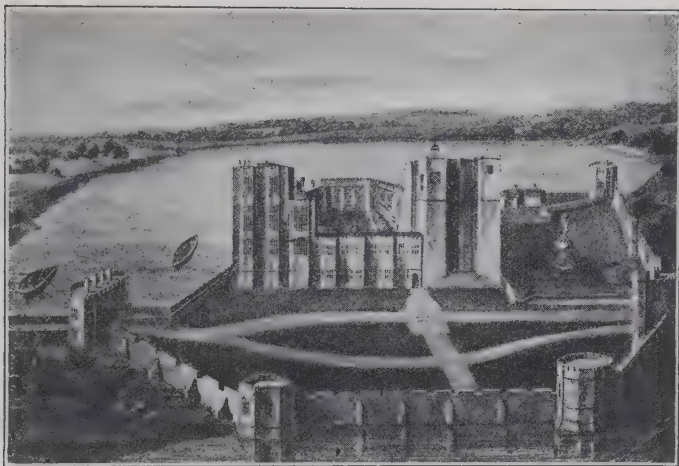
### EUROPEAN LIFE AND WORK, 1600-1700

The changes in government and in civilization noted in the preceding chapters had of course created a new society in Europe. The new life can be studied by us most profitably, for the most part, in England — where indeed the changes had gone farther than in any other country west of Italy.

In the chapter after this one we take up the struggle of the English people to save representative government from the encroachments of the Stuart kings. It is well to understand that *that* "English people" was a very different people from the "English people" who wrested Magna Carta from John and who *began* representative government under the Edwards.

Nobles in England, France, and Italy **no longer lived in gloomy castles**, but in fine country houses with wide windows from which broad marble stairways led down to lovely gardens. The rooms were filled now with richly carved furniture and with curiosities from many lands; the floors were carpeted with costly Oriental rugs, and the walls hung with finely woven silks and embroidered tapestries; through the spacious halls moved stately groups of ladies and gentlemen clad in silks and velvets, gleaming with jewels, and with wide starched ruffs of lace and linen about the neck. One mention of Sir Walter Raleigh refers to him as wearing a costly jewel hanging from the tip of a feather on his hat and with gems on his shoes worth "six thousand six hundred pieces of gold."

Next to the nobles in England stood *the country gentlemen* (pages 466, 475) — of whom Raleigh was one, although he did become a favored courtier. Most of this class, however, were seen at court only rarely. They lived in their manor



KENILWORTH CASTLE IN 1620—from a fresco painting of that year. This had been one of England's most famous castles in the Feudal Age. The walls inclosed seven acres. Scott's *Kenilworth* describes a splendid pageant wherewith Queen Elizabeth was entertained here. But this mediæval structure was already out of date in Elizabeth's time. See below and over.



KENILWORTH TO-DAY.—The rear (toward the right) shows part of the ancient ruins. The front part of the ruins has been rebuilt into a noble residence which still preserves some features of mediæval times.



CHATSWORTH HALL (1687), seat of the Duke of Devonshire in southern England.



CHÂTEAU (*Palace*) OF CHAMBORD (in France), built in the seventeenth century. Compare these homes of nobles with the upper cut facing page 408 and with that on 421.

houses, which were now almost as handsome as the country places of the nobles, and were exceedingly proud of their well-kept estates. The gentry had been growing in power. The Tudor monarchs had chosen most of their ministers and advisers from it — instead of from the great nobles, as earlier kings had always done.

At his death a country gentleman did not divide his lands among his sons. All the land, or nearly all, went to the oldest son, so that the family might not lose importance by having its estates broken up into small holdings. The younger sons commonly became lawyers or clergymen or perhaps merchants, or (very often) they sought fortune as adventurers in new lands or as soldiers in their own or foreign countries.

Next came *the merchants*, rich in fleets of ships and in well-stocked warehouses, — to say nothing of accumulated stores of gold and silver — with homes more comfortable often than those of the gentry, though with less grand exteriors. But since a merchant did not draw his wealth from the land — through the labor of others — but instead earned it by his own efforts, he was looked down upon as distinctly lower in the social scale than the most poverty-stricken noble or gentleman.

*In England, below nobles, gentry, and merchants came (1) the yeomen in the country; (2) the shopkeepers and artisans of the towns; (3) the unskilled laborers in the towns; and (4) those laborers on the land who had not enough land of their own to support them.*

The yeoman class has been treated at some length on pages 466, 534-535. The inclosure movement (treated just below) had ruined many of the less well-to-do yeomen, after about 1550, but, on the other hand, a good many of the richer ones became owners of more land — sometimes by marriage with merchants' daughters, — and so rose into the gentry class. From such a *new* gentry family came Francis Drake.

The peasant class below the yeomen, however, had recently suffered cruelly from a change in farming that began about 1550, so that they had fallen far below the "comfort" pictured so



glowingly by Fortescue (page 534). This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep-raising. There had long been a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets, and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by a few hands, and profits proved so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the great landlords; and even these were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields." Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures," and often they inclosed also the woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia* (page 564), lamented these conditions bitterly:

A careless and unsatiabie cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; *or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they be so worried that they be compelled to sell.* . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheep-house.

The government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing, nor did peasant risings and riots help. **Inclosures went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising found a natural level.** This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied, and the growth of town populations raised the price of grain. But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages in England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of the peasants, driven from their homes, became "sturdy beggars" (tramps), and **all laborers were thrust down to a lower standard of life** because the cost of food and clothing rose twice as fast as wages. Indeed, the gentleman "justices of the peace," *appointed* by the crown, were given power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hanged them in

batches. In fifty years, in the glorious day of Shakespeare and Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed.

Meantime the artisan class was growing in numbers and well-being. England was becoming a manufacturing country. From the time of the Yorkist kings, the sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth welcomed gladly the



WORKSHOP OF ETIENNE DE LAULNE, a celebrated goldsmith of Paris in the sixteenth century. Engraved by himself.

skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by the persecution of the Huguenots. Colonies of these foreign artisans were given their special quarter in many an English city, with various favors. So English wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home.

This growth of manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen — and so gradually absorbed the classes driven from the land by inclosures. It also brought soon a favorable change in the life of the artisans, both new and old. The gild system was now outgrown. Many of its rules had become, not helpful, but only vexing restrictions upon the freer ways of manufacturing that were coming into use. On

the continent the whole system was kept until nearly 1800, but in England, by 1600, it was replaced by the "domestic system." The work was still carried on by hand, and mainly in the master's house, but the masters secured freedom from gild control and rapidly introduced improved methods. Nearly two centuries later in Paris a hatter won great popularity by making better hats than his competitors, — mixing silk with his wool; but his jealous gild brothers had his entire stock destroyed, completely ruining him, because he had broken the gild rules requiring that hats should be made of "pure wool." This illustrates only one of the countless outgrown restrictions from which English manufacturers escaped. The change was completed before English colonization began in the New World, and so the gild system was never set up in America.



From a German woodcut of the fifteenth century.

The England of Elizabeth was still "Merrie England" (page 535), but the earnestness of the Reformation and the gloom of Puritanism were already threatening the popularity of many ancient sports. On the other hand, these same forces had much to do with the growth of **schools and educa-**

**tion.** Shakespeare had his schooling ("small Latin and less Greek") in the little town of Stratford-on-Avon, where he was born. Fortunately for the world, that village had a "grammar school" — a sort of upper school, in which students were expected to master Latin grammar and to read some Latin authors. A hundred years earlier there had hardly been any such school in England, but the father and brother of Elizabeth had founded many of them, putting up good buildings for them and giving them land or money for future upkeep. After the ruin of the monastery schools, there was especial need of such endowments and it long continued a custom for a rich man here and there to endow a school in his native town.

More elementary teaching was cared for, in some degree, by the parish churches, or in "dame schools" where some old woman taught boys their letters from a "horn book." Girls never went to school, but wealthy families sometimes had tutors for both daughters and sons. *In one way or another a good many people did learn to read in Elizabethan England*, even in small villages. Commonly the first reading lessons were in the Bible.

After the Reformation began there had been two important translations of the Bible into English. **Then in 1611 came the famous "King James Bible,"** to remain the standard English version until a very recent time. Churches and homes used this volume freely enough so that soon its strong, simple, beautiful language became a part of everyday speech, to the marvelous enrichment of the English tongue.

Girls did not go to school. Wealthy homes sometimes had tutors for the daughters, as for the sons. But as a rule a girl was thought "educated" if she had been taught the catechism, good manners, embroidery, and perhaps to read simple English. To write her name was a rarer accomplishment — and one for which a woman had no great use.

EXERCISE. — Why were the "inclosures" in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries less harmful in the long run than those in Ancient Italy?

## CHAPTER XLIV

### SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

The seventeenth century saw English life and English freedom transplanted to America — for a still freer growth. Happily, too, that transplanting was going on during the most heroic century in all English history, while English life was marked by amazing energy combined with lofty moral enthusiasm. For much of that period, too, England was the chief remaining battleground for human liberty. In other European lands — in all large and powerful lands, at least — despotism was triumphant. In England, also, it seemed at times on the point of victory; but in that island free government was finally saved for the world — and for us — by the gallant struggle that we are now to follow.

#### I. UNDER THE FIRST STUARTS, 1603-1642

England escaped a strictly “religious” war, but for two generations after 1600 the burning questions in English politics did have to do with Puritanism. Within the established Episcopal church the dominant party had strong “High-Church” leanings. It wished to restore so far as possible the ceremonial of the old Catholic church, and it taught that the government of the church by bishops had been directly ordained by God. This party was ardently supported by the royal “head of the church” — Elizabeth, James, Charles, in turn; but it was engaged in constant struggle with a large, aggressive Puritan party.

Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition to each other, — the influential “Low-Church” element within the church, and the despised Separatists outside it. The Low-Churchmen had no wish to separate church and state. They



wanted one national church — their kind of church — to which everybody within England should be forced to conform. They desired to introduce more preaching into the service, to simplify ceremonies, and to abolish altogether certain customs which they called “Romish,” — the use of the surplice, of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (some of them) of the prayer-book.

The Independents, or “Puritans of the Separation,” believed that there should be *no* national church, but that each local religious organization should be a little democratic society, wholly *separate* from the civil government, and even *independent* of other churches. These Independents were the Puritans of the Puritans. To all other sects they seemed mere anarchists in religion. Elizabeth persecuted them savagely, and her successor continued that policy. Some of the Independent churches fled to Holland; and one of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America. Ten years later these “Pilgrims” of 1620 pointed the way for the migration of Low-Church Puritans to Massachusetts.

Political liberty in England had fallen low under the Tudors (page 540); but, **after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely only because they made use of constitutional forms** and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them just where to stop. Moreover, toward the close of Elizabeth’s reign, when foreign perils were past, men spoke again boldly of checks upon the royal power.

Elizabeth was succeeded by *James I* (James Stuart), already king of Scotland (footnote, page 586). James was learned and conceited, — “the wisest fool in Christendom,” as Henry IV of France called him. He believed sincerely in the “divine right” of kings. That is, he believed that the king, as God’s anointed, was the source of law and could not himself be controlled by law. He wrote a pompous and tiresome book to prove this. He and his son after him were despots *on principle*. **The nation** had been growing restive under the cloaked and

elastic tyranny of the strong Tudors: naturally it **rose in fierce opposition against the noisy and uncompromising tyranny of the weak Stuarts.**

The High-Church clergy and most of the nobles, with their followers, supported the royal power and were known as "the king's party," or the court party. Most merchants and



COURTYARD OF HADDON HALL, — a stately country house of the Elizabethan period.

country gentlemen and the Puritans of all classes (even among the nobles) drew together into a kind of opposition party, known as "the country party," because apart from the court circle. These were not yet real political parties. They had no definite organization. But they were *growing* into parties.

The issue between them was clearly and promptly stated. Even before his first Parliament met, James I, in a famous utterance, summed up his theory: "As it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to question what a king can do." This became the tone of the court party. The country party controlled the House of Commons, and, when

Parliament assembled, it took the first chance to answer these new claims. The king, as usual, opened Parliament with a "speech from the throne." As usual, the Speaker of the Commons replied; but, in place of the customary thanks to his majesty, he reminded James bluntly that in England the royal power was limited. "New laws," said the Speaker, "cannot be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed . . . by any other power than this high court of Parliament."

James seldom called Parliaments after this, and only when he had to have money. Fortunately, the regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices (page 607) and the wider duties of government called for more money than in former times. *Both Elizabeth and James were poor.* Elizabeth, however, had been economical and thrifty. James was careless and wasteful, and could not get along without new taxes. Thus Parliament was able to hold its own, maintaining not only its freedom of speech, but also its right to impeach the king's ministers.

Finally (1624), the king's son Charles (who had been grossly insulted by the Spanish court on a visit to Madrid) managed to force the reluctant James into war with Spain — to the boundless joy of the nation. In March of 1625, in the midst of shame and disgrace because of mismanagement of the war, James died, and in May, **Charles I** met his first Parliament. He quarreled with it at once, dissolved it, and turned to an eager prosecution of the war, trusting to win the nation to his side by glorious victory. Ignominious failure, instead, forced him to meet his second Parliament in 1626.

It is now that **Sir John Eliot** stands forth as leader of the patriots. This new leader — the first country gentleman in English history to head opposition to the crown — was a Cornishman, thirty-three years old, of courtly manners and poetic temper, with a mind enriched by all the culture of the New Learning. (In his later years of failing health in weary and hopeless imprisonment, he could draw consolation from his Tacitus, Livy, Epictetus, and Seneca.) He was an athlete, a

finished swordsman, and a deeply religious Puritan — wholly free, however, from the somber feeling of the later Puritanism.

**Eliot stood for the control of the king's ministers by Parliament.** Everything else, he saw, was likely to prove worthless, if the executive could not be held responsible. The *king's person* could not be so held, except by revolution, but *his ministers* might be *impeached*; and, under fear of this, they might be held in control. So Eliot persuaded the Commons to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favorite and the instrument of much past tyranny and also the cause of the mismanagement of the war.

**Charles** stopped the proceedings by casting Eliot into prison — in plain defiance of parliamentary privileges — and dissolving Parliament. He then **fell back upon "benevolences"** ("good-will" *gifts*) to raise a revenue. This was a device that *originated* during the Wars of the Roses. Henry VIII, absolute as he was, had renounced the practice. Now Charles revived and *extended* it, ordering *his sheriffs in the county courts to ask benevolences from all taxpayers*. But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for Parliament.

**Then the king tried a "forced loan."** This was a tax thinly disguised by the false promise to repay it. The king's party used both force and persuasion. Pulpits, manned now by the anti-Puritan party, rang with the cry that to resist the king was eternal damnation. As a patriot of the time put it, the High-Church clergy "improved the highwayman's formula into 'Your money or your life *eternal*.' " Charles made use also of more immediate penalties. Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their defenseless homes, and two hundred English gentlemen were confined in disgraceful prisons to subdue their obstinacy.

*The forced loan raised little revenue;* and with an armament poorly fitted out, Buckingham sailed against France (with which his blundering policy had now brought England into war). For the third time in four years an English army was wasted to

no purpose, and **sunk in debt and shame, Charles met his third Parliament in 1628.**

Before the elections, the imprisoned country gentlemen were released, and *some seventy of them* (all who appeared as candidates) *sat in the new Parliament*, in spite of the royal efforts to prevent their election. Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent attacks upon English liberties and some way to provide security in future. The king offered to give his *word* that such things should not occur again, but was reminded that he had already given his *oath* at his coronation. **Finally Parliament passed "the Petition of Right,"** a document that ranks with Magna Carta in the history of English liberty. This great law first recited the ancient statutes, from Magna Carta down, against arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary taxation, quartering of soldiery upon the people in time of peace, and forced loans and benevolences. Then it named the frequent violations of right in these respects in recent years. And finally it declared all such infringements illegal.

After evasive delays, Charles felt compelled to give his consent (and accordingly the "petition" became a great statute); but at once, in a recess of Parliament, he broke the provisions regarding taxes. Parliament reassembled in bitter humor. Heedless of the king's plea for money, it turned to punish the officers who had acted as his agents in recent infringements of the law. The Speaker stopped this business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.<sup>1</sup>

Men knew that it would not be permitted to meet again, and **there followed a striking scene.** The Speaker was thrust back into his chair and held there — for if he left his place, all business was at an end. The doors were locked against the king's messenger, and Eliot in a ringing speech moved a series of resolutions which were to form the platform of the liberal party in the dark years to come. Royalist members

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<sup>1</sup> The king could *adjourn* the Parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it altogether, so that no Parliament could meet until he had called for new elections.



cried, "Traitor! Traitor!" Swords were drawn. Outside, an usher pounded at the door with a message of dissolution from the king. But the bulk of the members sternly voted the resolutions, declaring *traitors to England* (1) any one who should bring in changes in religion without the consent of Parliament, (2) any minister who should advise the illegal levy of taxes, (3) any officer who should aid in their collection, and (4) every citizen who should voluntarily pay them.

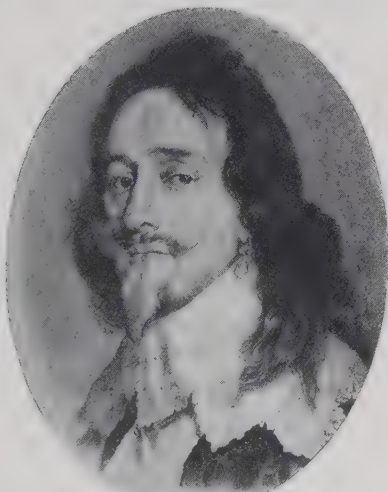
Then in the moment's hush, when the great deed was done, Eliot's voice was heard once more, and for the last time, in that hall: "For myself, I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honorable assembly, where I now leave off, I will begin again." Then the doors swung open, and the angry crowd surged out. Eliot passed to the Tower, to die there a prisoner four years later. But Eliot's friends remembered his words; and, when another Parliament did meet, **where he had left off, they began again.**

First, however, England passed through a gloomy period. **No Parliament met for eleven years (1629-1640)**, and the king's edicts were the only law. Charles sought, too, ingeniously to find new ways to get money, and his lawyers invented the device of "ship-money." In time of invasion, seaboard counties had now and then been called upon by earlier kings to furnish ships for the national navy. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "*ship-money tax*" from *all England in time of peace*.

**John Hampden** refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his lands, and **the famous ship-money case went to the courts (1637)**. The slavish judges decided for the king — as had been expected. The king's friends were jubilant, seeing in the new tax "an everlasting supply on all occasions," but Hampden had won the moral victory he sought. The twelve-day argument of the lawyers attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of despotism in its naked hideousness. It declared that there was *no*

*power to check the king's authority* over his subjects, — their persons or their money, — "For," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of parliament makes any difference.*" If England submitted now, she would deserve slavery.

Scotland had been joined to England when her King James became king of England, but each country had its own Parliament, laws, and church. The union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king. Now in 1638 Archbishop Laud (head of the High-Church movement in England) tried to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian Scotland. But when the clergyman of the great church at Edinburgh appeared first in surplice, prayer-book in hand, Jenny Geddes, a servant girl, hurled her stool at his head, crying, — "Out, priest! Dost say mass at my lug [ear]!"



CHARLES I. — From the famous Van Dyck portrait.

The service broke up in wild disorder, and, in the churchyard outside, stern and grizzled men drew blood from their arms wherewith to sign their names to a "Solemn Oath and Covenant" to defend their own form of religion with their lives. This Covenant spread swiftly over all Lowland Scotland, and the Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border.

Charles' system of absolutism fell like a house of cards. He could get no help from England without a Parliament; and (November, 1640) he called the Long Parliament. The great leaders of that famous assembly were the commoners *Pym*, *Hampden*, and, somewhat later, *Cromwell*.

The Scots remained encamped in England; so the king had to assent to Parliament's bills. Parliament first made itself safe by a law *that it could be dissolved only by its own vote*. Then it began where Eliot had left off, and sternly put into action the principles of his last resolutions. Laud, who had "brought in innovations in religion," and one other leader who had helped carry out the king's policy, were condemned to death as traitors. The lawyers who had advised ship money, and the judges who had declared it legal, were cast into prison or driven into banishment.

**But now a split began.** Moderate men thought enough had been done. To go farther, they feared, would mean revolution and anarchy. So they drew nearer to the king. On the other hand, more far-sighted leaders, like Pym and Hampden, saw the necessity of securing safeguards for the future, since the king's promises were worthless.

**Pym brought matters to a head by introducing a Grand Remonstrance,** — a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in further measures against the king, proposing, in particular, that the king's choice of ministers (his chancellor, and so on) should be subject to the approval of Parliament. After an all-night debate, marked by bitter speech and even by the drawing of swords, the Commons adopted the Remonstrance *by the narrow majority of eleven votes*, amid a scene of wild confusion (November 22, 1641).

**Charles tried to reverse this small majority** by destroying Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the invading Scots. No doubt they had been technically guilty of treason. But such "treason" against Charles was the noblest loyalty to England. The Commons paid no attention to the king's charges, and *so Charles entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize "the five members."* News of his coming had preceded him; and, at the order of the House, the five had withdrawn. But the despotic attempt, and weak failure, consolidated the opposition. London rose in arms, and sent trainbands to guard Parliament. And Parliament now demanded

that the king give it *control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes*. Charles withdrew to the conservative North and unfurled the standard of civil war (1642).

FOR FURTHER READING. — Green's *English People* (or his *Short History*) is thrillingly interesting for this and the following periods.

## II. THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE "REVOLUTION"

Many men who had gone with Parliament in its reforms now chose the king's side rather than open rebellion. The majority of the gentry sided with the king, while in general the merchant and manufacturing classes, the shopkeepers and the yeomanry fought for Parliament. At the same time, the struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king's party took the name "Cavaliers" from the court nobles, while the parliamentarians were called "Roundheads," in derision, from the cropped hair of the London 'prentice lads.

At first Charles was successful. Shopboys could not stand before the chivalry of the "Cavaliers." But *Oliver Cromwell*, a colonel in the parliamentary army, had raised a troop known as *Ironsides*. He saw that the only force Parliament could oppose to the habitual bravery of the English gentleman was the religious enthusiasm of the extreme Puritans. Accordingly, he drew his recruits from the Independents of the east of England — mostly yeomen farmers. They were men of godly lives, who fell on their knees for prayer before battle, and then charged with the old Hebrew battle psalms upon their lips. By this troop the great battle of *Marston Moor* was won. Then *Cromwell* was put in chief command. He reorganized the whole army upon this "*New Model*," and the victory of *Naseby* (1645) virtually closed the war.

When the war began, many Episcopalians in Parliament withdrew to join the king. This left the Presbyterians almost in control. Before long that party was strengthened still further by the need of buying the aid of Presbyterian Scotland, so that it carried a law to make *the English church Presbyterian*. Soon it began to *compel* all men to accept this form of worship.

On this point, the **Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent "New Model"** quarreled. Charles, now a prisoner, tried to play off one against the other. "Be quite easy," he wrote his wife, "as to the concessions I may grant. When the time

comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and, instead of a silken garter (the badge of an honorary order of knighthood) I will fit them with a hempen halter."

But now the real government of England was in the army. A council of officers, with Cromwell for their head, prepared plans, and the whole army "sought the Lord" in monster prayer-meetings. Then, under order from the council of officers, **Colonel Pride** "purged" the **House of**



CROMWELL. — From Lely's portrait.

**Commons** by expelling 143 Presbyterians. After "Pride's Purge" (December, 1648), Parliament rarely had an attendance of more than sixty — out of an original membership of some five hundred.

This "**Rump Parliament**," backed by the army, abolished monarchy and the **House of Lords**, and brought "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," to trial for treason to England. Charles was executed, January 20, 1649, dying with better grace than he had lived. Parliament then abolished Presbyterianism as a state church, *and declared England a republic* under the name of the **Commonwealth**. "*The people*," said a famous resolution, "*are, under God, the original of all just power*"; and the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power in this nation."



Cromwell urged the Rump to call a new Parliament and then to dissolve — since plainly it was only a shadow of the Parliament chosen thirteen years before. The Rump, clinging greedily to power, proved fractious; and at last Cromwell (having learned perhaps to trust overmuch to military methods) dissolved it with a file of musketeers, in a stormy scene. His attempts to work out a new plan of government through other parliamentary bodies that he called together failed in much the same way.

The real trouble was that after all the victorious Independents were only a small fraction of the nation. The bulk of that nation, it is true, had supported, more or less actively, the Puritan party in its struggle against Stuart despotism and the "divine right of kings"; but that same bulk of the nation was soon seething with discontent at the stern Puritan government, which, with no warrant but victorious swords, was taking away from them nearly all the sports of the old "Merrie England," cutting down the Maypoles, and setting men in the stocks for playing the most innocent games on the Sabbath in the old fashion.

Finally the officers of the New Model themselves drew up a new constitution for England, to confirm their rule. This "**Instrument of Government**," as it called itself, ratified promptly by vote of the army, **made Cromwell practically a dictator**, under the title Lord Protector (1654).

Cromwell's rule was stained by shameful cruelties in Ireland; but in other respects it was wise and firm. He made England once more a Great Power, peaceful at home and respected abroad, and he gave freedom of worship to all *Protestant* sects, — a more liberal policy in religion than could be found anywhere else in that age except in Holland and in Roger Williams' little colony just founded in Rhode Island. At the best, however, this government was a government of force. The noble experiment of a republic had failed miserably in the hands of its friends, and, on Cromwell's death, **the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II in "the Restoration" of 1660.**

However, the *political* principles for which the early Puritan Parliaments of Charles I had contended were victorious — though in the hands of their old foes. Charles knew he could never get another Parliament so much to his mind as the one that had been elected in the fervor of welcome at his restoration, and so he shrewdly kept that “Cavalier Parliament” through most of his reign — till 1679. But even this Parliament insisted strenuously on Parliament’s sole right to impose taxes, regulate the church, and control foreign policy. Charles’ second Parliament, too, adopted the great Habeas Corpus Act which still secures Englishmen against arbitrary imprisonment — such as had been so common under Charles’ father. The *principle* of this act was older than Magna Carta; but the law of Charles’ time first provided *adequate machinery*, much as we have it to-day, *to enforce the principle*.

Charles II was careless, indolent, selfish, extravagant, witty. He is known as the “Merry Monarch.” One of his courtiers described him in jesting rime as a king “who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one.” There is reason to think, however, that beneath his merry exterior Charles was nursing plans for tyranny far more dangerous than his father’s; but he died suddenly (1685) before he was ready to act.

Real political parties first appeared toward the close of this reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic of narrow, despotic temper. The more radical members of Parliament introduced a bill to exclude that prince from the throne, and their supporters throughout England sent up monster petitions to have the bill made law. The Catholics and the more conservative part of Parliament, especially those who believed that Parliament had no right to change the succession, sent up counter-petitions expressing horror at the proposal. These “Abhorrrers” called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the extreme Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs reviled their opponents as *Tories* (bog-trotters), a name for the ragged Irish rebels who had supported the Catholic

and royal policy in the Civil War. The bill failed; but the rough division into parties remained. In general, *the Whigs believed in the supremacy of Parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories* sustained the royal authority and *wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people*.

James II lacked his brother's tact. He arbitrarily "suspended" certain old laws passed by Parliament, tried to intimidate the law courts, and rapidly increased the standing army. It was believed that he meant to make the established church Catholic and this belief prepared Protestant England for revolution. The Whig leaders called for aid to *William of Orange*, the Stadholder of Holland, who had married James' daughter Mary. William landed with a handful of troops. James found himself utterly deserted, even by his army, and fled to France.

The story of this "**Glorious Revolution of 1688**" is not a noble one. Selfishness and deceit mark every step. As Macaulay says, it was "an age of *great measures* and *little men*." But the **results were of mighty import** — though it is necessary to glance on well into the next century to appreciate them fully. In 1688 itself, however, a Convention-Parliament declared the throne vacant and drew up the Declaration of Rights, the "third great document in the Bible of English Liberties," which stated once more the fundamental liberties of Englishmen. Then William and Mary were elected joint sovereigns *on condition of their assenting to the Declaration*. **The supremacy of Parliament over the king was once more firmly established.** *The new sovereigns*, like the old Lancastrians (and like all English sovereigns since), *had only a parliamentary title* to the throne. The next regular Parliament enacted the *Declaration of Rights* into a "Bill of Rights." Many of its provisions, and not a little of its wording, have passed into the bills of rights of the states of the American union.

*William III* was a great-grandson of William the Silent. He ranks among England's greatest kings, but he was a foreigner, and unpopular. (He spoke only his native Dutch, not English.)

His reign was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While Stadholder (or President) of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV's schemes (page 641), and now that French king undertook to restore James II to the English throne. This began the "second Hundred Years' War" between France and England. With slight intervals, the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815. That long conflict turned the government's attention away from reform at home, but just in the first years some great steps forward were taken — which were properly part of the Revolution of 1688.

*Religious reform was embodied in the Act of Toleration of 1689*, in which, at William's insistence, Parliament granted *freedom of worship* to *Protestant* dissenters (though even these most favored dissenters from the English church did not yet secure the right to hold office or to enter the universities.)

**The chief gains in political liberty come under four heads.**

1. Judges were made independent of the king (removable only by Parliament).

2. A triennial bill ordered that a new Parliament should be elected at least once in three years. (In 1716, the term was made *seven* years, and in 1911 it was reduced to *five*.)

3. Parliament adopted the simple device of granting no money for government expenses for longer than a year at a time. (Under the Tudors and Stuarts some kinds of taxes had been granted for the lifetime of the sovereign.) A return was made also to the wholesome practice in Lancastrian times of making the "grants of supply" only after all other business had been attended to. Thenceforward, Parliaments have been assembled each year and have practically fixed their own adjournments.

4. The greatest problem of parliamentary government (as Sir John Eliot had seen) was to control the "king's ministers" and make them really the ministers of Parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers, but such action could be secured only by a serious struggle, and against notorious offenders. Some way was wanted to secure ministers acceptable to Parliament *easily* and *at all times*. Important steps toward

solving this problem also were taken under William: but the story can be told more properly, with its later developments, in *Modern Progress*, the next volume of this textbook series.

**William III** was a powerful ruler. He was not a tyrant in any way; but he believed in a king's authority, and he **succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers the "king's ministers"** — to carry out his policy. Queen Anne, Mary's sister (1702-1714), tried to maintain a similar control over her ministry. Like William and Mary, she died without leaving children. Then **Parliament passed the crown by a new Act of Settlement** to a great-grandson of James I, the German **George I**, who was already Elector of Hanover. This law, like the earlier one providing for the succession of Anne, excluded nearer heirs because they were Catholics. Neither George I nor his son George II spoke English, and so far as they cared for matters of government at all, they were interested in their German principality rather than in England. **During the half-century (1714-1760) of these heavy German Georges, the government of England was left to the group of ministers.**

Meantime England had become **Great Britain**. James I (1603) had joined Scotland and England under one crown. In 1707 this "personal union" (page 621) was made a true consolidation by the "Act of Union," *adopted by the Parliaments of both countries*. Scotland gave up her separate legislature, and became part of the "United Kingdom," with the right to send members to the English Parliament and to keep her own established Presbyterian church. Halfway between these two dates, Cromwell, with savage cruelty, completed the conquest of Ireland.

**That same seventeenth century, too, had seen a vaster expansion of England and of Europe, to which we next turn.**

FOR FURTHER READING. — It is desirable for reading students to continue Green at least through the Revolution of 1688. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a splendid story which touches some passages in the history of the closing seventeenth century. So, too, is Conan Doyle's *Micah Clarke*. For the Civil War period the student should know Scott's *Woodstock* and George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael*.



## CHAPTER XLV

### EXPANSION OF EUROPE INTO NEW WORLDS

#### I. SPAIN IN AMERICA

Columbus and da Gama (pages 575-577) had doubled the size of the known earth, added a new stir to European thought, and revolutionized the distribution of wealth in Europe. The center of historical interest shifted westward once more. The Mediterranean, for two thousand years the one great highway between Europe and the Orient, gave way to the Atlantic and the "passage round the Cape." The cities of Italy lost their leadership both in commerce and in art, while vast gain fell to the seaboard countries on the Atlantic. For a hundred years, it is true, direct gains were confined to the two countries which had begun the explorations. Portugal built up a rich empire in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise, the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.

The story of Spain's conquest is a tale of heroic endurance, marred by ferocious cruelty. Not till twenty years after the discovery did the Spaniards advance to the mainland of America for settlement, but then her handful of adventurers swooped swiftly north and south. By 1550, she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil) and all Central America, besides vast undefined regions northward, known vaguely as "Florida" and "Mexico," which latter name soon covered the Californias, far up the Pacific coast. Before the end of another quarter-century there were two hundred towns in those Spanish-American realms, with a total white population of more than 150,000.

Everywhere the conquerors dwelt as lords among vastly larger populations of submissive natives whom they had enslaved and





Christianized. By the labor of those natives they drew agricultural wealth from the soil of the rich alluvial valleys near the coast, or guarded their uncounted herds of cattle and sheep that roamed over the "ranches" of the Argentine and of "New Mexico," or mined precious metals from ancient diggings of the Incas and Aztecs.

The gold from Mexico and Peru helped give Spain her proud place as the most powerful country in Europe through most of the sixteenth century, and she guarded her American possessions jealously. **The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean were Spanish lakes, and the whole Pacific a closed sea.** Frenchmen or Englishmen caught trespassing upon those waters were likely to find a grave beneath them.

**After a district was thoroughly subdued, the relation between natives and conquerors was not harsh.** Slavery always has its shames; but usually, except in the mines, the chivalrous Spanish gentlemen were kindly masters, ruling their hundreds or thousands of loyal dependents with patriarchal sway, much as they did their households. Soon, too, the government of Spain forbade further enslavement of natives. Thereafter, the Indians in the neighborhood of Spanish settlements grew into a class of peons, much like the serfs then still common in western Europe. In many a district, too, the only Europeans, for long, were missionary friars, who gathered a large, contented settlement of Indian converts about the walls of the mission buildings, ruling their lives with gentle authority and teaching them to grow vineyards and orchards. The common soldiers among the conquerors usually took Indian women for wives. **From such mixture arose the many Spanish-American nationalities** — in most of which the Spanish blood was soon much diluted, though Spanish remains the language of nearly half the New World.

**In no part of Spanish America did the people have any self-government.** Even the great landlords, little monarchs as they were on their own domains, had no share whatever in the government of their country. Until after 1800, Spanish

America was merely a group of subject provinces, ruled by appointed officials sent out from old Spain.

**The precious metals of Mexico and Peru were not permitted to make those countries rich.** Instead, they were drained (in large measure) across the Atlantic, in great "plate fleets," to enrich the king of Spain. **The trade of the colonies, too, was**



MISSION OF SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO. — Founded in 1775, it is one of the best-preserved missions in California.

**made to enrich only the merchants of Spain.** For two hundred years all commerce to and from Spanish America had to pass through their hands and through Spanish harbors. All other trade — even between different Spanish colonies — was forbidden on pain of death.

Spain's rulers were not content with even their huge empire in America. They were planning grandly to fasten their hold upon the Mississippi valley and the Appalachian slope, when **the defeat of their "Invincible Armada" set a limit to their advance.** Spain had already conquered in America much faster and farther than she could occupy. The Spanish Americans were scattered over an immense area, merely dotted with occa-



sional settlements. This was especially true in North America. (Of the two hundred Spanish towns, only St. Augustine and Santa Fe, small places both, were far enough north to lie within the present limits of the United States.) Spain's lordship in the New World had rested on her mastery of the seas. That mastery vanished in the nine-day sea fight of 1588 in the English Channel. The overthrow of the Armada did more than save England in Europe: it was a turning point in world history — one of the chief causes why the people of the Mississippi valley to-day speak English rather than Spanish. Spain's supremacy in Europe began to decline, and she ceased to expand in America. It was long before she actually lost territory there, but other European countries now felt free to try their fortunes in those parts where she had not already set her grasp.

## II. FRANCE IN AMERICA

**France** seized upon the two "gateways" to the interior of North America — the St. Lawrence system and the Mississippi — and for a time seemed most likely to succeed Spain as mistress in the northern parts of the New World. In 1608 (just twenty years after the English sea-dogs vanquished the Armada) *Champlain* founded the first successful French colony at Quebec. Soon canoe fleets of fur-traders and missionaries were coasting the shores of the Great Lakes, founding French stations at points still marked by French names, and Quebec became the capital of a far-flung northern district known as "New France," or "Canada."

Then, in 1682, after years of splendid effort, **La Salle** succeeded in following the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up a French claim to the entire valley, and naming it "Louisiana" in honor of the Grand Monarch, Louis XIV. Before the end of the century, France possessed there, near the mouth of the valley, the rich semitropical colony of *New Orleans*, joined in later years, along the interior waterways, to the snows of Canada by a thin line of trading stations and military posts such as Detroit, Sault Ste. Marie, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and Natchez.

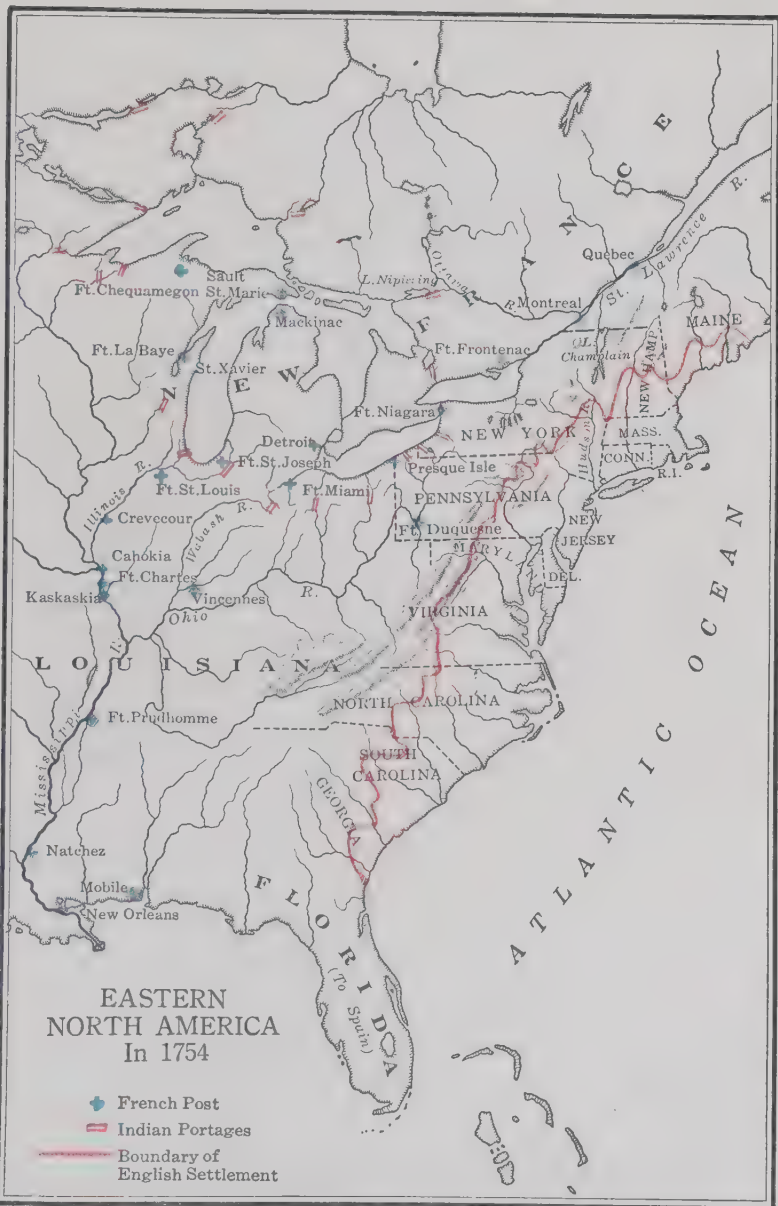
From the beginning of this colonization, it was plain that **France and England were the real rivals for the eastern parts of North America.** The open struggle between them began in 1689 (page 628) and lasted, in a series of wars, until France was thrust out of the continent in 1763.

It is easy to point out certain **French advantages** for this struggle. At home French statesmen worked steadily to build



**LA SALLE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY (UNDER THE NAME *Louisiana*) FOR FRANCE.**—This picture, exhibited by Marchand at the St. Louis Expedition in 1904, is faithful to La Salle's account. The act was performed at the mouth of the river, with legal attestation; and to it are traced land titles over much of the valley to-day.

a French empire in America, while the English government ignored English colonies. The thought of such an empire, too, inspired French explorers in the wilderness — gallant and able patriots like Champlain, Ribault, and La Salle. France also sent forth the most zealous of missionaries, like the heroic Marquette, to convert the savages. Patriotism and missionary zeal played a greater part in founding New France than in establishing either Spanish or English colonies. Moreover, the French could deal with the natives better than the less sym-





pathetic English could, and their leaders were men of far-reaching views.

These advantages, however, all concerned the few *leaders*. Taken as a whole, **French colonization showed three fundamental weaknesses** — a lack of farm homes, a lack of independence in industry, and a lack of self-government.

1. In Nova Scotia (or Acadie) and along the banks of the St. Lawrence, little groups of unprogressive French peasants farmed the estates of great lords, to whom the French king had given the land, much as they had formerly farmed their lord's estates in Europe. Montreal and Quebec were gay with the balls of the noble seigneurs, whose wives and daughters copied as best they might the gay life of the Paris of their time; but there were no busy little towns, like those of New England, and few sturdy, independent farmers. Except for some of the noble class, few French immigrants brought families with them. Many of them took Indian wives. The sons of these marriages did not take readily to regular labor. Instead, they turned to trapping and the fur trade, and tended to adopt Indian habits. The French government in Europe sought in vain to remedy this by sending over cargoes of "king's girls," and by offering bonuses for early marriages and large families. But even with this fostering, French colonization did not produce numbers. In 1754, when the final struggle for the American continent began, France had four times as many people in Europe as England had, but in America she had less than a tenth as many colonists! And these, except for the noble leaders and the missionaries, were largely reckless and roaming adventurers. While English colonists were building homes, the French mainly were building distant forts and trading posts.

2. Paternalism smothered private enterprise. In all industries, New France was taught to depend upon the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Aid was constantly asked from the king. "Send us money to build storehouses," ran the begging letters of Canadian officials; "Send us a teacher to make sailors"; "We want a surgeon"; and so, at various times, requests for brickmakers, ironworkers,



pilots, and other skilled workers. Such requests were usually granted, but New France did not learn to walk alone. The rulers did much, but the people did little.

3. Political life was lacking. In the seventeenth century France itself was a centralized despotism, and in New France (to use the phrase of Tocqueville) "this deformity was seen magnified as through a microscope." No public meetings were permitted without a special license, and such meetings, when held, could do nothing worth while. All sorts of matters, even the regulation of inns and of pew rent, the order in which people should sit in church, the keeping of dogs and of cattle, the pay of chimney sweeps, were settled by ordinances of the governors at Quebec, who were sent over by the French king. "It is of the greatest importance," wrote one official, "that the people should not be at liberty to speak their minds."

### III. ENGLISH AMERICA

**Very different from either Spanish or French settlements was the fringe of English colonies that grew up on the Atlantic coast,** never with a king's subsidies, often out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half gone, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. **Out of that rivalry English America was born** — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual adventurous patriots. Reckless and picturesque freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought profit and honor for themselves, and injury to the foe, by raiding the wide-flung realms of New Spain, while the more far-sighted Gilbert and Raleigh strove to "put a byt in the ancient enemy's mouth" by establishing English colonies in America.

Those first attempts came to nothing because the energies of the nation were drained by the exhausting struggle with the might of Spain in Europe. Then James became king, and sought Spanish friendship; but Englishmen, beginning to fear that their chance for empire was slipping through their fingers, insisted all the more that England should not now abandon Virginia, —

"This one enterprise left unto these days." So finally in 1607 an association of English gentlemen and merchants, organized as **The London Company**, succeeded in establishing the beginning of a permanent colony at Jamestown in Virginia.

The members of the London Company did not themselves come to Virginia — except for a few who came as officials and governors. In form that company was a business enterprise — like the many stock companies then coming into fashion for *trading* with distant lands (page 607). Some of the London Company may have hoped only for money gains, but, like Raleigh and Gilbert, **the great leaders cared more to build up the power of England.** Some of them, too, had it much at heart **to Christianize the savages.** The clergymen who guided the Church of England (then recently cut off from Rome) could not rest content with "this little English paddock" while Rome was winning new continents by her devoted missionaries. The London Company, in one main aspect, was a foreign missionary society — the first in the Protestant world — and this character brought it many gifts of money.

So far we have considered only the motives of Englishmen who stayed at home, helping *there* to promote American colonization. **Let us look now at the motives of the colonists.**

In 1600, Englishmen needed room. True, the island had still only a tenth as many people as to-day; but, as industry was carried on in that day, its four millions were more crowded than its forty millions are now. For the small farmers, especially, life had become very hard (pages 607, 610); **so these yeomen furnished most of the manual labor in the early colonies.**

But captains and capitalists, too, were needed, and **conditions in England now turned some of the best of the middle class toward American adventure.** The shrinking income of the country gentlemen, in comparison with the rising cost of living and especially of educating their sons (page 607), forced many old families to withdraw from the leadership they had formerly enjoyed. Until James made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of

gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (page 596) or made the "gentlemen-adventurers" who under commanders like Drake paralyzed the vast domain of New Spain with fear. Now these men sought occupation and fortune in colonizing America, — still attacking the old enemy, and in his weakest point, — and even some heads of old country families chose the chance for leadership in the colonies rather than to take in sail at home.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign, **Puritanism was added to the colonizing forces**, and, before the Long Parliament met, there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic shore. After this, the *leading* motive for colonization was a desire to win a better home or more wealth, though late in the century religious persecution in England played its part again in founding Pennsylvania. **And so, from one cause or another, at the time of the "Revolution of 1688," the English settlements in America had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies, reaching from the Penobscot to the Savannah, with a total population of a quarter of a million.** (Early in the next century there was added a thirteenth colony south of the Savannah.)

These colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law, with its guarantees for jury trial, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties (such as were known in no other colonies for two hundred years), and they all possessed their own self-governing representative assemblies, modeled on the English Parliament.

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars.

## CHAPTER XLVI

### WARS AND DESPOTS, 1648-1789

#### I. "THE BALANCE OF POWER"

The Thirty Years' War (page 600) is classed as one of the "religious wars." Toward its close, however, we saw Catholic France help Protestant Germany and Holland break the overshadowing power of Catholic Austria and Spain. **Statesmen had begun to make it their chief aim to keep any one country from being too strong for its neighbors' safety.** During all the period we are now studying (and much longer) this idea of maintaining "a balance of power" between nations was fruitful of shifting and selfish alliances and of frequent wars — wars, too, on a larger scale than Europe had before known.

#### A. THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV, 1643-1715

Spain had lost her place as the most powerful nation of Europe, we have seen, in the religious wars of the sixteenth century. In the next century, Englishmen were busy saving their liberty from Stuart tyrants, and Germans exhausted themselves fighting one another about religion. French rulers accordingly seized the chance to make their country the greatest power of Europe. **Throughout most of the long reign of Louis XIV (1643-1715) France more than any other country threatened to disturb the unstable "balance" in Europe.** During the early years of Louis, it is true, his great minister, *Colbert*, introduced economy into the finances, encouraged new manufactures, removed many of the absurd tolls that vexed trade, built roads and canals, and watched zealously over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 Louis began a series of wars that filled most of the next forty years.



THE FRENCH IN HEIDELBERG IN AN EARLY CAMPAIGN OF LOUIS XIV.—A painting by Fedor Dietz. By the order of Louis, the French armies deliberately depopulated large districts. A striking passage of Macaulay tells the fate of one Rhine province: "The commander announced to near half a million human beings that he granted them *three days' grace*. . . . Soon the roads and fields were black with innumerable men, women, and children, fleeing from their homes. . . . Flames went up from every market place, every parish church, every county seat." Many of these fugitives finally came to America.



His first efforts went to seizing territory on the northeast. Here his chief obstacle was the Dutch Republic. The Dutch intrusted their government to *William of Orange* (afterward William III of England; page 628). With grim determination William finally let in the North Sea to drive out the French armies. Meantime he toiled ceaselessly in building up against France an alliance of European powers, until **Louis was compelled to accept peace with only slight gains of territory from the Spanish Netherlands** (page 598).

During the truce that followed, **Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes** (1685) and tried to compel the Huguenots to accept Catholicism. Dragoons were quartered in the Huguenot districts, and terrible persecutions fell upon those who refused to abandon their faith. Protestantism did finally disappear from France. But, though Louis tried to prevent any heretic from leaving France alive, tens of thousands (perhaps 300,000 in all) escaped to Holland, Prussia, England, and America.<sup>1</sup> The effect on France corresponded in a measure to the effect of the expulsion of the Moriscos (page 598) on Spain.

**A second series of wars began in 1689** (page 628). As before, the French armies were invincible in the field; but, as before, **William checked Louis by building up a general European alliance**. England had now taken Holland's place as the center of opposition to French despotism. Louis fought mainly to get more Rhine territory; *but this time he kept no gains*. This war is known in American history as "**King William's War**." *The struggle had widened from a mere European war into a Titanic conflict between France and England for world-empire.*

Next, Louis eagerly seized a chance to put one of his grandsons on the vacant Spanish throne, as Philip V, exclaiming exultantly, "**The Pyrenees no longer exist**." But Europe united

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<sup>1</sup> In America the Huguenots went mainly to the Carolinas. Some old Virginia families also trace their origin to this immigration. In New York John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were both of Huguenot descent. And in Massachusetts the Huguenot influence is suggested by the names of Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and Governor Bowdoin.



THE GREAT ELECTOR OF PRUSSIA (page 646) WELCOMING HUGUENOT REFUGEES. — A painting by Hugo Vogel. See page 641.

against France and Spain in the "War of the Spanish Succession" known in American history as "Queen Anne's War." In this struggle, for the first time, success in the field lay with the Allies. The English *Marlbrough* and the Hapsburg *Prince Eugene* won terrible victories over the armies of France, at *Blenheim* in Bavaria, and at *Ramillies* and *Audenarde* in the Netherlands, — the suffering battleground of the rival kings.

*The Peace of Utrecht* (1713) left Philip king of Spain, but he had to renounce for himself and his heirs all claim upon the French throne. *France gained no territory in Europe*, and in America she lost *Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England*. *England also acquired command of the Mediterranean*, by securing from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca*. *Spain lost all her European possessions outside her own peninsula*, ceding her *Netherland provinces*, the kingdom of *Sicily and Naples*, and the great *Duchy of Milan* in North Italy, to *Austria*.

Louis XIV dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (*Grand Monarque*), but his wars exhausted France. At the close of his reign, the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which *more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created*. Intellectually, however, France was now the acknowledged leader of Europe. The court of Louis XIV was the model on which every court in Europe sought to form itself. French thought, French fashions, the French language, became the common property of polite society all over the continent.

#### B. THE RISE OF RUSSIA

Early Russian history is a blank or a mass of legends. We know that, before the year 900, there was a prince at Moscow ruling over the Russian Slavs from Novgorod to Kiev. Toward the close of the next century, **Greek Christianity was introduced from Constantinople**, and Greek civilization began slowly to make progress among the Russians. But about 1200, a great military leader appeared among the heathen Tatars who peopled the vast plains to the East. Taking the title *Genghis Khan*

(Lord of Lords), he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs. **In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed**, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia; but ten years later the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province. Again Western Europe was saved only by the death of a Mongol emperor. Soon after, the huge Tatar monarchy fell into fragments. But the whole Russian realm has felt ever since the baleful influence of the Tatar dominion — which lasted in that country more than two centuries.

**In 1480 a tributary Russian prince threw off the Tatar yoke**, and one of his near successors, Ivan the Terrible, took the title *Tsar* (page 297). Under this Ivan, by 1550, when the religious wars were beginning in Western Europe, Russia reached from the inland Caspian northward and westward over much of the vast eastern plain of Europe, stretching even into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tatars and Turks still shut it off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (page 601); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany. The Tsars imitated the Tatar khans in their rule and court, and the Russian people were Asiatic in dress, manners, and thought.

**To make this Russia a European Power was the work of Peter the Great.** Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world that he had admired at a distance. In Holland, as a workman in the navy yards, he studied shipbuilding. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries,

museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers to return with him to Russia.

With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic methods."

He "civilized by the cudgel." *The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Oriental.*

Peter was more successful in starting Russia on her march toward the European seas, to get "windows to look out upon Europe." From his day to the opening of the World War, Constantinople was a chief goal of Russian ambition. The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, winning the east coast of the Baltic as far north as the Gulf of Finland. This district had been colonized, three centuries before, by German nobles (maps after 480 and 514), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. In this new territory Peter founded *Petersburg*, now known as Leningrad.

Peter's daughter, Elizabeth, soon afterward seized part of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century,



CHURCH OF ST. BASIL AT MOSCOW, built in 1554-1557 by Ivan the Terrible. The structure was painted brilliantly in rainbow colors. It shows Oriental and Byzantine characteristics.



Catherine II added other large districts on the south along the Black Sea, and on the west at the expense of Poland (page 651.) This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

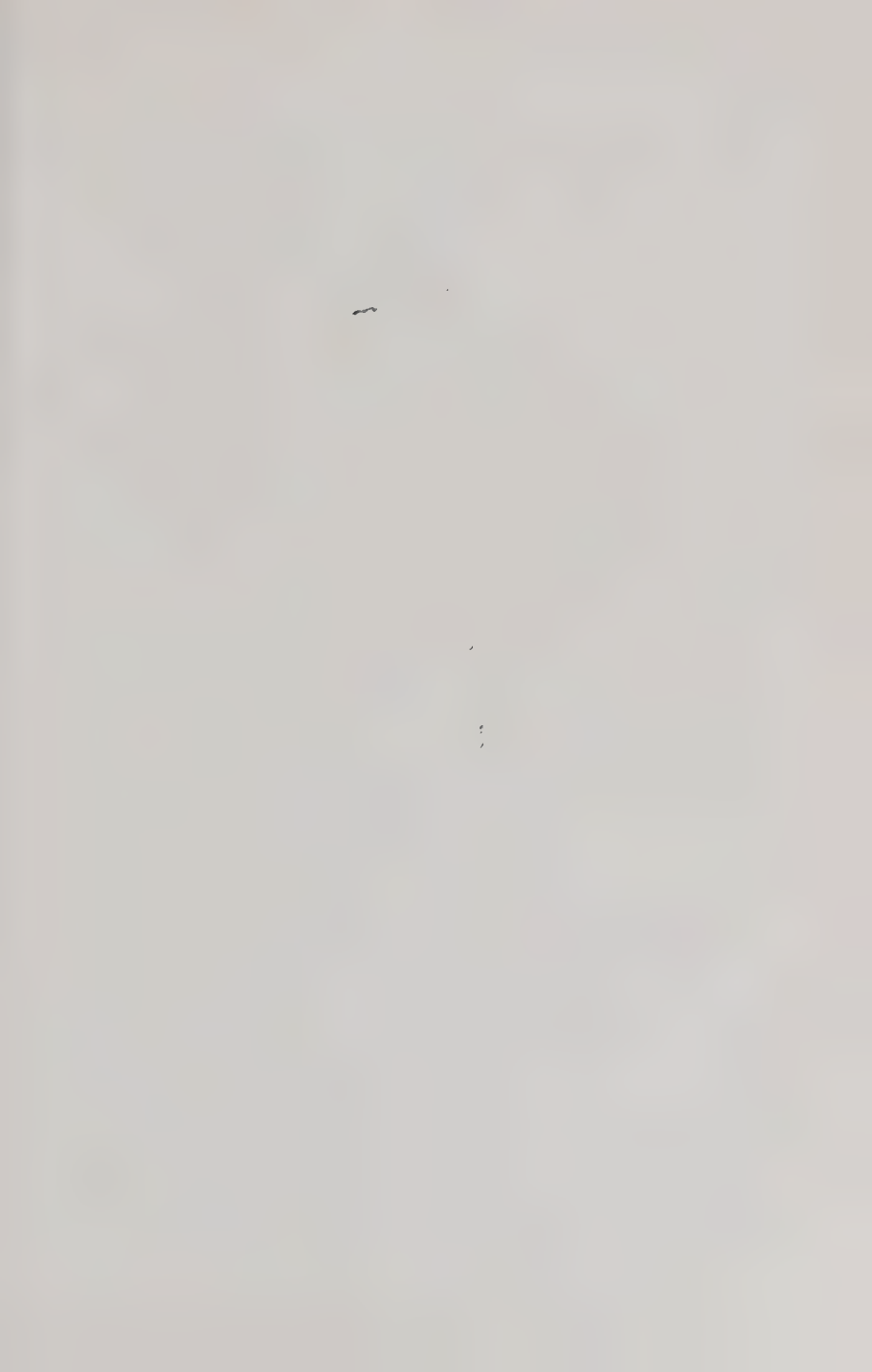
#### C. PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

**Brandenburg** was a little district in the northeast of Germany which became prominent in the twelfth century as a bulwark against the Slavs. About 1200, the ruler became one of the Electors (page 546) of the Empire. In 1415, the first line of Brandenburg Electors ran out; and *Frederick of Hohenzollern*, a petty count in the Alps (like the Hapsburgs a century and a half before), *bought Brandenburg from the Emperor*.

Shortly after 1600 the Elector of Brandenburg fell heir to the *duchy of Prussia outside the Empire* on the extreme east, — a Slav and Lett district which the Teutonic Knights had conquered in the fourteenth century and which they held as vassals of the king of Poland.

Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War, **Frederick William**, "the Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg — a coarse, cruel, treacherous, shrewd ruler. The Protestants were getting the upper hand in the war. Frederick William joined them, and at the Peace of Westphalia he secured eastern Pomerania (page 601), bringing *Brandenburg to the sea*. The "Great Elector" now crushed out all local assemblies of nobles in his provinces, and all local privileges. Then he built up an army among the largest and best in Europe, much more costly than his poor realms could well support. He was shrewd enough, however, to see the need of caring for the material welfare of his subjects. He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged better agriculture, and welcomed to his realms, with their manufactures, the Huguenot fugitives from France.

Frederick, son and successor of the Great Elector, was sought by Austria to join the alliance against Louis XIV (page 642). In reward for his aid, he then secured the Emperor's consent to his changing the title "Elector of Brandenburg" for the more stately one of "**King in Prussia**" (1701). The





second king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was a rude "drill sergeant," memorable only as the stupid father of Frederick the Great. He did, however, expend what intellect he had, and what money he could wring from his subjects, in enlarging the Prussian army; and he had a curious passion for collecting *tall* soldiers from all over Europe.

**Frederick II ("the Great") ascended the Prussian throne in 1740.** In the same year the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI, died without a male heir, and Frederick began his long reign by an unjust but profitable war. The Emperor Charles had secured solemn pledges from the powers of Europe, *including Prussia*, that his young daughter, Maria Theresa, should succeed to his Austrian possessions. But now, with his perfectly prepared army, *without having even declared war*, on a trumped-up claim, Frederick seized Silesia from Maria Theresa.

This treacherous act was the signal for a general onslaught to divide the Austrian realms. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, each hurried to snatch some morsel of the booty. But Maria Theresa displayed courage and ability, and she secured aid from Holland and England. This "War of the Austrian Succession" closed in 1748. Frederick had shown himself greedy and unscrupulous, but also the greatest general of the age. He kept Silesia. **Prussia now reached down into the heart of Germany, and had become the great rival of Austria.**

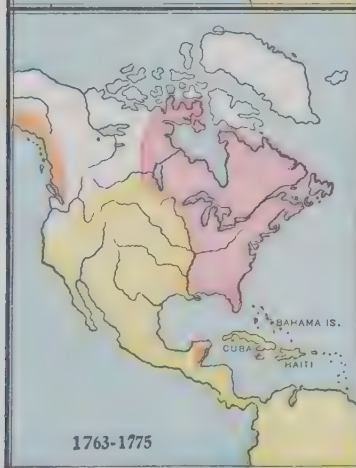
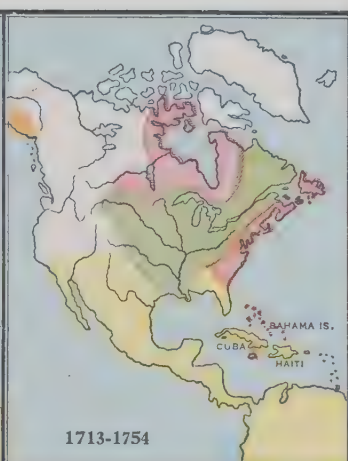
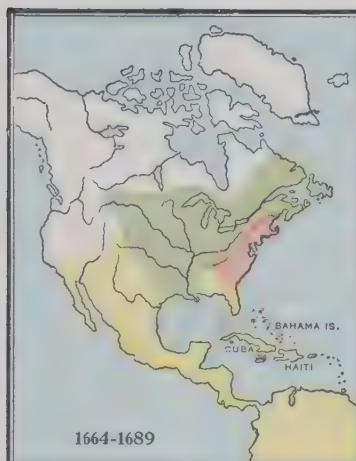
**Much more important, though less striking, was the contest outside Europe.** In America a New England expedition captured the French fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, Dupleix, captured the English stations. The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position, in both America and Asia, but *the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast continents*. Whether Prussia or Austria was to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria was to hold the Netherlands, were questions wholly insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideas should hold the New World.

In 1756 Austria began a war of revenge. Maria Theresa had secured the alliance of Russia, Sweden, and even of her old enemy, France. Four great armies invaded Prussia from different directions, and Frederick's throne seemed to totter. But his swift action and his military genius won amazing victories, and the next year England entered the struggle as his ally. England and France had remained practically at war in America and India through the brief interval between the two European wars. Braddock's campaign in America (1754) took place during this interval; and now that France had changed to Austria's side, England saw no choice but to support Prussia.

In America this "Seven Years' War" was known as the "French and Indian War." The struggle was literally world-wide. Red men scalped one another by the Great Lakes of North America, and black men fought in Senegal in Africa; while Frenchmen and Englishmen grappled in India as well as in Germany, and their fleets engaged on every sea. Still the European conflict in the main decided the wider results. William Pitt, the English minister, who was working to build up a great British empire, declared that in Germany he would conquer America from France. He did so. England furnished the funds, and her navy swept the seas. Frederick and Prussia, supported by English subsidies, furnished the troops and the generalship for the European battles. The striking figures of the struggle are (1) Pitt, the great English imperialist, the directing genius of the war; (2) Frederick of Prussia, the military genius, who won Pitt's victories in Germany; (3) Wolfe, who won French America from the great Montcalm; and (4) Clive, who established England's supremacy in India.

**The treaty of peace, in 1763,** *left Europe without change.* But *in India* the French retained only a few unfortified trading posts. *In America*, England received Florida from Spain, and Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley from France. France ceded to Spain the western half of the Mississippi Valley, in compensation for the losses Spain had incurred as her ally; and, except for her West Indian Islands, *she herself ceased to be*





# EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA, 1664-1775

- English
- French
- Spanish
- Russian



*an American power.* Spain still held South America and half of North America; but her vast bulk was plainly decaying day by day. Holland's wide colonial empire, too, was in decline. Britain stood forth as the leading world-power.

The struggle in America had really been a war, not between Montcalm and Wolfe, but between two kinds of colonization.



Man for man, the French settlers were more successful woodsmen and Indian fighters than their English rivals, but *they could not build a state so well.* They got a good start first, but, despite their heroic leaders, the mass of French colonists had too little political activity to care much whether they were ruled by King Louis or by King George, so long as they were treated decently. Wolfe's one victory at Quebec settled the

fate of the continent. The lack of political vitality and of individual enterprise in industry was the fatal weakness of New France. The opposite qualities made England successful. Says John Fiske: "*It is to the self-government of England, and to no lesser cause, that we are to look for the secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance.*"

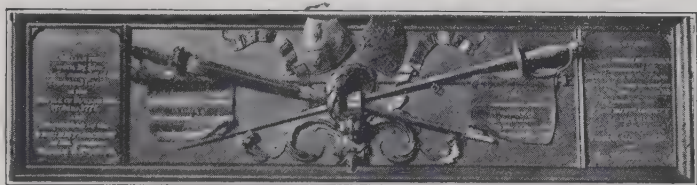
**The American Revolution is the next chapter in this series of wars.** That war began because the English government unwisely insisted upon managing American affairs after the Americans were quite able to take care of themselves. Its real importance, even to Europe, lay in the establishment of an independent American nation and in teaching England, after a while, to improve her system of colonial government. But at the time, France and Spain saw in the American Revolution a chance to revenge themselves upon England by helping the best part of her empire to break away.

The English colonial system in America had not been cruel or tyrannical nor *seriously* hampering in industry, though it had been guilty of some annoying and stupid interference with colonial commerce and manufactures. Certainly, on both the industrial and the political side, it was vastly more liberal than was the colonial policy of any other country in that age. But after Canada fell to England, so that the English colonies no longer feared French conquest, they began to resent even the slight interference of the English government. The freest people of the age, they were ready and anxious for more freedom.

England did lose most of her empire in America, but she came out of the war with gains as well as losses. She had been fighting, not America alone, but France, Spain, Holland, *and* America. Theodore Roosevelt has put finely the result and character of this wider struggle (*Gouverneur Morris*, 116):

England, hemmed in by the ring of her foes, fronted them with a grand courage. . . . In America, alone, the tide ran too strong to be turned. But Holland was stripped of all her colonies; in the East,

Sir Eyre Coote beat down Hyder Ali, and taught Moslem and Hindoo alike that they could not shake off the grasp of the iron hands that held India; Rodney won back for his country the supremacy of the ocean in that great sea-fight where he shattered the splendid French navy; and the long siege of Gibraltar [by Spain] closed with the crushing overthrow of the assailants. So, with bloody honor, England ended the most disastrous war she had ever waged.



CROSSED SWORDS of Colonel William Prescott and Captain John Linzee, who fought on opposite sides at Bunker Hill. A grandson of Prescott and a granddaughter of Linzee married, and their offspring mounted these heirlooms in this way "in token of international friendship and family alliance." Now in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Just before the American Revolution began, **Russia, Prussia, and Austria united to murder the old kingdom of Poland and to divide the carcass.** The anarchy of Poland gave its neighbors excuse. The population consisted of about twelve million degraded serfs, and one hundred thousand selfish, oligarchic nobles. The latter constituted the government. They met in occasional Diets, and, when the throne became vacant, they elected the figurehead king. Unanimous consent was required for any vote in the Diet, — *each noble possessing the right of veto.*

Under such conditions, the Powers of Europe had begun to play with Poland at will. Catherine II of Russia determined to seize a large part of the country. Frederick II persuaded his old enemy, Austria, to join him in compelling Catherine to share the booty. The "First Partition," in 1772, pared off a rind about the heart. The Second and Third Partitions (1793, 1795), which "assassinated the kingdom," had not even the pretext of misgovernment in Poland. The Poles had undertaken sweeping reforms, and the nation made a gallant defense under its hero-leader *Kosciuszko*; but the giant robbers wiped Poland off the map. Russia gained by far the greatest part of



the territory, and she now bordered Germany on the east, as France did on the west.

Frederick II's reign doubled the size of Prussia — but at the terrible cost of frontiers made only of fortresses and bayonets. Frederick had shown himself a greedy robber and a military genius. With brutal cynicism he avowed absolute freedom from moral principle where a question of Prussia's power was at stake. Success, he declared, justified any means. This faithlessness he practiced as well as taught, and his success made this policy the creed of later Hohenzollerns.

## II. DESPOTISM FAILS

Another side of the life of Frederick II earns him his title of "the Great" more properly than his greedy wars and treacherous diplomacy. Most of his forty-six years' reign was passed in peace. The beneficent work of the Great Elector was taken up and carried forward vigorously. Prussia was transformed. Wealth and comfort increased by leaps, and the condition of even the serfs was improved. Unlike all the earlier Hohenzollern, Frederick was also a patron of literature — though he admired only the artificial French style of the age — and he was himself an author.

Frederick is a type of the "crowned philosophers," or "benevolent despots," who sat upon the thrones of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, just before the French Revolution. Under the influence of a new enlightened sentiment, government underwent a marvelous change. It was just as autocratic as before, — no more *by* the people than before, — but despots did try to govern *for* the people, not for themselves. Louis XIV had said, with truth, "I am the state": Frederick preferred to say, "I am the first servant of the state."

Catherine of Russia, Charles III of Spain, Leopold of Tuscany, Ferdinand of Naples, Joseph II of Austria, all belonged to the class of philosophic, liberal-minded, "benevolent despots." In Sweden and Portugal two great ministers sought to impose a like policy upon the kings. All these rulers *planned*

far-reaching reforms, — the abolition of serfdom, the building up of public education, and the reform of the church.

Frederick's genius and tireless energy accomplished something for a time; but **on the whole the monarchs made lamentable failures.** One man was powerless to lift the inert weight of a nation. The clergy and nobles, jealous for their privileges, opposed and thwarted the royal will. Except in England and France, there was no large middle class to supply friendly officials and sympathy. The kings, too, wished no participation by the people in the reforms: everything was to come from above. When the "benevolent despots" had to choose between benevolence and despotism they always chose despotism.

The most remarkable, and in some ways the greatest of these philosophic despots, was *Joseph II of Austria*, the son of Maria Theresa. His task was harder than that of any of his fellows because his realms were so heterogeneous, — peopled by Germans, Hungarians, South Slavs, Poles, Bohemians, Italians, Netherlanders. Joseph sought to abolish the ancient local distinctions in these varying districts and to introduce one orderly government, with one official language (German). He aimed also to foster education, abolish monasteries, establish freedom of religion, and even to do away with serfdom. All noble and clerical classes, however, resisted him fiercely, and **Joseph died disheartened**, dictating for himself the epitaph, "Here lies a king who designed many benefits for his people, but who was unable to accomplish any of them."

### III. THE OUTLOOK

The kings had failed to bring about sufficient reform. **Next, in France, the people were to try for themselves.** So far as government is concerned, our story closes in gloom, but there was soon to show the blood-streaked dawn of the French Revolution — which was to bring to Europe true beginnings in equality and democracy.

Not merely in government and in social arrangements but also in the even more fundamental matter of industry a more democratic age was at hand.

We have seen the slow preparation for it through thousands of years. The cave-man began the invention of *tools* to multiply human strength; but, except for some use of beasts of burden in transportation, even in the Athens of Pericles no tool did any work without the direct application of human hand or foot. This remained true, too, after the Alexandrian Age had added its many new and complex tools. No tool yet was a *machine*: all required the direct application of *physical* human power. The finest Hellenic civilization, therefore, had to rest on slavery (page 259).

The Romans found out how to utilize animal power to turn their millstones — as, indeed, men had used such power thousands of years earlier to draw plow and cart. In a proper sense, the Roman grist-mill was a true machine, as distinguished from a tool. Human effort was still necessary to direct and manage the animal power and the mill, but that human effort was more mental now than physical. Before the fall of the Empire in the West, too, the Europeans learned to substitute water-power for horse or donkey to turn their millstones — one invention to which Europe clung all through the Dark Ages.

During the Crusades the Saracens taught Europe to use another natural force, the wind; and windmills began to work Archimedes' old hand-pump, — a marked step forward toward the age of machinery. The Renaissance, besides inventing important new hand-tools (page 565 f.), extended the use of water-power from grist-mills to saw-mills. At that period, too, sailors were learning to "tack," and so to rely fully for the first time on wind and sail instead of largely on the oar — an advance which began the process of freeing the galley slave from probably the cruelest form of human slavery.

All these inventions and devices, however, down to about a century and a half ago, were trifling when compared with the Industrial Revolution that was getting under way in England at the moment to which our story has been carried in this volume. **That revolution consisted in substituting power-driven machines for hand tools on a vast scale: steam-power**

for the next hundred years and a steadily multiplying variety of machines. The change worked a real revolution in human life — a greater one in a few decades than any previous thousand years had seen. It afforded the only possible basis for a far higher kind of life for masses of men. At the same time it brought its own mighty problems with it. To trace this development and its new problems, and the resulting changes in government and society, is the purpose of the next volume of this series, — *Modern Progress*.

FURTHER READING upon the subject of the last two chapters may profitably be confined to the struggle for the New World and for India. Students should read Parkman's works, especially his *Montcalm and Wolfe* and his *Half Century of Conflict*. The following biographies, too, are good: Wilson's *Clive*, Bradley's *Wolfe*, Morley's *Walpole*.

#### REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact Drills.

- a. Dates with their significance: 1629-1640 (No Parliament in England), 1648-1660 (Commonwealth), 1660, 1688, 1713, 1740, 1763, 1783.
- b. List six important battles between 1509 and 1789.
2. Review by countries, with "catch words," from 1500, or from some convenient event of about that date.
3. Extend the parallel-column exercise (pages 489, 505) to 1789.
4. Make a brief paragraph statement for the period 1648-1787, to include the chief changes in territory and in the relative power of the different European states.





## APPENDIX

### A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

*Starred volumes should be present in multiple copies*

#### THE STONE AGE

- Clodd, E.**, *Story of Primitive Man* ("Primer"). Appleton.  
— *Childhood of the World*. Macmillan.  
**Davenport, E.**, *Domesticated Animals and Plants*. Ginn.  
**Holbrook, F.**, *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers*. Heath.  
**Joly, N.**, *Man before Metals*. Appleton.  
**Marshall, Leon C.**, *Story of Human Progress*. Macmillan.  
**Mason, O. T.**, *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*. Appleton.  
**Starr, F.**, *Some First Steps in Human Progress*. Flood and Vincent  
Meadville, Pa.  
**Tylor, J. M.**, *The New Stone Age in Northern Europe*. Scribner.  
**Van Loon, H.**, *History of Mankind*. Macmillan.

It is not suggested that a school library should own all the works above, until it is well supplied in other directions, but any of them will make entertaining reading. More costly and beautifully illustrated volumes are Solas' *Ancient Hunters* and Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*. For fiction, the best books for young people are Stanley Waterloo's *Story of Ab*, Langford's *Pic the Weapon-Maker*, and Kummer's *First Days of Man*.

#### ORIENTAL HISTORY

- Baillie, James**, *Story of the Pharaohs* (illustrated). Macmillan.  
**Breasted, J. H.**, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*. Scribner.

The same author has a larger, finely illustrated work covering the same ground:

- *History of Egypt*. Scribner.

- \*\* Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*. Allyn and Bacon. Two volumes: "Greece and the East" and "Rome and the West."

The first volume contains sixty pages of "source material" on Oriental history, with valuable introductions. The *Readings*, unless bought by each student in the class, should be present in the library in multiple copies.

- Hommel, F.**, *Civilization of the East* ("Primer"). Macmillan.

- Jackson, A. V. W.**, *Zoroaster*. Macmillan.
- Maspero, Sir Gaston**, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*. Appleton.
- \* **Myres, J. L.**, *Dawn of History* (Home Universities Series). Holt.  
(An admirable and very cheap little book.)
- Petrie, W. Flinders**, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (illustrated). McClurg. (Valuable for students in industrial courses, but somewhat technical. Professor Petrie is the most famous Egyptian explorer of our times.)
- Sayce, A. H.**, *Assyria: Its Princes, Priests, and People* (illustrated). Revell, Chicago. (Very readable.)

#### CIVILIZATION IN ANCIENT CRETE

- Baikie, James**, *Sea Kings of Crete* (handsomely illustrated). Macmillan. (The best single volume on the topic.)
- Hawes and Hawes**, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*. Harper.

#### GREEK HISTORY

##### *Source Material.*

- \* **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*. (This work is described in the list for Oriental history above. It is particularly valuable for Greek history, and should be the first library material purchased on that subject. The use of it, however, will certainly lead many students to wish to know more of certain ancient authors quoted in it, and the small list below ought to be accessible.)
- Aristotle**, *On the Constitution of Athens*; translated by Kenyon. Macmillan. (The least readable of the books mentioned in this list, but it can be used in parts, under a teacher's direction.)
- Herodotus**, Rawlinson's translation, edited by Grant; two volumes. Scribner.
- Macaulay's translation, two volumes. Macmillan.
- \* *Homer's Iliad*, translated by Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Macmillan.
- \* *Homer's Odyssey*, translated by Butcher and Lang. Macmillan.  
Translated by Palmer. Houghton Mifflin.
- Plutarch**, *Lives*; translated by Clough; three volumes. Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York).
- Thucydides**, *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Jowett's translation; Clarendon Press, Oxford, two volumes; or the same edited in one volume and published by Lothrop, Boston.

Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York) gives several volumes of these classics at cheaper rates. Constant additions are made to the Library. Herodotus and Thucydides can be obtained also in less desirable translations, but much cheaper, in Harper's Classical Library.

*Modern Works.*

- \* Abbott, E., *Pericles* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
  - \* Bury, J. B., *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander*. Macmillan.
  - \* Church, E. J., *Trial and Death of Socrates*. Macmillan. (A translation of four of Plato's Dialogues touching upon this period of Socrates' life, with valuable comments. These are also the easiest of Plato's writings for young people to understand.)
  - Cox, G. W., *Greeks and Persians*. Epochs Series. Longmans.
  - \* Cox, G. W., *The Athenian Empire*. Epochs Series. Longmans.
  - Cunningham, W., *Western Civilization in Its Economic Aspects: Ancient Times*. Macmillan. (The best work on its special phase. Very full for Greece.)
  - \* Davis, William Stearns, *A Day in Old Athens*. Allyn and Bacon.
  - *A Victor of Salamis* (novel). Macmillan.
  - Exceedingly vivid presentations of Greek life.
  - Gardiner, E. N., *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (illustrated). Macmillan.
  - Gayley, C. M., *Classic Myths*. Ginn.
  - \* Grant, A. J., *Greece in the Age of Pericles*. Scribner.
  - \* Gulick, C. B., *Life of the Ancient Greeks* (illustrated). Appleton.
  - \* Halliburton, Richard, *The Glorious Adventure*. Bobbs-Merrill. (A fascinating story of a modern college boy who follows the wanderings of Homer's Odysseus.)
  - \* Mahaffy, J. P., *Alexander's Empire*. Putnam.
  - *Old Greek Life* (Primer). American Book Company.
  - *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*. University of Chicago Press.
  - \* Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, *Alexander the Great* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
- Bury is the best single work on Greek history. It closes with the death of Alexander. Cox's volumes in the Epochs Series are slightly preferable for the Athenian period. Wheeler's *Alexander* is admirable for its period. For the age after Alexander, the best book is Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire* or his *Progress of Hellenism*.

## ROMAN HISTORY

*Source Material.*

- \* Davis, William Stearns, *Readings in Ancient History*, as for Greek History above.
- Tacitus. 2 vols. Macmillan.

*Modern Works.*

- \* Beesly, A. H., *The Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla*. Epochs Series. Longmans.
- Bradley, H., *The Goths* ("Nations"). Putnam.

- \* **Bury, J. B.**, *The Roman Empire to 180 A.D.* ("Student's"). American Book Company.
- \* **Capes, W. W.**, *Early Roman Empire*. Epochs Series. Longmans.  
— *Age of the Antonines*. Epochs Series. Longmans.
- Church, A. J.**, *Roman Life in the Days of Cicero*. Macmillan.
- Church, R. W.**, *Beginning of the Middle Ages*. Epochs Series. Longmans.
- Davis, William Stearns**, *A Friend of Caesar* (fiction). Macmillan.  
— *A Day in Old Rome*. Allyn and Bacon.
- Firth, J. B.**, *Augustus Caesar*. Putnam.  
— *Constantine the Great*. Putnam.
- Fowler, Warde**, *Caesar* ("Heroes"). Putnam.  
— *Social Life in the Age of Cicero*. Macmillan. (A useful and very readable book.)
- \* **Ilhne, Wilhelm**, *Early Rome*. Epochs Series. Longmans.
- Inge, W. R.**, *Society in Rome under the Caesars*. Scribner.
- Johnston, H. W.**, *Private Life of the Romans*. Scott, Foresman.
- \* **Pelham, H. F.**, *Outlines of Roman History*. Putnam. (A single volume covering the whole period to 476 A.D., by a great scholar and teacher.)
- Preston and Dodge**, *Private Life of the Romans*. Leach, Boston.

#### FROM THE "FALL OF ROME" TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

##### *Source Material.*

- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Bohn.
- Brooks, Noah** (editor), *The Story of Marco Polo*. Century.
- Chronicles of the Crusades*. Bohn.
- \* **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*, II. Allyn and Bacon.
- Einhard**, *Charlemagne*. American Book Company.
- English History from Contemporary Writers*. Edited by F. York-Powell. Putnam. (A series of ten small volumes, all very valuable.)
- Joinville, J.**, *Memoir of St. Louis*. (Various editions.)
- Lanier, Sidney** (editor), *The Boy's Froissart*. Scribner.
- \* **Ogg, T. A.**, *Source Book of Medieval History*. American Book Company.
- Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints from Original Sources*. 7 vols.  
Published by University of Pennsylvania.
- \* **Robinson, J. H.**, *Readings in European History*. 2 vols. Ginn.

##### *Modern Works.*

- Adams, G. B.**, *Growth of the French Nation*. Macmillan.  
— *Civilization During the Middle Age*. Scribner.
- \* **Archer and Kingsford**, *The Crusades* ("Nations"). Putnam.

- \* Bailey, H. C., *The Fool*. (An excellent novel on the period of Henry II of England.)
- Balzani, Ugo, *Popes and Hohenstaufen*. Longmans.
- Beard, Charles, *An Introduction to English Historians*. Macmillan.  
(Extracts from leading authorities on interesting topics.)
- Beesly, E. S., *Elizabeth* ("English Statesmen"). Macmillan.
- Boyeson, H. H., *Norway* ("Nations"). Putnam.
- Brown, Horatio, *The Venetian Republic* ("Temple Primers"). Macmillan.
- \* Cheyney, E. P., *Industrial and Social History of England*. Macmillan.
- Church, *Beginnings of the Middle Ages* ("Epochs"). Longmans.
- Clemens, S. L. (Mark Twain), *Joan of Arc*. Harper.
- Conan-Doyle, A., *The White Company* (an excellent story of adventure in the day of chivalry), and *Micah Clark* (late 17th century).
- Cornish, F. W., *Chivalry*. Macmillan.
- Cox, G. W., *The Crusades* ("Epochs"). Longmans.
- Creighton, M., *Age of Elizabeth* ("Epochs"). Longmans.
- Cunningham, W., *Western Civilization* (Vol. I, Medieval and Modern). Macmillan.
- Cunningham, W., and McArthur, E. A., *Outlines of English Industrial History*. Macmillan.
- Davis, H. W. C., *Charlemagne* ("Heroes"). Putnam.  
Or see Hodgkin's *Charles* in the supplementary list below.
- \*\* Davis, William Stearns, *Life on a Medieval Barony*. Harper.
- \* Emerton, E., *Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages*. Ginn.  
— *Medieval Europe*. Ginn.
- Firth, C. H., *Cromwell* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
- Gardiner, S. R., *Student's History of England*. Longmans.  
— *The Puritan Revolution* ("Epochs"). Longmans.  
— *The Thirty Years' War* ("Epochs"). Longmans.
- Gibbins, H., *Industrial History of England*. Methuen, London.
- Gilman, A., *The Saracens* ("Nations"). Putnam.
- \* Green, J. R., *History of the English People*. 4 vols. Burt, New York.  
Or, in place of this last work,
- \* Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People*. American Book Company.
- Green, Mrs. J. R., *Henry II*. Macmillan.
- Hughes, Thomas, *Alfred the Great*. Macmillan.
- Jenks, Edward, *Edward Plantagenet* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
- Jessopp, A., *The Coming of the Friars*. Putnam.
- Jiriczek, O. L., *Northern Hero Legends*. Macmillan.
- Kingsley, Charles, *Hereward the Wake*. (A novel of the Norman Conquest period.)



- Kingsley, Charles**, *Westward Ho!* (A novel of the Elizabethan age.)  
**Johnston, C., and Spencer, C.**, *Ireland's Story*. Houghton.  
**Lane-Poole, S.**, *Saladin* ("Heroes"). Putnam.  
**Lindsay, T. M.**, *Luther and the German Reformation*. Scribner.  
**MacDonald, George**, *St. George and St. Michael*. (A story of the English Civil War.)  
**Masterman, J. H. B.**, *Dawn of Medieval Europe* ("Six Ages"). Macmillan.  
**Motley, J. L.**, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*; edited by W. E. Griffis. Harper. (The best history of the Republic in its heroic age.)  
**Mullinger, J. B.**, *University of Cambridge*. Longmans.  
**Munro, D. C., and Sellery, G. C.**, *Medieval Civilization*. Century. (Selected readings from standard modern authorities.)  
**Oman, C. W. C.**, *Byzantine Empire* ("Nations"). Putnam.  
**Parkman, Francis**, *Half-Century of Conflict*. 2 vols. *Montcalm and Wolfe*. 2 vols. *New France*. Little, Brown.  
**Pears, E.**, *Fall of Constantinople*. Harper.  
**Perry, F.**, *St. Louis* ("Heroes"). Putnam.  
**Pollard, A. F.**, *History of England* ("Home University"). Holt.  
**Power, Eileen**, *Medieval People*. Cambridge University Press (England). (Vivid presentation of real personages from different ranks of society, mainly by the use of contemporary letters or records.)  
**Scott, Sir Walter**, *Ivanhoe*, *The Talisman*, *Anne of Gierstein*, *Kenilworth*, *Woodstock*, *Quentin Durward*.  
**Tappan, Eva M.**, *When Knights Were Bold*. Houghton, Mifflin. (Especially good on social and economic life.)  
**Tout, T. F.**, *Edward I*. Macmillan.  
**Van Dyke, J. C.**, *History of Painting*. Longmans.  
**Walker, W.**, *The Reformation*. Scribner.  
**Ward, A. W.**, *The Counter-Reformation* ("Epochs"). Longmans.  
**Willert, P. F.**, *Henry of Navarre* ("Heroes"). Putnam.  
**Zimmern, H.**, *The Hansa* ("Nations"). Putnam.

These lists do not contain nearly all the books in these fields which may well be found in a large school library. They represent only such volumes as *ought to be constantly accessible to a first-year class in the study*. When two books on the same field are named, one of them distinctly preferable to the other, this is done because the library may already have the older work — in which case it is not worth while to buy the other until more pressing needs are well supplied. *The starred volumes should be present in multiple copies. No attempt is made to name publishers of works of fiction.* It seems desirable to add the following supplementary list for the larger schools.

## SOME ADDITIONAL BOOKS ON THE LAST PERIOD

- Ashley, W. J., *Introduction to English Economic History*. Vol. I, Part I. Longmans.
- Beazley, C. R., *Prince Henry the Navigator* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
- Blackmore, R. D., *Lorna Doone*. (A story of English rural life in the 18th century.)
- Bourne, E. G., *Spain in America* (American Nation Series). Harper.
- Bradley, A. G., *Wolfe*. Macmillan.
- Caldecott, Alfred, *English Colonization and Empire* (University Extension Manuals). New York.
- Cutts, E. L., *Parish Priests and Their People*. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, New York.
- *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*. New York.
- Du Chaillu, P. B., *The Viking Age*. 2 vols. Murray.
- Fletcher, C. R. L., *Gustavus Adolphus* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
- Fox-Bourne, H. R., *Sir Philip Sidney* ("Heroes"). Putnam.
- Gasquet, F. A., *Parish Life in Medieval England*. New York.
- Harrison, F., *William the Silent*. Macmillan.
- Hewes, A. D., *Swords on the Sea*. (A fine story of the rivalry between Genoa and Venice.)
- Hodgkin, T., *Charles the Great*. Macmillan.
- *Theodoric the Goth*. Macmillan.
- James, G. P. R., *History of Chivalry*. Harper.
- Jusserand, J. J., *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*. Putnam.
- Keary, C. F., *The Vikings in Western Christendom*. Putnam.
- Morison, S. E., *Life and Times of St. Bernard*. Macmillan.
- Putnam, Ruth, *Books and Their Makers in the Middle Ages*. Putnam.
- Reade, Charles, *The Cloister and the Hearth*. (The best novel on the early Renaissance period.)
- Robinson, J. H., and Rolfe, H. W., *Petrarch*. Putnam.
- Sabatier, P., *St. Francis*. Scribner.
- Saintsbury, G. E. B., *Flourishing of Romance*. Scribner.
- Seeley, J. R., *Expansion of England*. Macmillan.
- Smith, J. H., *The Troubadours at Home*. Putnam.
- Stephens, W. R. W., *Hildebrand and His Times*. Longmans.
- Stevenson, Robert Louis, *The Black Arrow*. (Excellent fiction.)
- Symonds, J. A., *Short History of the Renaissance in Italy* (edited by Pearson). Scribner.
- Weil, Alethea, *Venice* ("Nations"). Putnam.
- Wrong, G. M., *Rise and Fall of New France*. 2 vols. Macmillan.
- York-Powell, F., *Alfred the Truth-Teller*. Putnam.



# INDEX

The marks of pronunciation are those used in *Webster's New International Dictionary*, which is also the authority on pronunciation followed here. For the pronunciation of some German and French letters, the student can consult the key on the pronunciation of foreign names toward the close of that volume, just preceding the "Pronouncing Gazetteer." When Webster authorizes an Anglicized pronunciation of a foreign name, that form is usually given here. In simple cases only the division into syllables is indicated.

This index also indicates on which map a place name may be found. Usually the map so referred to is the earliest one in this book on which the name occurs, but sometimes special reasons call for the reference to a later map.

- Aachen** (ä'kən; map after 396), 409, 411, etc.  
**Abbey**, term explained, 380.  
**Abbot**, term explained, 380.  
**Äb'ê-lärd, Peter**, 519, 522.  
**Abraham**, 57, 71.  
**Absolutism**, in government, and centralization, 343.  
**Acadie** (ä-kä-dē'), see Nova Scotia.  
**Äc'cäd** (map facing 15), 44.  
**Accadians** (äk-kä'dī-änz), 44.  
**Achaean** (ä-kē'än) conquest of Aegean Greece, 75 f.; and Homeric poems, 75-76; conquerors and conquered mingle into "Greeks," 78 f.; name of a division of later Greeks, 90. See Greeks.  
**Achaean League**, 179 f., 253.  
**Achilles** (ä-kī'lēz), 76, 82, 88.  
**Ä-cröp'ô-lis**, term explained, 79; Athenian Acropolis in Age of Pericles, 139-141. See maps, 130, 134, and esp. facing 139.  
**Actium** (äk'shī-ŷm; map after 68), battle of, 294, 295.  
**Adelheid** (ä'dēl-hit), 481.  
**Adolphus, Gustavus**, 600 and facing 603.  
**Adrian**, Pope, adopts Christian era, 393.  
**Adrianople** (map after 364), battle of, 365.  
**Adriatic Sea** (map after 88), line of division between Greek and Latin cultures, 254, 369, 371. See also 1 and maps after 396, 408, 438, 542.  
**Aediles** (ē'dils), Roman, 227.  
**Aegean** (ē-gē'än), civilization of 3000 B.C., 69 f. See Crete, Mycenae.  
**Aegina** (ē-jī'nä; map after 68), 116, 124.  
**Aegospotami** (ē-gös-pöt'ä-mī), on coast of Thrace, near Hellespont; battle of, 165.  
**Aemilianus** (ē-mīl-ī-ä'nūs), P. Scipio, 249.  
**Aeolians** (ē-ō'lī-änz), 90.  
**Aequians** (ē'kwī-änz; map, 204), 199.

- Aeschylus** (ěs'kyl-ŭs), 125, 142, and facing 87.
- Aetius** (â-ě'shŭ-ŭs), 369, 370.
- Afghanistan** (ăf-gân-is-tân'; map, 649), and Persia, 64; and Alexander, 176.
- Africa**, circumnavigation of by Egyptians, 40; Roman Province of, 248, 320; lost to Vandals, 367, 368; reconquest by Justinian, 368, 371; conquered by Mohammedans, 388, 389.
- Āg-â-měm'nōn**, 81.
- Agelaus** (â-jěs-l-lă'ŭs), 168.
- Agincourt** (ăj'in-cōrt or â-zhăn-kōr'; map facing 460), battle of, 538.
- Agis** (ă'jŭs), of Sparta, 183.
- Agora** (ăg'ô-râ) Athenian, 134 and map, *ib.*
- Agricola** (ă-grŭk'ô-lâ), 303, facing 320; Wall of, 304.
- Agriculture**, in Stone Age, 8-9, 11; evolution of plow, 10; early use of slaves for, 10; early Egyptian, 17, 19-22; early Greek, 82-83, 95, 153; early Roman, 212-213, 229-230; decay of in Italy after Punic Wars, 261 f.; under Early Empire, 315; decline over Roman world, 329; rise of serf cultivation, 357-358; further decline in Dark Ages, 378-379; on a feudal manor, 443-446; Saracenic, 490.
- Ā-hŭ'râ Măzdâ**, 67.
- Aigues Mortes** (ěg-mōrt'), facing 512. (Town in southern France.)
- Akhenaten** (ăk-hěn'â-těn), 35-36.
- Alaric** (ăl'â-rik) the Goth, 366-367.
- Āl'bâ Lōn'gâ** (map, 204), 204, 207.
- Albigenses** (ăl-bŭ-jěn'sěz), 478, 517, 585-586.
- Alchemy** (ăl'kēm-ŭ: chemistry), Arabian, 492.
- Āl-cŭ-bŭ'â-des** (děz), 165.
- Alcuin** (ăl'kwŭn), 399.
- Āl-ě-mân'ni** (nè), 338, 339, 348, and maps after 366, 384.
- Alexander the Great**, 174 f.; conquests, 174-176; plans to merge East and West, 176-177; builds cities (Alexandria), 175, 177; death, 176, 178; explorations, 190-191.
- Alexandria** (in Egypt: maps after 174, 306, etc.), 175 (*see* Alexandrian Age); University of, 189-190; Library of, 190; under Roman Empire, 314, 321; patriarchate of, 351; conquest by Saracens and destruction of Library, 490.
- Alexandrian Age**, 185 f. *See* Hellenistic Age.
- Alexandrian Museum**, *see* University, under Alexandria above.
- Alfred the Great**, 407-408.
- Algebra** (origin), 492.
- Āl-hâm'brâ**, 491, 548.
- "Allies,"** the Italian, of Rome, 223, 224, 236, 241, 264; win Roman citizenship, 270, 272, 275-276.
- Alphabet**, *see* Writing; Phoenician, 57; Cretan, lost, 71; completed by the Greeks, 85.
- Alsace** (ăl-zăs'), German *Alsatia*, becomes French by conquest, 583, 600, and esp. 601. *See* maps after 484, 548, 600, 646.
- Alva**, Duke of, 595.
- Ambrose** (bishop of Milan), and Theodosius, 449.
- Amenophis** (â-měn'ô-fŭs), III, facing 40.
- America**, discovered, 577; effect of discovery on Europe, 630; Spain in, 630-633; France in, 633-635; English, 636-638; and European Wars for balance of power, 647-650; American Revolution, 650.
- Amiens** (ăm'ŭ-ěnz, or â-myăn'; map facing 460); Cathedral of, facing 526.



- Ām-phī-thē'ā-tēr**, term explained, facing 255. *See* Coliseum.
- Amsterdam** (maps after 514 and on 597), 551.
- Amten**, 22.
- Ān-āx-āg'ō-rās**, 144, 145.
- Angelico** (ān-jēl'ī-kō), Frā, 561.
- Angelo** (ān'jēl-ō), **Michael**, 561 and opp. Often written *Michel-angelo*.
- Ān'gles**, and Saxons, 367, 402, 403. (*See* Saxons.) Map after 364, 366, and on 406.
- Anjou** (ān-zhōō'), map facing 460), 459, 478, etc.
- Anne**, Queen of England, 629.
- Anselm**, Archbishop of Canterbury, 484.
- Antioch** (in Asia), 314, 330, 351, 391, 498. Maps after 306, 396.
- Antiochus** (ān-tī'ō-kūs) III, 251.
- Antonines**, the, 303 f.
- Ān-tō-nī'nūs Pius**, Roman Emperor, 305, 324; aqueduct of, near Nîmes, facing 311.
- Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius**, 304-305, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 334, 337, 338; column of, 355.
- Antony** (Antonius), **Mark** (Marcus), 293, 294.
- Antwerp** (map, 597), 523.
- Ā-pēl'les** (lēz), 186.
- Aphrodite** (āf-frō-dī'tē), 86, 186. *See* Venus.
- Apollo**, 86-87, 91-92, and elsewhere; oracle of, at Delphi, 91-92; Belvedere, 186 and facing 560.
- Appian**, historian, 293, note; 323.
- Appian Way** (or *Via Appia*), the, 225 and facing 225, 326; map facing 224.
- Appius Claudius**, *see* Claudius.
- Apprentices**, *see* Gilds.
- Aquae Sextiae** (āk'wē sēx'tī-ē; map after 238), battle of, 275.
- Aqueducts**, of Pisistratus, 109; in Graeco-Oriental cities, 193; in cities of Roman Empire, 314; of Claudius, facing 321; of Antoninus, near Nîmes, facing 311.
- Aquitaine** (ā-kwī-tān'; maps after 384, 396, etc.), 386, 389, 460, 478.
- Arabic notation**, brought from India by Saracens, 492, 504.
- Arabs** (maps after 306, 396), in 6th century, 386; and Moham-medanism, which *see*.
- Aragon** (ār'ā-gōn; map after 542), 487, 547. *See* Spain.
- Ā-rā'tūs**, 181, 182, 183, 184; Memoirs of, 186.
- Ār-bē'lā** (map facing 174), battle of, 175-176.
- Ārc, Joān' of**, 538 and cut opp.
- Ār-cā'dī-ūs**, Emperor of the East, 365, 366.
- Arch**, used (rarely) by Egyptians, 33; by early Babylonians, 45; Roman arch (round), 221, 321, and cuts here and there; Roman triumphal arch, 300, 345, and facing 315; and dome, 321; in Norman architecture, 455; Saracenic (horseshoe), 490 and opp.; Gothic, 526-527 and cuts *passim*.
- Archbishops**, origin, 350; in Middle Ages, 433.
- Archimedes** (ār-kī-mē'dēz), 192-193, 242-243.
- Architecture**, of New Stone Age in Europe, 10-11; Egyptian, 23, 24-25, 33, and facing 19, 27, 34, 35; (*see* Arch and Column); Babylonian, 49; and Assyrian, 52; Greek, 93-94; in Age of Pericles at Athens, 139-141, and many cuts; Roman, 221 and esp. 320-321, and cuts *passim*; Norman, 455; Saracen, 490, 491; Romanesque, 526; Gothic, 526-527 and many cuts *passim*.
- Archons** (ār'kōnz), at Athens, 105.

- Är-ê-öp'á-gŭs** (map, 134), Council of, 105; replaced by Solon's Senate as a political power, 108.
- Ares** (á'rēz), 87.
- Argentine, The**, Spanish province in South America, 631.
- Argos** (map after 68), 116; sacked by Goths, 338, 366.
- Arianism** (á'ri-án-izm), 352, 353.
- Aristarchus** (är-ís-tärk'ús), 191-192; true teaching of abandoned by the astronomer Ptolemy, 323.
- Aristides** (är-ís-tí'dēz), 119-120, 125.
- Aristocracy**, used frequently almost as equivalent to Oligarchy.
- Aristophanes** (är-ís-töf'á-nēz), 110-111, and especially 142.
- Aristotle** (är'ís-töt'l) on early Athens, 106, 109, 111; and Alexander, 174, 191; as philosopher, 186-187; on sphericity of earth, 191-192, 569; in Middle Ages, 559.
- Arithmetic**, early Egyptian, 31; Roman, 233; medieval, 518.
- Arius**, of Alexandria, 352.
- Armada**, Spanish "Invincible," and defeat, 592-593, 597-598; results, 593, 633.
- Armenia** (map facing 174, 238, etc.), 178, 277.
- Armor**, Roman, 226, 227, note; feudal, 415-416.
- Arrian**, historian, 323.
- Art** (painting and sculpture), in Stone Age in Europe, 6-7 and cuts from 2 to 13; Egyptian, 33-34; Babylonian and Assyrian, 52; Cretan, 69-71; Greek, 92-93, 139-141; in Hellenistic Age, 186; early Roman, 233; lost in Dark Ages, 525; medieval, 525-526; in Renaissance, which *see*.
- Artaxerxes** (är-täk-sŭrk'sēz), 168.
- Artemesium** (är-tē-mē'shŭ-um; map after 68), battle of, 122, 124.
- Är'tē-mis**, 87, 152.
- Asia, Province of**, 277. (New Testament use of "Asia," *ib.* note.)
- Aspasia** (ás-pā'shŭ-à), 152.
- Assize of Arms** (English), 460, 470-471.
- Assyria** (maps facing 15 and on 43), Empire of, 45-48.
- Astrology**, 50, 492.
- Astronomy**, Egyptian, 29-30; Babylonian, 50; Hellenistic, 191-192; in universities of Roman Empire, 321; in Saracenic universities, 492; in medieval Europe, 518.
- Ataulf**, the Goth, 367.
- Athanasius** (äth-ä-nä'shŭ-us), 352.
- Athene** (ä-thē'nē), 87; statues of, 140, 141. *See* Minerva.
- Athenian Empire** (*see* Athens, League of Delos, Age of Pericles, Peloponnesian War), 133 f.; at its height, 136 f.; overthrown, 166.
- Athens** (map after 68), 79-80, 92, 134; to 500 B.C., 105 f.; oligarchic period, 105; laws of Draco, 106; Solon's democratic reforms, 107-108; and Pisis-tratus, 108-110; democracy advanced by Cleisthenes, 110 f.; broader citizenship, 110-112; new kind of colonies, 111; and Persian Wars, 114-115; and Marathon, 116-119; Aristides and Themistocles, 119; a naval power, 119-120; city destroyed by Persians, 123; and Salamis, 123, 126; and battle of Plataea, 127; and League of Plataea, 129; builds walls, 129-130; develops Empire, 131-133 (*see* Athenian Empire); and the Thirty Tyrants, 167; under Early Roman Empire, 304, 305, 321; and Paul, 331; sacked by Goths, 338; medieval duchy of, 501 and map facing 549.

- Ā'thōs**, Mount (map after 68), 116, 121.
- Ā'tī-cā**, *see* Athens.
- Attila** (āt'ī-lā), 369-370.
- Audenarde** (ō-d'nārd'; map, 597), battle of, 643. (Often written in the Flemish form *Oudenarde*.)
- Augsburg** (ouks'bōōrk; map after 546), Peace of, 583; Confession of, 587.
- Augustan Age**, 296.
- Augustine**, Saint, of Hippo, 353, 354.
- Augustine**, missionary to Britain, 404-405, facing 406.
- Augustinian friars** (branch of Franciscans), 580.
- Augustus**, Emperor (*see* Octavius Caesar), 295-297; fixes Roman world-boundaries, 307-308; and Athens, 321; and Pollio, 328.
- Aurelian**, Emperor, 339-340.
- Aurelius**, Marcus, *see* Antoninus.
- Auspices** (Roman), 208.
- Austria** (maps after 484, 546, 646), rise of, 480; and the Hapsburgs, 546, 547; and Turks, 549; split off from the Spanish Hapsburgs, 583; gains Spanish Netherlands, 643; gains south Italy and Milan, *ib.*; loses Silesia, 647; and Frederick II of Prussia, 647-649; and failure of Joseph II, 652-653.
- Āvārs**, 369 and map after 396.
- Avignon** (ā-vē-nyōn'; map facing 647), papal seat at, 544.
- Azores** (ā-zōrz'; map, 576), 575.
- Babylon** (and Babylonia; maps facing 15 and on 43), 45, 46, 47, 48; "the land of brick," 49 f., 53; science, 50; religion, 53; capital of Alexander, 176.
- Babylonian Captivity of the Jews**, 48, 61.
- Bacon**, Francis, on "Schoolmen," 522; on experimental method, 592, 604.
- Bacon**, Roger, 523 f.; and speculations on reaching Asia by sailing west, 570.
- Bactria** (map facing 174), 176.
- Bagdad** (map after 396), 390, and esp. 492-493.
- "Balance of Power"** idea in world politics, 639 f.
- Ball**, John, 531-532.
- Banking**, in Roman Empire, 317-319; reappears in Europe after Crusades in Lombard hands, 504, 606. *See* Lombards, Money, Usury.
- Barbarian Invasions** (*see* 13), in Oriental history, 44, 47, 64-65; in Hellenistic world, 179-180; in Roman world, 218, 274-275, 282-283, 306, 337-338, 339; in 4th to 6th centuries, 348, 354, 360, 364-370, 403; in 9th and 10th centuries, 395, 410-411, 480; in 13th century, 643-644.
- "Barbarians,"** origin of term and Greek meaning for, 90.
- Bār-bā-rōs'sā**, *see* Frederick Barbarossa.
- Bār'cā**, *see* Hamilcar.
- "Barrack Emperors,"** 337 f.
- Barter**, 26, 63-64; in early Roman times, 204-205; in decline of Empire, 355; replaced by use of money after Crusades, 504.
- Bā-sīl'ī-cā**, 291, 350, 351; and medieval cathedral plan, 351.
- Bath** (English city, map 406), Roman remains at, 404.
- Battle**, Trial by, 376-377, 463.
- Bavaria** (maps after 396, 408, 484), 386; Kingdom of, 647.
- Bayeux** (bā-yū') tapestry, 451.
- Beaumont** (bō'mōnt), English dramatist, 592.
- Becket**, Thomas, 461-462, 464.
- Bede** (bēd), Old-English scholar, 406 and cut on 401.
- Belgium**, and Division of Verdun, 409; and *see* Spanish Netherlands.

- "Benefit of Clergy," 440.  
**Beneventum** (map facing 198), battle of, 219; Trajan's Arch at, facing 315.  
**"Benevolences,"** 618.  
**"Benevolent despots,"** of the 18th century, 652-653.  
**Benvenuti** (bĕn-vĕ-nōō'tē), authority on classical remains, *facing* 293, 298, and elsewhere.  
**Beowulf** (bā'ō-wōōlf), *Song of*, 363, 408, note.  
**Bern** (map, 550), 549, 584.  
**Bertha**, Queen of Kent, facing 406.  
**Bible, the Holy**, Books of Old Testament put in form, 61; Septuagint translation into Greek, 190; New Testament, 323; Vulgate version of New Testament, 353; Bible translated into Gothic, 353; into English, 531; Erasmus' Greek New Testament, 563-564; and the Reformation, 581; Luther's German translation of New Testament, 582; English translations in Henry VIII's time in churches, 587; King James' version, 613.  
**"Bill of Rights"** (English), 627.  
**"Bills,"** origin of in Parliament, 537 f.  
**Bithynia** (bĭ-thĭn'ĭ-ā; map facing 64), 313.  
**"Black Death,"** 529-530; and disappearance of serfdom in England, 530.  
**Blenheim** (blĕn'ĕm; map facing 601), battle of, 643.  
**Boccaccio** (bōk-kā'chō), 560.  
**Bō'dī-ām Castle**, 421.  
**Boeotia** (bē-ō'shĭ-ā; map after 68), 95 and elsewhere.  
**Bohemia** (map after 484, 546, 646), 545, 546, 585.  
**Bologna** (bō-lōn'yā; map facing 484), University of, 520-521.  
**Boniface VIII**, Pope, 543, 544.  
**Bordeaux** (bōr-dō'; maps after 366, 384, etc.), 411.  
**Borgia** (bōr'jā), **Alexander**, 546.  
**Boston** (English town; map, 406), 509.  
**Boleyn** (bōōl'ĭn), **Anne**, 587, 590, and table on 586.  
**Braddock's campaign**, 648.  
**Brändĕnburg** (bōōrk; maps after 484, 546, 600), growth into kingdom of Prussia, 646.  
**Brazil**, 630.  
**Brĕn'nūs**, the Gaul, 218.  
**Britain** (maps after 306, 364, 366, and on 406), and Phoenicians, 56; and Caesar, 283, note; conquered by Agricola for Emperor Claudius, 299, 303, and facing 320; Teutonic conquest of, 367, 402 f.; eastern part Teutonic by 600 A.D., 403; western Celtic, 404, 405; Christianized, 404-405; rise of learning, 405-406; Egbert "King of the English," 407. *See* England.  
**Bristol** (map, 406), 506.  
**Brittany** (map facing 461), 459, 478.  
**Bronze**, term explained, and use invented, 11-12.  
**Bruce, Robert**, 470.  
**Brunetto** (brōō-nĕt'tō), the Latin, 524.  
**Brutus** (Roman), 292, 294.  
**Burgundians** (būr-gŭn'dĭ-ĕnz; maps after 364, 366, 369), 367; Duchy of Burgundy (maps facing 460), 478; seized by France, 539.  
**Business**, becomes a force in life, 604 f.  
**Byron**, English poet, quoted 46, 125, 199, 320, and elsewhere.  
**Bÿ-zānt'**, 493.  
**Byzantine** (bĭ-zān'tĕn) **Empire**, *see* Greek Empire, or Eastern Empire.  
**Byzantium** (bĭ-zān'shĭ-ĕm; map after 88), 90, 178. *See* Constantinople.

- Cabinet** (or Ministerial) government, developed in England, 628-629.
- Cadiz**, *see* Gades; map after 396.
- Caesar**, Julius, 280 f.; and Pompey, 281 f.; in Gaul, 282-283; and Britain, 282, note; attacked by aristocratic Senate, 284; crosses Rubicon, 285; builds the Empire, 286 f.; in Egypt, 287; constructive reforms, 287 f.; benefactor of the provinces, 288-289; extends citizenship beyond Italy, 289; starts rebuilding Italian yeomanry, 290; murder of, 292; character, 292-293; education, 321.
- Caesar, Octavius**, 293-294, 295. *See* Augustus.
- Caesar**, as a title, 297. *See* Tsar.
- Calendar**, Egyptian, 30; Caesar's, 290-291; Gregorian, 291.
- Cā'liḥ**, title, 390.
- Cā-lig'ū-lā**, Emperor, 298-299.
- Calvin, John**, 584.
- Calvinism**, 583 f.
- Cambridge** (map, 406), name explained, 506.
- Canada**, *see* France in America, New France; becomes English, 648.
- Canal**, early Egyptian from Nile to Red Sea, 27 and note, 40, 66, 189; at Mt. Athos, 121.
- Canary Isles** (map, 576), 575.
- Cān'nae** (nē; map facing 198), battle of, 240-241.
- Cā-nōs'sā** (map facing 484), 483.
- Canon law**, 433.
- Canterbury** (map after 396 and on 406), seat of metropolitan archbishop of England, 405; pilgrimages to, 456, 496; mentioned *passim*.
- Canterbury Tales**, Chaucer's, 456; quoted, 428, 531, 580.
- Canton** (China), 317.
- Capet** (kā-pě'), Hugh, 477.
- Cā-pē'tians** (shi-anz), 477.
- Cā-pīt'ū-lā-ries** (Charlemagne's), 398.
- Cappadocia** (káp-ā-dō'shī-ā; map facing 64), 66, 320.
- Cáp'ū-ā** (map facing 198), 241, 243.
- Cardinals**, 434.
- Cā'ri-āns** (map facing 64), 66.
- Cār-īb-bē'an Sea**, 631.
- Carolingian** (kār-ō-līn'jī-an), term explained, 477, note.
- Carthage** (kar'thāj; maps after 88, 238), 56, 115, 235 f.; *see* Punic Wars; destroyed, 248-249; rebuilt by Gracchus, 272-273; and by Caesar, 290; under Early Empire, 314; Vandal capital, 369.
- Cartouche** (kār-tōōsh'), Egyptian, facing 33.
- Cassius** (kāsh'ī-us), and Caesar, 292, 294.
- Cassius, Spū'ri-ūs**, 217.
- Castile** (kās-tēl'; map after 542), 487, 547.
- Castlé, Feudal**, 413-415.
- Catch-word review**, explained, 127.
- Cathay** (kā-thā': China), 317, 569, 572, and map, 576.
- Catherine II** (Russia), 646, 651-652.
- Catherine of Aragon**, 586, 587, 589.
- Catiline** (kāt'ī-līn), 281.
- Catholic Church**, *see* Roman.
- Cā'tō**, the Elder, 247, 266, 268.
- Cato**, the Younger, 280, 287.
- Cavalier Parliament**, 626.
- Cavaliers**, and "Roundheads," 623.
- Caxton, William**, 568.
- Celts**, and divisions of, 368.
- Censor** (Roman), 225, 227.
- Centralization**, in government, 343.
- Centuries, Assembly of** (Roman), 210, 215.
- Ceres** (sē'rēz), 86, 208.
- Chaeronea** (kēr-ō-nē'ā; map after 102), battle of, 172.
- Chalcis** (kāl'sīs; map after 68), 89, 111.



- Chaldea**, 42, 43. *See* Babylonia.  
Map facing 15.
- Châlons** (shä-lon'; map after 396), battle of, 369-370.
- Chambord** (shän-bôr'), Château (shä-tô') of, facing 609.
- Champagne** (shäm-pän'; map facing 460), 478.
- Champlain** (shäm-plän'), **Samuel de**, 633, 634.
- Charlemagne** (shär'lë-män), 395 f.; wars of, 395-396 and cut facing 407; fusion of Teutonic peoples by, 396; revives Roman Empire in the West, 396-397; description of Empire, 397-398; attempts to revive learning, 398-399; summary, 399-400.
- Charles Martel** (mär-tël'), the Hammer of the Franks, 386, 389-390.
- Charles the Bold** (Burgundy), 552.
- Charles I**, of England, 617-618, 623-624.
- Charles II**, 625-627.
- Charles I**, of Spain, *see* Charles V, Emperor.
- Charles V**, Emperor Holy Roman Empire, 554-556, 581, 582, 583.
- Charles VI**, 647.
- Charles VI**, of France, facing 538.
- Charles VIII**, and Italy, 554.
- Charles XII**, of Sweden, 645.
- Chatsworth Hall**, facing 609.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey**, 456; quoted, 428, 531, 580.
- Chemistry**, 492.
- Cheops** (kë'öps), 24-25.
- China** (*see* Cathay), and inventions of mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing, 524, 566, 567; Mongol conquest of, 644.
- Chin'vát Bridge**, 67.
- Chios** (ki'ös; map after 68), 133.
- Chivalry**, 425-428.
- Christ**, birth, 297, 329; life and teachings, 329-330; crucifixion, 298. *See* Christianity.
- Christian era**, and error as to date, 329, note, 393.
- Christianity, Early**, rise, and rapid spread, 329-332; persecuted, 299-300, 332-335, 343-344; power of, courted by rival Emperors, 344; wins toleration, 344; and favored by Constantine, 345, 346-347; and Constantinople, 348; state church of Roman Empire, 348; organization of church, 350 f.; persecutes pagans and heretics, 351-352; results of victory over paganism, 352; separation of Greek and Latin churches, 391-393. *See* Latin Christendom (church of, papacy), and Greek Church.
- Chrysostom** (krís'ös-tüm), John, 353.
- Church of Latin Christendom** (*see* Christianity), rise out of Great Schism of the older church, 391 f.; separation aided by growing temporal power of Popes, 393 f.; separation marked by Pope Adrian's adoption of "Christian era," 393; and "Dark Ages," 375; in Feudal Age, 432 f.; a government, 432; organization, 432 f.; hierarchy, 433; papal monarchy, 434; church councils, 435; weapons of excommunication and interdict, 435-437; democracy, 437-438; village priest, 438; services of, and sacraments, 438-439; and "benefit of clergy," 440; decline of and growth of heresies, 478; conflict of Popes with national governments, 543-544; "Captivity of the Church" at Avignon, 544; and Protestant Reformation, which *see* — after which, *see* Catholic Church (Roman), and Lutheranism, Calvinism, Huguenots, Church of England, etc.

- Cicero**, 265, 280, 281, 283, 561.  
**Cid** (sid), **Song of the**, 525.  
**Cilicia** (sī-līsh'ī-ā; map after 306), 66, 279-280.  
**Cimbri** (and Teutones), and Marius, 274-275.  
**Cimon** (the Athenian), 132, 133, 134.  
**Cinderella**, an Egyptian story, 33.  
**Cin-cin-nā'tūs**, 230.  
**Circuit courts** (English), 462, 465-466.  
**Circumnavigation of the globe**, speculations of Greek and Roman scientists upon, 192, 321.  
**Cis-āl'pine Gaul** (map facing 198), 200, 218, 219, 238; Roman province, 238-239; admitted to Roman citizenship, 288.  
**Citeaux** (sī-tō'), **Abbey of**, 380.  
**Cities**, *see* Towns.  
**City states**, in ancient Nile and Euphrates valleys, 17-18, 43-44; in Hellas, 79-80 (the limit of Greek political thought); decline and fall in Greece, 162; approach to, in medieval Europe, 514 f.  
**Civil Service**, term explained, 138, note.  
**Civilization**, term explained, 1.  
**Classical**, historical term explained, 525, note.  
**Claudian**, Egyptian poet, 320.  
**Claudius**, Emperor, 299; aqueduct of, facing 321.  
**Claudius, Appius**, 210, 225.  
**Clē-ōm'ē-nes** (nēz), 183 f.  
**Clē'ōn**, the Athenian demagogue, 165.  
**Clē-ō-pā'trā**, 287, 294.  
**Clermont** (klēr-mōn'; map facing 484), Council of, 497.  
**Cleruchs** (klēr'rūks), new kind of colonists (Athenian), 111, 112, 136.  
**Clis'thē-nes** (nēz), 110; democratic reforms, 111-113.  
**Clive, Robert**, and Indian, 648.  
**Clōvis**, the Frank, 385.  
**Coinage**, 63. *See* Money.  
**Colbert** (kōl-bār'), 639.  
**Cologne** (kō-lōn'; map after 306, 364, etc.), 311.  
**Colonization**, Phoenician, 56; Greek, 89-90; Athenian advance in, 111, 112; Roman, 222, 223; Spanish, French, and English, 630-638.  
**Cō-lō'ni** (nē), term explained, 357. *See* Serfdom.  
**Columbus, Christopher**, 547, 570, 572, 577; map showing his idea of the world, facing 577.  
**Columns**, in architecture: Egyptian, 33 and facing 19, 27, 34, 35, etc.; Greek, 94 and many cuts; Roman, 320 and cuts.  
**Combat, Trial by**, 376-377; condemned by church in 1215, 463; continued, 463.  
**Commerce**, *see* Trade.  
**Cōm'mō-dūs**, Emperor, 306, 307.  
**Common Law** (English, and American), 462, 465-466, 638.  
**Common Pleas**, Court of, 465.  
**Commons, House of**, 475. *See* Parliament.  
**Compass**, *see* Mariner's.  
**Cōm-pūr-gā'tion**, Trial by, 376.  
**Condottieri** (kōn-dōt-tyār'ē), Italian, 562-563.  
**Conrad IV**, Emperor, 488.  
**Constance** (map facing 484), Peace of, 485; Council of, 545.  
**Constantine**, Emperor, 345 f.; and Council of Nicaea, 352.  
**Constantine IV**, 380.  
**Constantine VI**, 396, 397.  
**Constantine Palaeologus** (pāl-ē-ōl'ō-gūs), last of the Greek Emperors, 549.  
**Constantine, the African**, 520.  
**Constantinople** (*see* Byzantium; maps after 364, 366, etc.), 347-348; seat of Patriarch, 351; and Gothic attacks, 365; remains capital of Eastern Empire,

- 371 f.; repulses Saracenic invasion of Europe in 7th and 8th centuries, 389; condition in 11th century, 593; "Latin Empire" at, 501; captured by Turks, 548-549.
- Constantius** (kõn-stån'shĩ-üs), Emperor, 343.
- Consuls**, Roman, 212 f., 216, 227, etc.
- Cõ-pěr'nĩ-cũs**, and astronomy, 603.
- Copper**, and Bronze, which *see*.
- Copper plate engraving**, 562.
- Cõr-cý'ra** (map after 88), 90, 133.
- Cõr'dõ-vá** (Sp., map after 396), 390.
- Corinth** (Greece, maps after 68, 88, etc.), 124, 131, 135, 162, 166, 181, 184; sacked and destroyed by Rome, 253; rebuilt by Caesar, 290; under Roman Empire, 314; and Paul, 331; sacked by Goths, 338, 366.
- Corinthian Order of Architecture**, 94.
- Cornelia**, "mother of the Gracchi," 269, 271, 273.
- Corporation**, term explained, 189.
- Correggio** (kõr-rěj'õ), 561.
- Corsica** (map after 238), 235, 238
- Cõr'tes** (těz), Spanish, 548.
- Cortés, Hernando**, 563.
- Counter-Reformation**, 585-586.
- "Court,"** term as used in more than judicial sense, 454.
- Covenanters** (Scottish), 621.
- Cranmer**, Archbishop, 587, 588, 590.
- Crassus** (Triumvir), 279, 283.
- Crécy** (krěs'sĩ; map facing 460), battle of, 529, 566.
- Crescent**, symbol of Mohammedanism, 389 and elsewhere.
- Crete** (krět; map facing 15, 64, etc.), early bronze civilization of, 69 f.; alphabet, 71. *See* Mycenae, Troy.
- Crimea**, or **Krim** (krĩ-mě'á, krēm; map facing 549), 644.
- Crito** (krě'tõ), friend of Socrates; *see* Socrates.
- Croesus** (krě'süs), 63, 114.
- Cromwell, Oliver**, 621, 623, 624, 625.
- Cross**, the, as symbol of Christianity, 345-346, 495, 497, etc.
- Crõ'tõn** (or *Cro-tõ'ná*; map after 88), 90.
- Crusades**, the, fundamental causes: conditions in Palestine, conditions in the Eastern Empire; custom of pilgrimages from Europe to Palestine; direct occasion: appeal by Greek Emperor and Urban's speech at Clermont, 495, 497; two centuries of movements, 497 f.; "People's," 497-498; "First," 498-499; Latin states in Palestine (Kingdom of Jerusalem), 499; and "fighting monks," 499-500; "Third Crusade," 501; Venice and the Fourth Crusade, 501; later Crusades, 501-502; indirect results, 502-503.
- Cuneiform** (kũ-ně'y-fõrm) script, 49 and facing 53.
- Curials** (in Roman Empire), 356.
- Curio, Manius** (Má'nĩ-üs), 230.
- Curule officers** (Roman), 228 and facing 225.
- Cynic philosophy**, 189.
- Cynoscephalae** (sĩ-nõs-cěf'á-lě; map after 238), 250.
- Cyrene** (sĩ-rě'ně; map after 88), 90.
- Cyrus, the Persian**, 64, 114.
- Cyrus, the Younger**, 168.
- Dacia** (dá'shĩ-á; map after 306), 303; surrendered to Goths, 338, 339.
- Dá-más'cũs** (map facing 15, 63, etc.), 492.
- Danelagh** (dān'lāk; map 406), 407-408.
- Danes**, in England, 406-408. *See* Danelagh.
- Dante** (dān'tě), 489, 524, 525, 553.

- Danube river** (map after 306), bridged by Trajan, facing 303; Roman boundary (except for short-lived Province of Dacia), 307, 308, 339; broken by Gothic invasions; *see* Goths, Slavs.
- Darius Codomannus** (kōd-ō-mān'-nūs), and Alexander, 175-176.
- Darius**, the Organizer, 65-66, 67, 115-118.
- "Dark Ages,"** in Western Europe, 373 f.: a new "Western Europe," 373-374; misery and ignorance, 374; civilization finally saved, 375; influence of surviving towns and of the church, 375; everyday life in, 378; and monasticism, 379-382; relation to other historical periods, 557.
- David**, King of the Hebrews, 59.
- Decarchy** (dēk'ār-k-ī), a government of ten, 166.
- Declaration of Rights** (English), 627, 628.
- Dē'lōs** (map after 68), Confederation of, 131-133.
- Delphi** (dēl'fī; map after 68), 91; Oracle of Apollo at, 91-92, 110, 123; Gauls repulsed from, 179 (*see* Apollo Belvedere).
- Demeter** (dē-mē'tēr), 85, 86.
- Demagogue**, term explained, 272-273.
- Democracy**, term defined, 97.
- Dē-mōs'thē-nes** (nēz), 143, 144, 172.
- Denmark**, under Knut the Great, 551.
- Despotism**, term explained, 18-19.
- Detroit** (map facing 634), 633.
- Diana**, 87; temple of, at Ephesus, 194.
- Dias** (dē-āsh'), Bār-thōl'ō-meu, 575, 576.
- Dictator**, Roman, 212.
- Diet**, German in Middle Ages, and in Holy Roman Empire, 581, 601.
- Diocese** (dī'ō-sēs), civil division under Diocletian, 342; ecclesiastical, 350-351.
- Diocletian** (dī-ō-clē'shān), 340-343, 343-344, 356, 357, 359.
- Diogenes** (dī-ōj'ē-nēz), the Cynic, 189.
- Dionysius** (dī-ō-nīsh'ī-ūs), historian of 1st century, 322.
- Dionysus** (dī-ō-nī'sūs), God of wine and of drama, 109, 141, 143; Theater of, at Athens, 142-143, and facing 139, 141.
- Distaff**, 81; *see* Spinning.
- "Divine Right" of Kings**, 615, 616; theory slain in England, *see* Puritan Revolution.
- Dnieper river** (nē'pēr; map facing 647), 644.
- Domesday** (dōms'day) **Book**, 458; and jury of inquest, 463.
- Domestication of animals**, 6, 9, 20.
- Dō-mīn'i-cāns**, 517.
- Domitian** (dō-mīsh'an), Emperor, 303; and Wall of, 308.
- "Donation of Pippin,"** 395; confirmed by Charlemagne, 396.
- Dō'rī-āns** 88-89, 90. *See* Sparta.
- Doric order of architecture**, 94.
- Draco**, Athenian lawgiver, 106.
- Drake, Francis**, 563, 609, 636.
- Drama**, Greek, 95, 109, and esp. 141-142; in Hellenistic world, 177; Elizabethan, 592.
- Drusus**, tribune set up by Roman Senate to outbid Gracchus, 272, 275.
- Drusus 2d**, 275, 276.
- Duns, the Scot**, 522-523.
- Dupleix** (dū-plēks'), in India, 647.
- Dutch**, the (*see* Spanish Netherlands), war with Philip II for independence, 592-593; aided by England, *ib.*; and defeat of Spanish Armada, 596-597. *See* Holland.
- Dutch Republic** (map 597), *see* Holland.

- East Anglia** (map 406), Kingdom of, 403.
- East Goths**, 367, 371; maps after 364, 366.
- East India merchant companies**, in Europe, 607.
- Eastern Empire**, *see* Greek Empire.
- Ēbrô river** (map after 238), 239.
- Ēc-bât'â-nâ** (map facing 174), 176.
- Economic**, term explained, 107, note.
- Education**, *see* Schools and learning.
- Edward the Confessor**, 449-450.
- Edward I**, of England, 465, 469, esp. 470-471; and Parliament, 473; and papal taxation, 543; and Boston fair, 509.
- Edward II**, 528.
- Edward III**, 528 f.
- Edward IV**, 540.
- Edward VI**, 588, 589.
- Egbert**, "King of the English," 407.
- Egeria** (ê-jê'rî-ä), 202.
- Egypt**, home of early Bronze civilization, 11-12, 15 f.; area and soil, 15-16; "the gift of the Nile," 15 f.; irrigation in ancient times, 17; and political union, 17-18; pharaoh, 18-19; nobles and priests, 19; peasants, 19, 20-23; agriculture, 17, 19-21; farm tools, 21; middle class, 22-23; artisans, 22, 27-28; life of the well-to-do, 23 and cuts facing 24, 41; soldiers, 22-23; domestic architecture, 23; pyramids, 24-25 and facing 25, 26; of temples, 33 f. and facing 19, 27; absence of "money," 26, 27; trade, *ib.*; canal to join Nile and Red Sea, 27, note, 40, 66, 189; love of beauty, 28; late use of iron, 29; priests, 29 f.; science of, 29 f.; discover the "year," 29-30; first calendar, 30; water clock, 31; numerals, 31; system of writing, 31-32; literature, 33; architecture (public), 33 f.; sculpture, 33-34 and cuts through the chapter; religion, 34-38; relations with other lands, 38 f.; sway over Syria, 39; the Hyksos and the New Empire, 39 f.; and the Hittites, 39; conquered by Assyria, 39; last period of ancient independence, 39-40; Neco's circumnavigation of Africa, 40; later mention of, 46, 47, 55, 64, 70-71 (plumbing), 96 (Thales), 119, 135 (and Athens and revolt against Persia), 175 (welcomes Alexander); under the Ptolemies, 178, 189-190; and Caesar, 287; and Cleopatra, 287, 294; becomes Roman, *ib.*; Moham-medan, 388, 490; and Turks, 559. *See* Alexandria and Alexandrian Age.
- Einhard** (in'härt), 395, note.
- Elbe** (ël'bē) river, in Roman days (map after 306), 307; civilization carried to by Charlemagne (map after 396), 395.
- Eleanor of Aquitaine**, 460.
- Electors**, Holy Roman Empire, 546, 581.
- Elgin marbles**, 141.
- Eliot, Sir John**, 617; early grasp of principle of "responsible government," 618, 619-620.
- Elizabeth of Russia**, 645-646.
- Elizabeth Tudor**, 586, 590-594, 596, 611, 615.
- Elizabethan** (ē-līz-ā-bē'thŕn) Renaissance, 592. *See* Renaissance.
- Elizabethan Settlement** (of the Church of England), 592.
- Elysium**, Egyptian, 37; Greek, 88.
- Empire**, term explained, 45, note.
- England** (maps after 306, 366, 396, and esp. 406), *see* Britain; Danish invasions, 406; Alfred, 406-407; reconquest of Dan-elagh, 407-408; and Knut's Em-



pire, 449; Edward the Confessor, 449; Norman Conquest, 450 f.; development of strong central government, 452-453 (and also see 449); local Saxon liberties, 453-454, 457, 472; Norman influence, 455; "New English," 455 f.; and Chaucer, 455-456; and the church, 457, 461 f.; Henry II, 461 f.; and Becket, 461; Constitutions of Clarendon, 461; organization of circuit courts, and the Common Law, 462, 465-466; and jury system, 463; advantages of, for free government, 466-467; and John, 467 f.; Magna Carta, 467-469; and Wales, 470; and Scotland, 470; rise of Parliament, 471 f. *See* Parliament; loses possessions in France, 477-478; towns less independent than on continent, 515-516; Hundred Years' War, 528 f.; Black Death, 529-530; serfdom disappears, 503 f.; Lollards, 531; Peasant Rising of 1381, 531-534; golden age of English peasantry (1400-1550), 534 f.; "Merrie England," 535; and growth of power of Parliament under Edward III and Lancastrians, 536-538; Wars of the Roses, 539 f.; "New Monarchy" (Tudor), 540-541; struggle of the government against papal control, 543; and the Protestant movement, 586 f.; separation from Rome, 587 f.; Protestant under Edward VI, 588; reconciliation with Rome under Mary, 589; persecution of Protestants, 589-590; Elizabeth's favor to Protestants, 589-594; Elizabethan Settlement, 592; and Spanish Armada, 592-593; aids Holland against Spain, 592-593, 596-597; becomes

Protestant by 1600, 593; conquest of Ireland, 593-594; growth of trade and manufactures (16th century), 607; increase of money and high cost of living, 607; classes in 17th century, 608 f.; inclosures, and decay of peasantry and yeomanry, 609-611; woolen manufactures, 611-612; education in 17th century, 612-613; civilization of transplanted to America, 614, 636-638; Puritans and politics, 614-629; Parliament and the first Stuarts, 615 f.; Petition of Right, 619; "No Parliament" years, 620-621; Long Parliament, 621 f.; the Great Rebellion, 623-624; Commonwealth period, 624-625; Restoration, 625 f.; Parliamentary supremacy preserved, 626; political parties, 626-627; cabinet government, 628-629; becomes "Great Britain," 629; emigration to America, 637-638; and wars for "balance of power" in Europe (and colonial empire), 643, 647-650; and American Revolution, 651-652.

**English America** (17th and 18th centuries), 636-638. *See* American Revolution.

**English Church** (*see* references to Christianization and to the church under Britain and England), separation from Rome, 586-587 f.; Elizabethan Settlement, 592; and Puritanism, 614 f.; temporarily Presbyterian, 623 f.; *see* Restoration of 1660; Toleration Act of 1689, 628; civil disabilities of dissenters, *ib.*

**English language**, Teutonic, 5th-11th centuries, 403-404; rise of a New English with Latin elements, 455-456.

- English law-courts**, early evolution of, 465-466.
- English yeomen**, 413, 466, 529, 534-535; effect of rise of prices on, 607; decline after 1600, 609-611; and American immigration, 637.
- Ē-pām-i-nōn'dās**, 169-170.
- Ephesus** (ēf'ē-sūs; map after 68), 89; silversmiths of, 314-315.
- Epic poems** (Greek), 94-95.
- Ēp-īc-tē'tūs**, 323, 324.
- Ēp-i-cū-rē'ān-ism**, *see* Epicurus.
- Ēp-i-cū'rūs**, 187-188.
- Ē-pī'rūs** (map after 68), 178.
- Equites** (ēk'wī-tēz), Roman "knights," 255.
- Ē-rās'mūs**, 563-564, 579, 585.
- Ēr-ā-tōs'thē-nēs** (nēz), 191; map by, facing 191; true teachings of, abandoned by successors, 323.
- Erechtheum** (ē-rēk'thē-ŷm), facing 140.
- Ē-rē'trī-ā** (map after 68), 116.
- Esquiline** (ēs'kwī-līn) **Hill** (map facing 206), facing 271.
- Essex** (map, 406), 403.
- Estate**, political term, 474.
- Estates General**, or **States General**, French, 480; in Netherlands, 552.
- Ē-thī-ō'pī-ā** (map, 16), 27.
- Etruria** (ē-trōō'rīā; map facing 198), land of the ancient Etruscans, *which see*.
- Ē-trūs'cāns**, facing 74, 200-201, 202, 205-206.
- Euboea** (ū-bē'ā; map after 68), 89 and elsewhere.
- Euclid**, 191.
- Eugene of Hapsburg** (hāps'bōōrk), 643.
- Euphrates** (ū-frā'tēz; maps after 14, 64, 174, 306, etc.), valley the home of an early bronze civilization, 12, 38, 42-43. *See* Babylonia. As boundary of Roman Empire, 303, 304, 308; endangered as boundary by Parthians and Persians, 337, 338; surrendered to Mohammedan world, 400.
- Eu-rip'i-dēs** (dēz), 142, 177.
- Evesham** (ēv'shām; map, 406), battle of, 469, 473.
- Exchequer** (ēx-chēk'ēr), **Court of the**, 465.
- Ex-cōm-mūn-i-cā'tion** (shŷn), ecclesiastical, 435.
- Experiment**, adoption of method of, 604.
- Ezekiel**, on Tyre, 55-56.
- Fā'bi-ŷs Māx'i-mūs**, **Quintus** (kwīn'tōōs), 240.
- Fairs**, in Middle Ages, 509, facing 512.
- Falconry**, medieval, 424.
- Falkirk** (map, 406), battle of, 471.
- Faust**, John, 568.
- Ferdinand of Aragon**, 547, 548, 554.
- Ferdinand of Hapsburg** (hāps'-bōōrk), Emperor, 583.
- Feudal Age** (800-1300), 411 f.; learning and art in, 518 f.; periods of, 557.
- Feudal aids**, 519.
- Feudal reliefs**, 419.
- Feudalism**, rise of, 412-413; castles and armor, 413-416; decentralized government, 417; economic causes for, 417; homage, 418; private wars, 419; virtues of, 420, 428-430; life in the castle, 422-425; game laws, 424; life of the peasants of the manor, 441 f.; serfs and villeins, 552-553; as modified in England by Norman Conquest, 452-453; decline of: scutage, 460-461; English longbow, 470-471; Crusades, 505. *See* (for effect on decay) Towns, New Monarchies, Gunpowder, Printing.

- Fief**, 412; hereditary, 418.
- Finland and Finns** (maps after 396, 480, 514, 556), 337, 369, 410, 645.
- Fire**, early use of, 4-5.
- "Fist-law era"** in Germany, 488.  
*See* map after 546.
- Flail**, in Egypt, 21; in medieval Europe, 442.
- Flanders**, 478; (one of the provinces of the southern Netherlands; name used sometimes for the whole district as "Holland" is used later for all the northern Dutch district). *See* maps facing 460, 484, after 546, and on 597.
- Flavians** (Caesars), 301, note.
- Fletcher**, English dramatist, 592.
- Florence**, medieval (map facing 484), 508; one of the five "Great States" of Italy in Renaissance, 553; and Renaissance movement, 561.
- Florida** (maps facing 630, 633), as Spanish province, 630; won by English (for a time), 648.
- Flour-making**, in Egypt, 23; in early Greece, 79; *see* Grist Mill.
- Folkmoot**, Teutonic survival in England, 378; shrinks into Witan, which *see*.
- För'tës-cue** (kü), **Sir John**, 534, 538.
- Forum**, *see* Roman Forum.
- France** (*see* Gaul, Roman Empire, Teutonic invasions, Franks, Empire of Charlemagne, Division of Verdun; maps after 238, 306, 364, 366, 384, 396, 408), decline of Carolingian line, 409 f., 477; under early Capetians, 477; English holdings in, 459 f. and map facing 460; consolidation of territory, 477-478; kings become absolute, 479 f.; and Hundred Years' War (which *see*); strongest power in Europe, 539; and papal supremacy, 544; papacy at Avignon, 544; attempts to seize Italy, 554; and Reformation, 538 f.; *see* Huguenots; remains Catholic, 585; wars of Huguenots and Catholic League, 599-600; and Thirty Years' War (Richelieu) and gain of Alsace, 601 and map opp.; builds and loses empire in America and in India, 633-636, 643, 648-650; eve of French Revolution, 653. *See* Louis XIV, France in America.
- France in America** (maps facing 630, 633, 648), New France and Louisiana, 633; lack of home-building settlers, 635; paternalism smothered enterprise, 635-636; absence of political life, 636; empire lost to England during European Wars of eighteenth century, 641-643, 647, 648-650.
- Francis I**, of France, 556, 583.
- Francis of Assisi** (äs-sē'zē), Saint, 516-517.
- Franciscan friars**, 516-517.
- Franks**, 338, 367; maps after 364, 366; rise of empire, 385 and map opp.; decline in 7th century, 385-386; restored by Martel, 386; repulses Saracens at Tours, 389-390; alliance with rising power of Popes, 393-395. *See* Charlemagne.
- "Franks,"** general name for Western Europeans among Greeks and Arabs, 493.
- Frederick (I) Bär-bä-rös'sä of Hohenstaufen** (hō-žen-shtouf'ēn), Emperor, 482, 484, 485, 501.
- Frederick II** (Hohenstaufen), 486, 487-488.
- Frederick II of Brandenburg**, becomes Frederick I, "King in Prussia," 646-647.
- Frederick of Hohenzollern** (hō-žen-tsöl'ērn), Elector of Brändenburg (bōōrk), 646.

- Frederick II of Prussia** (the Great), 647 f., 651-652; type of "benevolent despots" of his age, 652-653.
- Frederick of Saxony**, 580, 582.
- Frederick William of Brandenburg**, "the Great Elector," 646 and cut on 642.
- French and Indian War**, 648-650.
- Freya** (frä'ä), 363.
- Friars**, 516-517.
- Frieze** (frēz), in architecture, 94, 140.
- Froissart** (frois'särt), 532.
- Gades** (gä'dēz; map after 88), 56. *See* Cadiz.
- Galatia** (gä-lä'shī-ä; map after 306), 180.
- Gäl'len**, author of medical treatises in 2d century, 323.
- Gä-lē'rī-ūs**, Emperor, 343.
- Gäl-i-lē'ō**, 604.
- Gä'mä, Väs'cō dä**, 575; route of voyage, 576, 630.
- Ganges** (gän'jēz) river, 317 and map, 649.
- Gaul** (Transalpine), south of becomes Roman province, 246; Caesar in, 282-283; under Early Empire, 314; Teutons begin to break in (3d century), 338; recovered by Aurelian, 339; and Julian, 348; barbarian inroads of 4th and 5th centuries, 367, 369 and map after 364; Teutonic kingdoms in, 367 and map after 366; *see* Franks, Charlemagne, France, Division of Verdun.
- Geddes** (gēds), **Jenny**, 621.
- Generation**, term defined, as measure of time, 4.
- Geneva** (jē-nē'vā; map, 550), and Calvin, 584.
- Genghis Khan** (jēn'gīz kǎn), 643-644.
- Genoa** (jēn'ō-ä; maps after 198, 484, etc.), 515, 572, 574, 605, and *passim*.
- "Gentlemen,"** a term of social rank in England, 461, 466, 467; in 17th century, 608-609; and American colonization, 637-638.
- Geoffrey** (jěf'rī) **Plantagenet** (plän-tǎj'ē-nět), 569.
- Geography and history**, in Egypt, 15-18, 38-39; in Chaldea, 48-49; in Phoenicia, 55; in Hellas, 78, 82, 83, 89, and esp. 98-100; in Italy and with Rome, 198-199, 201, 205; in Britain, 403, 466.
- Geometry**, begun in ancient Egypt, 29; and Euclid, 191; in the universities of Roman world, 321; medieval, 518.
- George I** (and II), of England, and ministerial government, 629.
- Geographical exploration**, by Egyptians, 40; in Hellenistic world, 190-191, 192; in later medieval times: Rubruk's report of an eastern ocean, 569-570; and the Polo travels, 570-571; search for new trade routes in 14th and 15th centuries, 573-577; and discovery of America, *ib.* Maps, 576 and facing 577.
- German Diet**, in Middle Ages, 591; decline after Thirty Years' War, 601.
- German "free cities,"** 515.
- Germany**, as name of home of German tribes, or Teutons, east of Rhine, 308; foundation for as a modern state laid by Charlemagne's conquests on the east, 395 and map after 396; and Division of Verdun, 409 and map opp.; repulse of Hungarians, 409; expansion on east after Otto, 480 and map opp.; *see* Holy Roman Empire; remains disunited at end of Middle Ages, 553; and the

- Protestant Reformation, 579 f.; northern parts become Lutheran, 582-583; south, Catholic, 585; Thirty Years' War, 600-601; Peace of Westphalia, 601 and map opp.; union of merely a name, 601. *See* Austria, Prussia, etc.
- Ghent** (gĕnt; map, 597), 551.
- Gibraltar** (jĭ-brŏl'tēr; map facing 647); 643.
- Gid'ê-ôn**, Hebrew Judge, 58.
- Gilbert, Sir Humphrey**, 636, 637.
- Gilds**, Roman, 230; under the Early Empire, 314-315; under Later Empire (artisans bound to, and decline), 357; in medieval towns, 511-514; give way in England to domestic system of manufactures, which *see*.
- Giorgione** (jŏr-jŏ'nā), 561.
- Gladiatorial Games** (Roman), 259-260; under the Empire, 323-324; abolished by victory of Christianity, 352.
- Gloucester** (glŏs'tēr; map, 406), cloisters of Cathedral of, 437.
- Goat Rivers**, *see* Aegospotami.
- Gothic architecture**, 436, 437. *See* Architecture.
- Goths**, in Dacia, 338. *See* Visigoths, East Goths.
- Gracchus** (grăk'ŭs), **Caius**, 271-273.
- Gracchus, Tiberius**, 269-271.
- Graeco-Oriental** (grĕk) world, 176 f.; mingling of East and West, 176-178; Hellenism the active element, 176-177; building of Greek cities, 177, 193; Wars of the Succession, 178; resemblance to modern Europe in politics (178) and in literature, 185-186; Gallic invasion of 278 B.C., 179-180; economic conditions, 185; literature, philosophy, and science, 185-194; conquered by Rome (as far as to Euphrates), 250-253, 277, 280; under Roman Empire, 307 f.; *see* Greek Empire, Mohammedanism.
- Grân-ă'dă** (map after 396), 547, 548.
- Granicus** (gră-nĭ'kŭs; map facing 174), battle of, 175.
- Great Britain**, 629. *See* England.
- "Great Elector,"** the, *see* Frederick William.
- Greek Christianity**, separation of Latin Christendom from, 392-393; wins Russian Slavs, 643.
- Greek drama**, 95, 109, and esp. 141-142. *See* Drama.
- Greek dress**, 153.
- Greek Empire** (Eastern Roman, or Byzantine), 365-366, and maps after 366, 396; grows Oriental, 371; in 11th century, 493; attacked by Turks, 494 f.; and the Crusades, 495 f.; conquered by Turks, 548-549 and maps after 542, 549.
- "Greek fire,"** 389.
- Greek house** (of late period), 149-151.
- Greek language**, and Humanism, 560-561.
- Greek literature**, Homeric poems, 75-76, 90; Epic Age, 94-95; Lyric Age, 95; beginnings of drama, 95, 100; dramatic period: tragedy, 141-142; comedy, 142; oratory, 143-144, 172; history, 144; philosophy, 144 f. (*see* Greek philosophy); new forms in Hellenistic Age, 185-186.
- Greek philosophy**, 95-96, 144-147; in Hellenistic Age, 186-187. *See* Epicureans, Stoics, Cynics.
- Greek temple**, 93-94 and many cuts *passim*.
- Greeks**, early mention of, 40, 64; Aegean civilization of 3000 B.C., 69 f.; Achaean conquest, 75 f.; rise of new "Greek" race, 78 f.;



- and Greek geography, 78-79, 83, 98-100; a new and "Western" civilization, 78 and esp. 98; city-states, 78-80; Homeric governments, 80-81; society simple and harsh, 81 f.; influence of soil and sea, 82-83; "most European of European lands," 84; accessible from Orient, 84; Phoenician influence, 84-85; and alphabet, 85; religion, 85-86; Dorian invasions, 88-89; colonies in Asia Minor, 89 f.; Attica reinforced, 89; unity of Greek feeling, 90 f.; influence of language and literature, 90; of Olympic games and of oracles, 90-91; growth of trade in 6th century, 92; art humanized, 92 f.; architecture, 93-94; Lyric Age, 95; Ionic philosophy, 95-96; Homeric monarchies give way to oligarchies, 96-97; rise of tyrants, 97; rise of democracies, 97 and *see* Athens; geographical influence summed up, 98-100; Athens and Sparta to 500 B.C., 102 f. (*see* each by name); Persian Wars, 114 f. Ionian conquest by Persia, and revolt, 114-115; Athens sends aid, and Persian attack on Greece, 115; conditions in Greece, 116; 1st Persian expedition (Mt. Athos), 116; 2d repulsed at Marathon, 116-118; 3d expedition: Athenian preparation to meet, 119-120; Greek Congress at Corinth, 121; Persian march, 120-121; Thermopylae, 122-123; Salamis, 123-126; Plataea, 127 (*see* Athens, Sparta); Persian war dies out, 135; Greek life in its best age, 136-160 (*see* Athens, Age of Pericles); weaknesses (slavery, lack of machinery, low position of women), 158-159; ruin of glory in Peloponnesian War, 162 f.; under Sparta and Thebes, 166-170; merged in wider Hellenistic world, 170 f., 177-178. Contributions to civilization, 98, 159-160, and esp. 194. *See* Graeco-Oriental world, Achaean League.
- Gregory the Great**, Pope, 392, 404.
- Gregory II** (and III), Pope, 392.
- Gregory VII**, 437, 482-484.
- Gregory XI**, 544.
- Grenville, Sir Richard**, 363.
- Grindecobbe** (grin'kōb), English peasant hero, 534.
- Grist mill**, Roman, horse-power, 231; water-power, 381. *See* Flourmaking, Machinery.
- Guiscard** (gēs-kār'), **Robert**, 485.
- Gunpowder**, 524, 525; at Crécý, 529, 566.
- Güstā'vūs Vā'sā**, 551.
- Gutenberg** (gōō'tēn-běrk), **John**, 567-568.
- Habeas Corpus**, and **Magna Carta**, 469; and Act of Cavalier Parliament, 626.
- Hades** (Greek), 86.
- Hā'drī-ān**, Emperor, 304, 305, 314; wall of, in Britain, 304 and map after 306.
- Hā'kōn the Good**, 551.
- Hāl-ī-cār-nās'sūs**, 194 and map after 68.
- Hām'burg** (bōōrk), 411 and map after 514.
- Hām-il'cār Bār'cā**, 239.
- Hammurapi** (hām-ōō-rā'pē), 45; code of, 51-52, 71.
- Hampden, John**, 620, 621, 622.
- Hanging Gardens**, Babylon, facing 49.
- Hannibal**, 239; and 2d Punic War, 239-244; death, 247.
- Hān-sē-āt'ic League**, 515 and map after 514.

- Häpsburgs** (bōörks), Rudolph of, 546, 549; Albert of, 546; Maximilian of, 547, 553, 554, 555; Philip of, 554, 555; family splits into Austrian and Spanish branches (583), which *see*. For original seat of family *see* map, 550.
- Harold Här-drä'dä**, 450.
- Harold the Saxon**, 450-452.
- Haroun al Raschid** (hä-rōön' älä räsh'íd), 400.
- Harvey, Sir William**, and science of medicine, 592, 603-604.
- Häs'drū-bäl**, 243-244.
- Hastings** (map 406), battle of, 451.
- Hä'thōr**, temple of, facing 27.
- Hawkins, Sir John**, 636.
- "Heathen,"** term explained, 351.
- Hebrews**, under the patriarchs, 57-58; Egyptian bondage and exodus, 58; conquest of Palestine, 58; under the Judges, 58; Kings and Prophets, 58-59; David and Solomon, 59-60; the Temple, 59; division into Israel and Judah, 60; overthrow, 60-61; Judah's return from Babylon, 61; under High Priests, 61; mission, 61. *See* Jews, Judah.
- Hector**, 81.
- Hegira** (hē-jī'rā), the Moham-medan, 388.
- Heidelberg** (hī'dēl-bērĕ; maps after 546, 600), 640.
- Hellas**, term explained, 90.
- Hēl-lē'nes** (nēz), term defined, 90.
- Hellenistic**, term explained, 178, note.
- Hellenistic world**, 176 f.; the basis for ours, 177. *See* Graeco-Oriental world.
- Hellespont** (hēl'ēs-pōnt; map after 68), 116, and elsewhere.
- Helvetians** (hēl-vēsh'ī-āns), 282. (An early Teutonic people living in the German part of modern Switzerland.)
- Hē'lōts**, 103.
- Henry I, of England**, 458-459, 484; courts of, 465; charter of, 467.
- Henry II**, 459-465, 477.
- Henry III**, 467-469.
- Henry IV**, 536.
- Henry V**, 536, 537, 538.
- Henry VI**, 538 f.
- Henry VII**, 540, 541, 577.
- Henry VIII**, 540-541, 554, 586-588, 594, 615.
- Henry IV, of France**, 599 and facing 602.
- Henry IV, of Germany**, 482-484.
- Henry the Navigator**, 514 f.
- Hephaestus** (hē-fēs'tūs), 82, 83, 87.
- Hē'rā**, 86, 87.
- Hēr-āt'** (map after 174), 177.
- Hēr-cū-lā'nē-ūm** (map 302), 302.
- Hēr'männ**, Teutonic leader, 308.
- Hermes** (hēr'mēz), 87.
- Hermits**, Christian, 380.
- Hē-rōd'ō-tūs**, 15, 25, 26, 40, 67, 118, 119, and esp. 144.
- Hē'sī-ōd**, 95.
- Hī'ēr-ō II** (Syracuse), 238.
- Hieroglyphics** (hī-ēr-ō-glīf'īks), Egyptian, 31-32 and facing 33; early Babylonian, 49 and cut facing 48. *See* Writing.
- Hil'dē-bränd**, *see* Gregory VII.
- Hip-pär'chus** (kūs), Athenian tyrant, 110.
- Hipparchus the astronomer**, 192.
- Hip'pī-ās**, 110, 117, 118.
- History**, defined, 1; periods of, 384 (Exercise 4).
- Hittites** (hīt'tits; map facing 15), 28, 39, 46, and esp. 61-62. Also, 75, 201.
- Hoe**, invention of the, 9; early Egyptian, facing 10 and on 21.
- Hohenstaufen** (hō-šn-shtouf'ēn), 484 f.
- Hohenzollern** (hō-šn-tsōl'ērn; map after 546 for original home of family in Württemberg), 646 f.
- Holland** (name used for federal union of Dutch provinces after

- they had won independence from Spain in 1600), prominent place in 17th century, 598; independence recognized, 601; and Louis XIV, 641-643; loses much of colonial empire to England, 650-651. Maps, 597 and after 543. *See* Netherlands.
- Holy Roman Empire** (*see* Charlemagne, Empire of, and collapse after Division of Verdun), revived by Otto of Germany for Germany and Italy, 481 f.; Popes and Emperors (question of investitures), 481-482; later strife (Popes fearing for temporal power), 482-488; evil results to Italy, 488, and to Germany, *ib.* and maps after 484 and esp. 546; idea of world-state, 488-489; and the Hapsburgs of Austria, 546-547; a sham after Thirty Years' War, 601-602.
- Homeric poems**, 75-77, 81; pictures of Greek society, 81-82; place in forming Greek nationality, 90, 95; in Greek education, 156; in the Hellenistic world, facing 191.
- Hō-nō'ri-ūs**, Emperor of the West, 365, 366, 367.
- Hoplites** (hōp'lits), 117 and note.
- Horace**, Latin poet, 262 and note, 322.
- Horus**, temple of, facing 27.
- Huguenots** (hū'gē-nōts), and Calvin, 584; civil war in France, 599-600; refugees in other lands, 611, 641, 642.
- Hū'mān-ists**, in education, 561.
- Humber river** (map, 406), 404.
- "Hundred,"** the, as local unit in England, 454.
- Hundred Years' War**, the, 528-529, 538-539.
- Hūn-gā'rī-āns** (maps facing 438, 480, 484), 410, 480, 481; Hungarians and the Turks, 549 and map facing 549.
- Huns**, 365, 369-370. Map after 364.
- Hus, John**, 545.
- Hýk'sōs**, the, 39, 58.
- Hý-mět'tūs**, Mount (maps after 68 and on 124), 110.
- Hý'phā-sīs river** (map after 174), 176.
- Iceland**, Norse settlement of, 410.
- Iconoclast dispute**, 392.
- Iliad**, *see* Homeric poems.
- Il-lýr'i-ā** (map after 306), 238.
- Immortality**, belief in, of cave-men, 7; in Egypt, 37-38; Persian, 67; Greek, 88; Socrates, 146-147; Epicureans deny, 188; Christian faith in, 332.
- Īm-pē-rā'tōr**, title adopted by the Caesars, 288, 295, 297, note.
- Inclosures** (of common land), in Ancient Italy, 261-263; in 16th-century England, 609-611.
- Independents** (Puritans of the Separation), 615; and Cromwell's army, 623; rule by, 625.
- India**, why not studied for Ancient period, 14; and Persian Empire, 64; and Alexander, 176; reached by Portuguese, 644; falls to England, 647-649. Maps facing 174 and on 576, 649.
- Indian Ocean**, revealed to Greek world by voyage of Nearchus, 190-191 and map after 174; reached by the Polos from the Pacific, 573; sought and reached by the Portuguese around Africa, 572-573 and map, 576.
- "Indulgences,"** 580, 581.
- Indus river** (maps facing 64, 174, and on 649), 176; explored, 190-191; crossed by conquering Mongols, 644.
- "Infantry,"** original meaning, 416.
- Innocent III**, Pope, and Albigenes, 478; strife with the Emperors, 482, 486-488; and the

- friar movement, 516; and the Inquisition, 585-586.
- Inquisition**, the, 585-586.
- Interdict**, the, 435-436.
- Investiture strife**, 482-484.
- "Invincible Armada,"** see *Armada*.
- Ionía** (i-ō'nī-ā; map after 68), colonization of, 89; home of Greek philosophy, 95. See Ionians.
- Ionians**, in Attica, 89 (see Ionía); Greek race-division, of mythical origin, 90; Persian conquest, and revolt, 114-115; loss of leadership, 115; freed by Athens, 131 f.
- Ionic order of architecture**, 94.
- Ireland**, Christianized, 404; Norse settlements in, 411; English conquest, 460, 593-594; early schools, 518, 593; patriotism and Catholicism, 594; and Cromwell, 625, 629.
- Irene** (i-rēn'), Empress, 396.
- Iron**, beginning of Age of, and the Hittites, 39, 61-62; in Egypt, 28-29; and Achaeans, 75; Etruscans bring use of into Italy, 201.
- Irrigation**, in Ancient Egypt, 17, 19-22, 25-26; in Euphrates valley, 43.
- Isaac**, Hebrew patriarch, 57.
- Isabella of Castile**, 547; and Columbus, 577.
- Isocrates** (i-sōk'rā-tēz), 171.
- Israel** (see Hebrews), Kingdom of, 60 and map on 60.
- Īs'sūs** (map after 174), battle of, 175.
- Ī-tāl'i-āns** (map, 200 and facing 198), and divisions of, 199.
- Italy**, Ancient (map after 198 and on 200), 198 f.; races in, 199-201; many geographical divisions (cf. Greeks), 201-202; see Rome; kingdom of East Goths in, 367 and esp. 371; Hunnish inroad 369; Teutonic rulers in name of Eastern Empire, 370; Justinian recovers, 371-372; Lombard conquest of parts, 372; broken into fragments, *ib.*; and Holy Roman Empire (481 f.), which see; Lombard League, 485; Kingdom of Sicily and Naples, 485 f.; evil results of strife between Popes and Emperors on, 488; development of free cities in, 506, 515; under rule of tyrants by 1500, 515; remains disunited at beginning of modern times, 553, 554; and invasion by Charles of France, 554; Spain wins Sicily and Naples, 554; wars of Charles V and Francis I for, 556, 583; home of Renaissance, 558-559; early Humanism in, 559-561; painting, 561; and science, *ib.* (see Galileo); condottieri in, 562-563; loss of prosperity after Columbus and da Gama, 630.
- Ivan** (ē'vān) **the Terrible**, 644.
- Jacob**, Hebrew patriarch, 58.
- James I**, of England (and VI of Scotland), 615-617 and table on 586.
- James II**, 627, 628.
- Janiculum** (jä-nĭk'ū-lŭm), **Mount**, cut facing 206.
- Jā'nūs**, 207, 295.
- Jamestown** (map facing 630), 637.
- Japan**, medieval rumors of in Europe, 569, 572. See map, 576.
- Jāx-ār'tes** (tēz) **river** (map facing 174), 177, 494.
- Jephthah** (jĕf'thā), Hebrew Judge, 58.
- Jerome** (jĕ-rōm'), **Saint**, 353.
- Jerusalem** (maps 60 and facing 15, 64, 174, etc.), 60; 302 and cuts on 300 and 301; seat of Christian patriarch, 351; Sara-

- cen, 388; and Crusades, 496 f.; Turks and, 496-497; capture by crusaders, 499; Latin "Kingdom of," 499; and Saladin, 501; and Emperor Frederick II, 501.
- Jesters**, medieval, 423.
- Jesuits**, 585.
- Jews** (*see* Hebrews), Kingdom of Judah, 60; return from Babylonian captivity, 61; story to dispersal, 302; in medieval Europe, 605.
- Joan of Arc**, *see* Arc.
- John**, of England, 464, 467, 480-481.
- Joinville** (zhwǎn-vēl'), crusader and chronicler, 420, 428-430, 502.
- Jonson** (jōn'sŷn) **Benjamin**, or "Ben," 592.
- Joseph II**, of Austria and Holy Roman Empire, 652, 653.
- Joseph**, the Hebrew, 58.
- Jō-sē'phūs**, Jewish historian, 252, 323.
- Joshua**, Hebrew leader, 58.
- Judas Maccabeus**, 251, 252.
- Judea** (name in Roman times for former Judah), seeks Roman protection against Antiochus, 251-252; story to dispersal, 302.
- Jugglers**, medieval, 422, 423.
- Julian the Apostate**, 348.
- Juno** (jōō'nō), 86.
- Jupiter**, 80, 208.
- Jury**, the **Athenian**, 138; English system of, 463; replaces trial by ordeal in England, *ib.*
- Jūs-tīn'i-ān**, Emperor, 371-372; and Justinian code, 372-373.
- Juvenal** (jōō'vē-nāl), 257, 323, 324, 327.
- Jutes** (jōōts; *see* Kent on map on 406), 403, note.
- Kaiser**, name as title explained, 297, note.
- Käl'mär** (map after 514), Union of, 551.
- Kān'dā-hār** (consult modern map of Afghanistan), 177.
- Kār'nāk** (map, 16), site of famous temples, cuts facing 24, 34, 35, 40.
- Kās-kās'kī-ā**, 633, map facing 634.
- Kenilworth** (map, 406), castle, facing 608.
- Kent** (map, 406), Kingdom of, 403; and Augustine, 404-405.
- Khufu** (kōō'fōō), 24.
- Kief** (kēf; map after 396), 643.
- "**King James Bible**," 613. *See* Bible.
- King William's War**, 641.
- King's Bench**, Court of the, 465.
- Knighthood**, 425-428.
- "**Knights**," Roman, *see* Equites.
- Knights of St. John**, 499, 502; map after 548.
- Knights Templars**, 499-500.
- Knights**, Teutonic Order of, 500, 502 and map after 514.
- "**Knights of the Shire**," 461, 466-467.
- Knossos** (nōs'ūs; city in Crete, about 2500 B.C.; map facing 15), 69, 70, 71, 72, 77.
- Knox**, John, 592.
- Knut the Great**, 449, 551.
- Kō-rān'**, the, 387, 492.
- Kosciuszko** (kōs-i-ūs'kō), 651.
- Kōs-sō'vā** (map facing 549), battle of, 548.
- Kyffhäuser** (kīf'hoiz-ēr), 485.
- Labor**, *see* Agriculture, Slavery, Serfdom, Gilds.
- Lā-cō'nī-ā** (map after 68), 102 and elsewhere.
- Lacroix** (lā-krwā'), French historian, 376, 377, etc.
- La Salle** (lā-sāl'), 633, 634.
- Lake Dwellers**, Swiss, 10-11 and facing 10.
- Lancastrian line of kings**, 536; growth of Parliament under, *see* Parliament.
- Langton**, Stephen, Archbishop, and Magna Carta, 467.



- Languedoc** (lang-dôk'; map facing 460), 585.
- Lâ-ôc'ô-ôn**, statue of the, 186.
- Latimer, Bishop**, martyrdom of, 590.
- Latin Christendom**, 432. *See* Church of.
- Latin colonies**, 223.
- Latin language**, in Middle Ages, 518, 525.
- Latins** (early, in Italy; map, 200 and facing 198), 200, 204. *See* Rome.
- Latium** (lă'shî-ŭm); maps facing 198 and on 200.
- Laud**, Archbishop, 621, 622.
- Lawyers**, rise of, in England, 466.
- Lêb'â-nôn** mountains (map, 60), cedar of, 55.
- Lechfeld** (lêk'fêlt; map facing 484), battle of, 480. For the river Leck (which gave the name to the field), see map after 546.
- Legion**, Roman, 226-227, 250.
- Legnano** (lă-nyă'nô; map facing 484), battle of, 485.
- Leif Ericson**, the, facing 410.
- Leo the Great**, Pope, 370.
- Leo III**, Pope, 397.
- Leo the Isaurian** (î-sô'rî-ăn), Greek Emperor, 392.
- Leon** (lă-ôn'; map after 396), 487.
- Le(lă)-ô-nă'r'dô dă Vinci** (vên'chê), 561.
- Lê-ôn'î-das**, 122.
- Lês'bôs** (map after 68), 95, 133.
- Letts** (a people of eastern Europe, related to Slavs), 646.
- Leuctra** (lûk'tră; map after 102), battle of, 169.
- Lever**, discovery of laws of, 193.
- Lewes** (map, 406), battle of, 469.
- Leyden** (lî'dên; map, 597), siege of, 596.
- Licinian** (lî-sîn'î-ăn) laws, Roman, 216.
- Licinius Stölô**, Roman tribune, 216.
- Licinius**, Emperor, 347.
- Liege lord**, feudal term, 412, 413.
- Lî-gû'rî-ăns** (map, 200), 199.
- Literature**, Egyptian (first books), 32-33, 35, 36-37; Greek, 75, 90, 95; 141-142; Roman (after 200 B.C.), by periods, 322-323; decline after 300 A.D., 353; influence of victory of Christianity on, 353-354; influence of barbarian invasions (Dark Ages), 373; and monks, 382-384; in "New English," 456, 525; in other vernacular tongues, 487, 525; Italian poets, 487, 525, 559-560; and English Renaissance, 591-592.
- Livy**, Roman historian, 214, 322.
- Locris** (map after 68), 134.
- Loire** (l-văr) river (map after 384), limit of Saracenic invasion, 389.
- Lollards**, 531.
- Lombard bankers**, over medieval Europe, 606.
- Lombard League**, 485.
- Lombards**, seize parts of Italy in 6th century, 372; threaten Rome, 393, 394; checked by Franks, 394, 396. *See* map after 364.
- London Company** (for colonizing Virginia), 637.
- Long Parliament**, the, 621 f.
- Loom**, 8 and facing 10.
- Lords, House of**, 475.
- Lothair**, Emperor, 409.
- Louis VII**, of France, 460.
- Louis IX** (St. Louis), Joinville on, 428-430, 439, 479, 502.
- Louis XI**, 539.
- Louis XIII**, 599.
- Louis XIV**, 633-639, 643, 650.
- Louisburg** (map facing 630), 647.
- Louisiana**, French province in America, 633 and map opp.
- Louvre** (lôovr'), art museum in Paris, facing 52, 64, etc.
- Loyola** (lô-yô'lă), Ignatius (îg-nă'-shî-ŭs), 585.
- Lúc-ré'tius** (shî-ŭs), Latin poet, 322.

- Luther, Martin**, 579-582, 583.  
**Lutheran Church**, 582-583.  
**Lützen** (lüt'sën; map facing 601), facing 603.  
**Luzern** (löö-tsern'; map, 550), 549.  
**Lycian** (lîsh'y-än) **Confederacy**, 181. *See* map after 88 for Lycia.  
**Lý-cûr'gûs**, 102.  
**Lydia**, Kingdom of (map after 63), and invention of coinage, 63.  
**Lý-di'ă-dás**, 182.  
**Lyons** (map after 366), 314.  
**Lyric Age**, of Greek poetry, 95.  
**Lý-sân'dér**, 165, 167.
- Maccabees** (măk'ká-běz), the, 251-252.  
**Macedonia** (mă-sê-dô'nĭ-ă; maps after 88 and esp. on 171), 170 f.; *see* Philip II of, and Alexander the Great; one of the Great States of the Hellenistic Age, 178; and Greece, 179 f.; conquered by Rome (becomes a protectorate), 250-251; forced to set Greece "free," 251; becomes Roman province, 253.  
**Machinery**, *see* "Tool" and "Machine."  
**Magdeburg** (măg'dê-bôörk; map after 546), 514.  
**Magic** (Chaldean), 50.  
**Magna Carta**, 467-469.  
**Magna Graecia** (grêsh'y-ă; maps after 88 and on 200), 90, 200, 219.  
**Magnesia** (măg-nê'shĭ-ă; map after 238), battle of, 251.  
**Maine** (duchy of France; map facing 460), 459, 478.  
**Mainz** (mînts; map after 484), 496.  
**Malta** (map after 646), and Knights of St. John, 502; becomes English, *see* map above.  
**Măn'li-ūs, Măr'cūs**, 217, 218.  
**Manor, feudal**, 441-448.  
**Mans'feld** (fêlt), 600.
- Măn-tĭ-né'ă** (map after 102), 168; battle of, 170.  
**Manufactures**, Egyptian, 27-28; Babylonia, 51; Phoenician, 56-57; Greek, 92, 153-154; of cities in Roman Empire, 314-315; disappearance of in Dark Ages, 378; Saracenic, 490-492; in medieval Europe after Crusades, 504, 605-606; guilds and, 512-513; in Netherland towns, 551-552; of wool in England in 16th-17th centuries, 611-612; domestic system of, 612.  
**Marathon** (maps after 68 and on 118, 124), battle of, 116-119, 124.  
**"Marathon race,"** *see* Phidippides.  
**"March of the Ten Thousand,"** 168.  
**Marcus Aurelius**, *see* Antoninus.  
**Măr-dô'nĭ-ūs**, 126, 127.  
**Marduk** (măr'dôök), Babylonian god of war, facing 48.  
**Marie Theresa** (têr-ês'ă), 647, 648.  
**Mariner's magnetic compass**, invention of, 524, 569.  
**Mă'ri-ūs** (Roman), 274-275, 276-277.  
**Marlborough** (mărl'bŭr-ô), 643.  
**Marlowe, Christopher**, English dramatist, 592.  
**Marquette** (măr-kê't'), 634.  
**Mars**, 202, 208. *See* Ares.  
**Marston Moor** (map, 406), battle of, 623.  
**Măr-têl', Charles**, 386, 389-390, 394.  
**Martial** (măr'shĭ-ăl), Roman poet, 326.  
**Martin V, Pope**, 545.  
**Mary of Burgundy**, 552, 553, 555.  
**Mary Tudor**, Queen of England, 589, 590, and table on 586.  
**Massilia** (măs-sĭl'y-ă; map after 88), 90. *See* Marseilles on modern maps.  
**Măs-sĭn-ĭs'să**, 247.

- Mă-til'dà**, Queen, 458-459.
- Matthew of Paris**, 552 and note.
- Mau-sô'lūs** (whose *mau-sô-lē'ūm* was one of the Seven Wonders), 194, note.
- Mayfield**, Frankish, 378, 386, 398.
- Mayors of the Palace** (Frankish), 385-386, 394.
- Măx-īm'i-ăn**, Emperor, 341, 343.
- Măx-i-mil'i-ăn I**, *see* Hapsburgs.
- Mecca** (map after 306), 387, 388.
- Medes** (mēds; map facing 63), 64.
- Mē-dī-ē'vāl period**, or Middle Ages, term explained, 384 (Exercise 4); period closed, 577.
- Medicine**, Egyptian, 29; and Chaldean magic, 50; a science among early Greeks, 191; advanced study in Roman universities, 321, 323; practice of open to women in Roman Empire, 327; "medicine men" in Dark Ages of Western Europe, 492; Saracenic, 492; in medieval universities (after 1100), 519, 520; and Harvey's discovery, 592, 603-604.
- Mediterranean Sea**, as a moat for Greece against Persia, 99; as highway, 308; traffic on during Early Empire, 315; moat, again, against African Mohammedan, 400.
- Mēg-ā-lōp'ō-līs** (map after 102), 170.
- Mēg'ā-rā** (map after 68), 107, 124, 135, 162, 182.
- Mē'lōs** (map after 68), 186.
- Mēm'nōn**, Cō'lōs'si (sē) of, facing 40.
- Memphis** (map, 16, and facing 15), 24, 27.
- Mē'nēs**, 24.
- Mercia** (mūr'shī-ā; map 406), 403.
- Mercury**, 87.
- Merovingians** (mēr-ō-vīn'jī-āns), name used on map after 384 for Frankish kings after Clovis — from his ancestor *Merowig*.
- "Merrie England,"** 535; and the Puritans, 612, 625.
- Mēs-ō-pō-tā'mi-ā** (map facing 15), meaning in ancient times, 42, 43.
- Mēs-sē'nī-ā** (map after 68), 170.
- Mē-tau'rūs** (map facing 198), battle of the, 244.
- Metropolis of a Greek colony**, 90.
- Mē-trō-pōl'i-tàn**, *see* Archbishop.
- Mētz**, German (map after 546); becomes French, 583; map facing 601.
- Mexico**, Spanish-American province, 630; gold from, 631.
- Michelangelo** (mī-kēl-ān'jē-lō), *see* Michael Angelo.
- "Middle Ages,"** *see* Medieval period.
- Mī-lān'** (map facing 484), 346, 349, 484, 508, 553, 643; Edict of, 346.
- Mī-lē'tūs** (map after 68), 89, 95, 152.
- Mil-ti'ā-des** (dēz), 117, 118.
- Mil'vi-an Bridge**, battle of, 345. (Near Rome.)
- Mī'nā** (Babylonian), 50.
- Minerva**, 87. *See* Athene.
- Ministerial government**, develops in England, 618, 628-629.
- Mīn'nē-sing-ērs**, 525.
- Mī-nōr'ca** (kā), 643; map facing 647.
- Mī'nōs**, 71.
- Mīn'ō-taur**, 71, note.
- Mith-rī-dā'tes** (tēz) VI, of Pontus, 277, 280.
- "Model Parliament,"** the, 473.
- Modern history**, term explained, 384 (Exercise 4), 577.
- Moeris** (mē'ris), **Lake** (map, 16), 26, 77.
- Mō-hām'mēd**, 387-388.
- Mohammed the Conqueror**, 549.
- Mō-hām'mēd-ān-ism**, rise, 386 f.; doctrine, 387; spreads swiftly by the sword, 388; extent, *ib.*;

- repulsed from Europe on the East in 7th and 8th centuries, 389, 390; conquers Spain, 389; repulse at Tours, 389-390; division into hostile Caliphates, 390; in 11th century; advance in science and wealth, 490 f.; loses leadership to Turks, 494 f.; and Crusades, which *see*; loses Spain, 547; gains Balkan district and Constantinople, 548-549; threatens central Europe, 549, 583. *See* Saracens, Turks, Bagdad.
- Mô-nās'tī-cism** (sīsm), relation to Eastern hermit life, 380; rise of, *ib.*; description of a monastery, 381-382; and learning, 382; destruction in England, 587-588.
- Money**, absence in early times, 26, 63; invention of coinage, 63; early Roman forms, 204-205; lack of in Later Empire, 355; hardly known in Charlemagne's Empire, 397; and feudalism, 417; increase of after Crusades, 504; and doctrine of "usury," 605; "Lombards" and, 606; banking revived, 606; new influx of gold and silver from American mines, 607; and growth of a new merchant class, 607; effect of increase on prices and wages and cost of living, 607; effect of same on migration from England to colonies, 637-638.
- Mô-nôg'â-mý**, term defined, 151.
- Montcalm** (mônt-kām'), 648.
- Montfort, Simon of**, 469 f.; and Parliament, 473.
- Montreal** (map facing 633), 635.
- Moors**, term explained, 390.
- More, Sir Thomas**, 563, 564, 565, 588, 610.
- Môr'gâr-tên** (map, 550), battle of, 549.
- Moriscoes** (mô-rīs'kôz), expelled from Spain, 598-599.
- Mô-rôc'cô** (map after 396), 492.
- Moses**, Hebrew leader, 58.
- Mô-sul** (sôol'; map after 396), 492.
- Moustier** (môos-tiá'), LĒ, facing 2, 5.
- Mummies**, Egyptian, 29, 38.
- Municipia** (mū-nī-síp'ī-à), *see* Roman.
- Muses**, the, 86, 189.
- Mû-sē'ûm**, Plato's at Athens, 189; Ptolemy's at Alexandria, *see* Alexandria, University of.
- Music**, and Greek education, 156; in Roman, trivium, 321; in medieval schools, 518.
- Mûs-sô-lini** (lē'nè), 395.
- Mycale** (mīk'â-lê; map after 68), battle of 131.
- Mycenae** (mī-sē'nê; map after 68), "rich in gold," 73, 77.
- Mý'rôn**, facing 173, 271.
- Nantes** (nānts' or nānt; map facing 409), 411; Edict of, 599-600; revocation of, 641.
- Naples** (maps after 306, 484), University of (a "state university"), 521.
- Naseby** (nāz'bý; map, 406), battle of, 623.
- Natchez**, 633, map facing 634.
- Nation**, term discussed, 475.
- Naucratis** (nô'krá-tīs; maps, 16 and after 88), 40, 90.
- Nausicaa** (nô-sīk'â-á), 81.
- Navarre** (nâ-vâr'; map facing 409), Henry of, *see* Henry IV of France.
- Nāx'ôs** (map after 68), 132-133.
- Nearchus** (nē-ār'kūs), 191. *See* route of, on map facing 174.
- Nebuchadnezzar** (nēb-û-kād-nēz'-âr), 48, 61.
- Neco**, of Egypt, 40, 50.
- Něp'tune**, 86.
- Nero, Claudius** (consul), 244.
- Nero, Emperor**, 299-301.
- Nēr'vā**, Emperor, 303.

- Netherlands**, in Middle Ages, 551-553; and Philip II of Spain, 595; rebellion of 559 f.; north wins independence as Dutch Republic, or "United Provinces," 598; south remains subject as Spanish Netherlands, *ib.* See, for early period, Flanders; for later times, Holland, Dutch Republic, Spanish Netherlands (Austrian Netherlands) — which were to become Belgium. Maps, 597 and facing 601. Also, the map after 546 gives separate provinces by name.
- New France** (in America), 633 and map opp.
- "New Learning,"** of the Renaissance, the, 563 f.
- New Mexico** (Spanish), 631.
- "New Monarchies,"** the, of 15th century, 541, 553.
- New Orleans** (ôr'lê-ânz), 633 and map opp.
- New Spain** (map facing 633), 636.
- New Stone Age**, 7 f.
- Newfoundland** (map facing 633), 643.
- Nez Percé** (nâ-pěr-sâ'), facing 32.
- Nibelungenlied** (nê-bê-lōōng'-ên-lêt), 365.
- Nicaea** (nî-sê'â; map after 306), Council of, 352.
- Nicene** (nî-sên') **Creed**, 352.
- Nicholas V**, Pope, 546.
- Nicias** (nîs'î-âs), 165.
- Nile**, the, and Egyptian civilization, 15-18, 29.
- Nîmes**, or **Nîsmes** (nêm; map after 484), amphitheater of, facing 303; aqueduct of, facing 311.
- Nineveh** (nîn'ê-vê; maps facing 15 and on 43), 45, 48, 49.
- Nobility**, Continental and English, 418.
- Norman Conquest**, *see* England.
- Norman Kingdom of Sicily**, *see* Italy.
- Normandy** (map after 460), settled by Norse, 411; and conquest of England, 449 f.; and relations with England, 459, 478.
- Norse**, *see* Vikings.
- Nôr-thûm'bri'-â** (map, 406), 403.
- Norway** (maps after 396, 514, etc.), 551; dependency of Denmark, *ib.*
- Norwich** (nôr'lj; map after 514), buys a charter, 508; Cathedral of, 526.
- Notre Dame** (nôtr dâm'), school of, 519. *See* University of Paris.
- Nova Scotia** (nô'vâ skô'shyâ; the peninsula south of Louisburg on map facing 630), 635, 643.
- Nôv'gô-rod** (rôt), 515, 643; map after 514.
- Nû'ma** (Roman), 202, 295, note.
- Nû-mîd'î-â** (map after 238), 247.
- Öc-tâ'vî-ûs Caesar**, 293-294. *See* Augustus.
- Ô-dô-vâ'kêr**, 370, 371.
- Odysseus** (ô-dîs'ûs), 76, 81, 83, 88.
- Odyssey** (ôd'î-sî), 76. *See* Odysseus.
- Old Stone Age**, 2-7.
- Old Testament**, Books of, put in form, 61. *See* Bible.
- Oligarchy**, term explained, 96.
- Olive oil**, importance of in ancient times, 255; and "trusts," *ib.*
- Ô-lÿm'pî-â** (map after 68), 91.
- Olympiad**, measures of time, 91.
- Olympic Games**, 90-91; closed by Theodosius, 348.
- Ôlympus, Mt.** (map after 68).
- Ô-lÿn'thûs** (map after 68), 90.
- Ordeal**, trials by, 376-377; condemned by church council in 1215, 463.
- Örk'nêys** (map after 396), 538.
- Orleans** (ôr'lê-ânz; map after 364), 538.



**Ö-rön'tes** (tēz), 320.

**Ös'trà-cism** (sīsm), 120.

**Otto I**, 480-481.

**Ounce**, a division of the Babylonian *mina*, 50.

**Oxford** (map, 406), name explained, 506; University of, 521.

"**Oxford Reformers**," 563 f.

**Ö-zý-măn'dī-ās** (in quotation from Shelley), 40.

**Pá'gǎn**, term explained, 351.

**Page**, training of in time of chivalry, 425.

**Painting**, by cave-men, 7 and facing 7, 9, 13; Greek, 186; Italian Renaissance and, 561; popular appreciation of, 562; Dutch and Spanish periods, 562.

**Pál'á-tine** (tin) Hill (map, 206), 202, 205, etc.

**Palestine** (see "Map of the Syrian District," 60), 58, 330, 496, etc.

**Pál-my'rá** (map after 306), 339.

"**Panic**," in business, in Roman times, 319.

**Păn'thē-ön**, facing 320, 321.

**Papacy**, rise of, 391; and iconoclastic dispute, 392; independence won from Greek Empire, 392-393; growth of temporal power, 393 f.; papal states, 394-395, 396; conflict with Emperors of Holy Roman Empire, 482-484, 484-488; conflict with rising monarchies of Western Europe, 457, 461, 464, 543-544; captivity of at Avignon, 544; and Council of Constance, 545; growing weakness, 545-546; see Protestant Reformation, Roman Catholic Church.

**Papal States, or States of the Church** (maps facing 409, 484, 647), 393-395, 544, 553.

**Paper**, invention of, 568. See Papyrus.

**Pá-pý'rūs**, 32-33, 559. See also cut on 159.

**Parchment**, 364, 559.

"**Pardoner's letters**," 580.

**Paris** (maps facing 385, 409, etc.), University of, 519, 520, 521; and Henry of Navarre, 509.

**Parliament** (English), see Witan, Great Council; growth out of Great Council, 471 f.; representative elements introduced, 471-472; representation extended to towns, 473 (Parliament of 1265); plan adopted in "Model Parliament," 473; division into two Houses, 474; gains of power under Edward III (Hundred Years' War), 536; deposes Richard II, 536; gains under Lancastrians, 536-538; forms preserved under Tudor New Monarchy, 540-541, 587, 615; struggle with early Stuarts, 615-623; and Great Rebellion, 623-625; and the Restoration, 625-626; supremacy established by Revolution of 1688, 627-629.

**Parmentier** (pär-měn-tyá'), French authority on Middle Ages, facing 362 and *passim*.

**Pär-nás'sūs** (Mount; map after 68), 91.

**Pär'thē-nōn**, 140-141 and cuts facing 87, 133, 138, 139, 141.

**Parthians** (pär'thī-ánz; map after 306), 277, 283, 303, 307, 337.

**Patriarchs**, Early Christian, 351.

**Patricians** (pā-trīsh'ánz), Roman, 209.

**Pá-trō'clūs**, 76.

**Paul**, Apostle to the Gentiles, 330-332; use of "Asia," 277, note.

**Paulus, Aemilius** (ē-mīl'y-ūs), 260, 261.

**Pä'ví-ä** (map facing 409), 396; battle of, 556.

**Peasant Rising of 1381** (English), 532-534.

- Pedagogue** (pěd'â-gög), term explained, 156.
- Pê-king'** (map, 576), 571, 644.
- Pël-ô-pôn-ně'sūs** (map after 68), 102.
- "Penance,"** and the church, 439-440; and "pardonners," 580.
- Pě-nā'tes** (tēz), 86.
- "Pennsylvania Dutch,"** 601, note.
- Pěn-těl'ī-cūs, Mt.** (map after 102), 117, 118, 124.
- Pě'ōns**, in Spanish America, 631.
- Pēr'gā-mōs** (map after 238), 178, 196.
- Pericles** (pēr'ī-klēz), 133 f., esp. 137; also, 144, 148, 152, 163.
- Persia** (maps, 43 and facing 63, 64), 40, 64 f.; saves civilization, 64-65; organization, 65-66; roads, 66; religion, 66-67; wars with Greeks, *see* Greeks; driven from Aegean and coasts, 131, 132; threatened in Egypt, 137; and war of Athens and Sparta, 165; and the "Ten Thousand" Greeks, 168; conquered by Alexander and merged in Hellenistic world, 174 f.; new kingdom of, in time of Roman Empire, 307, 337-338, 348, 371.
- Pěr-sěp'ô-līs** (map facing 64), 176.
- Perugino** (pā-rōō-jē'nō), 561.
- Peter the Great**, 644-645.
- Peter the Hermit**, 497.
- Peter's Pence**, 434.
- Petersburg** (map facing 647), 645. (Now *Leningrad*.)
- Petition of Right** (English), 619.
- Petrarch** (pě'trärk), 489, 559-560.
- Phā'lānx**, Theban, 169; Macedonian, 171 f.; compared with Roman legion, 226, 250.
- Pharaohs** (fā'rōz), Egyptian, term explained, 18.
- Phā'rōs, Tower of**, 189, 193-194.
- Phār-sā'lūs** (map after 306), battle of, 286.
- Phīd'ī-ās**, 141, 194.
- Phī-dīp'pī-des** (dēz), 117, 118, 128.
- Philip II**, of Macedonia, 170-172.
- Philip V**, 242, 250.
- Philip II**, of Spain, 583, 589, 590, 595.
- Philip III**, 598.
- Philip V**, 641, 643.
- Philip II**, of France (Augustus), 464, 477-478, 479, 486, 501, 519-520.
- Philip IV** (the Fair), 479-480, 544.
- Philip V**, 544.
- Philip of Hapsburg** (hāps'bōōrk), 554, 555.
- Phī-līp'pī** (map after 306), battle of, 294; and Paul, 331.
- Phī-līp'pics**, of Demosthenes, 172.
- Phī-līs'tines** (tīns), 39, 58; map, 60.
- Philosophy**, *see* Greek philosophy; study of, in Roman universities, 321; decline after victory of Christianity, 351, 353.
- Phocis** (fō'sīs; map after 68), 116.
- Phoenicians** (fē-nīsh'ānz), 39, 55, 56, cut facing 67; alphabet, 57; also, 71, 84, 85. *See* Tyre.
- Phrygia** (frīj'ī-ā; map after 306), 66, 316.
- Picts**, 403 and note; map, 406.
- Picture writing**, 31, cut facing 32.
- Pilgrimages**, medieval, 495 f.
- "Pilgrims,"** the, at Plymouth, 615.
- Pillars of Hercules** (map after 88), 55.
- Pīn'dār**, 95, 174.
- Pippin the Short**, 394; becomes king, 394; and Pope Stephen, 394-395; "donation of," 395.
- Piraeus** (pī-rē'ūs; map, 130), 130-131 and *passim*.
- Pīs-īs'trā-tūs**, 108-110.
- Pitt, William**, 648.
- Pius II**, Pope, 546.
- Plantagenet** (plān-tāj'ē-nēt), 459.
- Plataea** (plā-tē'ā; map after 68), and Marathon, 117; battle of, 127; League of, 129, 131; ally of Athens in his Empire, 133.

- Plā'tō**, 146, 148, 186-187; and the Museum, 189.
- Plebeians** (plē-bē' ānz), 209 f.
- Plebiscite** (plēb'is-sīt), Roman, 215.
- Pliny the Elder**, 323.
- Pliny the Younger**, 313, 323, 324, 332, 334.
- Plow**, development of, 10.
- Plutarch** (plōō'tärk), 186, 194, 260, 287, esp. 323, 326.
- Pluto**, 86.
- Pnyx** (nīks; maps, 130, 134), 137, 143.
- Poitou** (pwä-tōō'; map facing 460), 478.
- Poland** (maps facing 438, 480, 484, 647), 481, 548, 575, 646, 651-652.
- Political**, term explained, 80.
- Pöl'li-ō**, story of, not typical, 327-328.
- Pō'lō, Marco**, 570-572; route of travels, 576.
- Pō-lŷb'ī-ūs**, 235, 249, 253.
- Pōm-ē-rā'nī-ā** (map facing 601), 601, 646.
- Pompeii** (pōm-pā'yē; map, 302), destruction of, 302; and election placards, 313; cuts, on or opposite 299, 310, 314, 325.
- Pompey the Great**, 279-280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286.
- Pontius Pilate**, 330.
- Pōn'tūs** (map after 306), 277.
- Portugal**, 487, 547, 574; and search for route around Africa, 574-575 and map, 576; island empire of, in Atlantic, 575; conquered by Spain, and recovery, 595 and note; East Indian empire, 630; and Brazil, *ib.*
- Poseidon** (pō-si'dōn), 85, 86.
- Pottery**, Stone Age, 8 and facing 19; potter's wheel in early Egypt, 28; Greek (household need of vases, etc.), 92, 128.
- Praefectures** (prē-fēk'türs), Roman, 223, 239.
- Praetor** (prē'tör), Roman, 227, 239.
- Praetorians** (prē-tō'ri-ānz), 296, 297.
- Prague** (präg; map facing 484), University of, 545.
- Prāx-īt'ī-les** (lēz), 141, 188.
- Presbyterianism**, and Calvinism, 584.
- Pride's Purge** (Long Parliament), 624.
- Pri-mō-gen** (jēn)'ī-tūre, 418.
- Prince**, title from *Princeps*, explained, 295, 311-312.
- Printing** (movable type), invention of, 566-567.
- Pro'cōn-sūl**, term explained, and power, 246, 265; authority extended over more than one province (Sulla) 276-277, (Pompey) 279-280, (Caesar) 282, 288; effect of practice in bringing on the Empire, 288, 311.
- Prō-mē'theus**, 4, facing 87.
- Prō-pŷ-lae** (lē'ā, 140, facing 138.
- Prō-tēc'tō-rāte**, term explained, 251.
- Protestant**, term explained, 583.
- Protestant Reformation** (*see* Church of Latin Christendom), 579 f. *See* Lutheranism, Calvinism, England and, Religious Wars, Huguenots.
- Provence** (prō-vāns'; maps facing 385, 409, 460), 246, 539. Written also *Province* and *Provincia*, from the original Roman name of the district.
- Prussia** (maps facing 484, 514, 601), conquest of, by Teutonic Knights, 502; growth, 646 f., 647 f. (Growth under Frederick II not shown on maps of this volume.)
- Psammetichus** (sām-mēt'ī-kūs), 39-40.
- Ptolemy** (tōl'ē-mī) I, 189.
- Ptolemy II** (Phīl-ā-dēl'phūs), 189-190.

- Ptolemy III, Pylon of, facing 190.  
 Ptolemy the Astronomer, 323.  
 Pūn'ic, term explained, 235.  
 Pūnic Wars, 235 f.  
 Punjab (pūn'jāb; map, 649), 176.  
 Puritanism (English), rise of, 584, 614-615; and struggle for political liberty, 615 f.; in Holland, 615; in America, 615; and American colonization, 638.  
 Pŷd'nā (map after 238), battle of, 253.  
 Pŷm, John, 621, 622.  
 Pyramids, 24-25 and cuts facing 25, 26.  
 Pyrrhus (pīr'ūs), and Rome, 218-219.  
 Quād-rī'vī-ūm, of studies, 321, 518.  
 Quebec (map facing 634), 633, 649.  
 Queen Anne's War, 643.  
 Quintain (kwīn'tīn), the, 426.  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 563, 608, 636, and elsewhere.  
 Rameses (rā-mē'sēz) III, 34.  
 Ramillies (rā-mē-yē'; map, 597), battle of, 643.  
 Raphael (rāf'ā-ēl), 561 and opp.  
 Rā-vēn'nā (map after 306, 366), 366, 370; Exarchate of, 372, 393; seized by Lombards, 393.  
 Raymond, Count of Toulouse, 479.  
 Reaping, Egyptian, 21 and opp.; medieval, 431.  
 Rebus writing, 31.  
 Rê-hō-bō'ām, 60.  
 Reims (rāns or rēmz), cathedral of, facing 527. (Also written *Rheims*. Map facing 409.)  
 Relief, in sculpture, term explained, 20.  
 Religion, Stone Age, 7; Egyptian, 34-38; Babylonian, 53; Hebrew, 61; Persian, 66-67; Greek, 85-88, 91, 93; and Greek philosophy, 96, 144-147, 148-149; Hellenistic philosophy, 187-189; Early Roman, 207-208; Teutonic, 363. *See* Christianity, Mohammedanism.  
 "Religious Wars," 17th century, 596 f.; Netherlands and Spain, 596-598; French, 599-600; 'Thirty Years' War, in Germany, 600-601; results, 600-601.  
 Renaissance (rēn-ē-sāns'), Age of the, 557 f.; character, 557-558; begins in Italy, 558-561; and art, 561; pagan side of, 562; in northern Europe, 563-564; inventions during, 565-569; and search for new Trade routes, 573-577; and discovery of America, *ib*.  
 Representative government, not invented in early times, nor in Roman Empire, 222, 312; developed in local courts and juries of inquest in England, 454, 472; principle applied in Parliament, 471-473; of less account in France, 479-480.  
 Restoration of the Stuarts, 625 f.  
 Rhegium (rē'jē-ūm; map after 88), 133.  
 Rhetoric (and oratory), in Roman *trivium*, 321; in Saracenic universities, 492.  
 Rhine river (map after 306), 308, 311, etc.  
 Rhodes (rōds; maps after 68, 88, etc.), 178, 179; Colossus of, 194; and Roman Republic, 253-254; under Roman Empire, 314, 321; and Knights of St. John, 502 and map facing 549.  
 Rhone (rōn; map after 238), 297.  
 Ribault (rê-bō'), 634.  
 Richard I, of England, 464, 467, 477, 501.  
 Richard II, 532, 533.  
 Richard III, 540.  
 Richelieu (rē'shē-lōō), Cardinal, 599-600.  
 Ridley, martyr, 590.

- Roads**, Persian, 66 and map facing 64; Roman, 225-226 and map facing 224; under Empire, 311, 315-316, and map facing 306; decay in Dark Ages, 378.
- Rodney**, English admiral, 651.
- Roland**, Song of, 395, note.
- Roman architecture**, early, 221; under the Empire, 320-321.
- Roman army**, 226-227; under the Empire, 308-310, 354; last in Gaul, 369-370.
- Roman Assembly**, patrician, 209; gives way to Assembly of Centuries, 210; patricians still at advantage, 211; and Tribal, 215 f., 228; under Early Empire, 298, 312; end of, 298.
- Roman Catholic Church** (*see* first Christianity, Church of Latin Christendom, Protestant Reformation, Papacy), Counter Reformation in, 585-586; *see* Religious Wars.
- Roman colonies**, 222 and map facing 224. *See* Latin colonies.
- Roman contributions to civilization**, 233-234, 383.
- Roman dictator**, 212, 227-228.
- Roman Empire** (map after 306; *see* first Julius Caesar), Early, 295 f.; to 192 A.D., 295-306; worship of dead Emperors, 296-297; chief events, 297 f.; boundaries, 304, 307-308; extent and population, 308, 314; army of defense, 308-310; taxes, 310; beneficent government, 310-311; roads, 311; universal citizenship (except for slaves), 311; republican forms, 311-312; city life, 314-315; trade and travel, 315-317; peace and prosperity, 319-320; Latin and Greek civilizations, but common patriotism, 320; art, 320; literature, 322-323; emancipation of women, 326-327; science, 323; morals, 323-326; slavery milder, 327-328; absence of liberty, 329; concentration of wealth, 329; and beginning of decay, 329; growth of Christianity, 329 f.; Later Empire: decline in 3d century, 337 f.; "barrack emperors," 337; barbarian inroads, 337-338; decline of population, 338-339; Aurelian restores the boundaries, 339-340; Diocletian reorganizes, 340-343; centralized despotism (with division of administration East and West), 341-343; law made by imperial edicts, 343; last persecution of Christians, 343; new civil wars for the throne, 343-344; rivals conciliate the Church, 344; and Constantine, 345; capital at Constantinople, 347-348; Christianity the state religion (Theodosius), 348; intellectual decline, 353; material, 354-355; taxes crushing, 356; caste system, 356; serfdom, 357-358; Teutons filter in, 360; Empire "falls" in West, 364-366; survives in East as Greek Empire, *see* Greek Empire, Teutons.
- Roman family**, 208-209.
- Roman forum**, 205; Caesar's, 290-291. *See* map facing 206 and cuts, 291 and facing 292.
- Roman law**, *see* Justinian Code and University of Bologna.
- Roman municipia** (mu-ni-sip'i-a), 222-223, 312-314; self-government in, *ib.*; customs handed on to medieval towns, 506.
- Roman names**, 249-250.
- Roman numerals**, 223, 234, and Egyptian, 31; replaced, after Crusades, by Arabic, which *see*.
- Roman provinces**, begun, 238-239; in later Republic, 264-265; and Caesar (and the Empire), 288-289 f., 312; decay of yeomen



in 3d century, 329; subdivision by Diocletian, 341, 342.

**Roman roads**, *see* Roads.

**Roman Senate**, under the kings, 209; under Early Republic, 212; real government in best stage, 228-229; senatorial order (nobles), 229; decline after Punic Wars into incapable oligarchy, 263, 265; and the Gracchi, 269-273; and Marius and Sulla, 274 f.; and Caesar and Pompey, 281-286; under Early Empire, 289, 295, 296, 297-298, 299, 301, 303, and esp. 311-312; sinks into municipal council, 343.

**Roman tribune**, 214-215, 228, 311.

**Roman triumph**, 260-261.

**Roman veto**, 212.

**Romance languages**, 373, 601 and note.

**Romanesque architecture**, 526.

**Rome**, land and peoples of Ancient Italy, 197-201; legendary history and social customs under the kings, 202 f.; frontier fort and trading post, 204-205; "Seven Hills," 205-206; amalgamation, 206; supposed Etruscan influence, 207; religion, 207-208; family, 208-209; patricians and plebeians, 209-210; class strife, 211-216; fusion, 216-217 (Licinian Laws); capacity for team work and regard for law, 217; capture by Gauls, 218; champion of Italy against Gauls, 218; unites Italy under queen city, 218-219; rule after 266 B.C., 221-229; an aristocracy, 229; society during best period, 229-232; contributions to civilization, 233-234; Punic Wars, 235; conquest of East, 250-254; Latin West and Greek East, 254; new class strife, 255 f.; influence of wealth on government, 256-

257; rise of luxury, 257; public baths, 259 and facing 261; gladiatorial shows, 259-260; and triumphs, 260-261; decay of yeomanry and rise of mobs, 261 f.; political decay, 263; strife between Rome and Italy, and between Italy and provinces, 264-265; growth of slavery, 266-267; slave revolts, *ib.*; failure of Cato and the Scipios at reform, 268-269; attempts of the Gracchi, 269-273; rise of military chiefs, 274-278; Marius and Sulla, 274-278; Pompey and Caesar, 278-285; *see* Roman Empire.

**Rome, City of**, under Empire, 314; walls of Aurelian, 339, 340; sacked by Alaric, 366; by Vandals, 368; head of Latin Christendom, 351; retained by Greek Empire of 6th century, 372; head of papal states, 394-395; capital of revived Western Empire, 396; and of Holy Roman Empire, 481.

**Röm'û-lûs**, 202-203.

**Romulus Au-gûs'tû-lûs**, 370.

**Roncesvalles** (rôn-thës-väl'yās; map after 396), 395.

**Rosetta** (rô-zët'd) **Stone**, 33.

**Rôt'tër-däm** (map, 597), 551.

**Rouen** (rwän; map facing 460), 411 and facing 539.

**Rubens** (röö'bënz), 349.

**Ru'bi-con** (röö'bî-kôn; map facing 198), the, 285.

**Rü'brük**, **Friar**, 569.

**Rün'nÿ-mède**, 467 and map, 406.

**Russia**, rise of 602, 643; adopts Greek Christianity, 643; conquest of, by Tatars, 643-644; recovers freedom, 644; in 16th century, 644; and Peter, 644-645; expansion, 644-646; veneer of Western civilization, 645; under Elizabeth and Catherine II, 645-646; and partition of Poland, 651-652.

- Sabines** (sā'bīns; map, 204), 199, 202, 205, 218.
- Sā-gūn'tūm** (map after 238), 239.
- St. Augustine** (Au'gūs-tīn), Florida, 633 and map facing 630.
- St. Bartholomew Massacre**, 599.
- St. Lawrence river** (map facing 633), 635.
- St. Mark's**, Venice, facing 432.
- St. Martin's Church** (near Canterbury), facing 406.
- Saint Michel** (sān-mê-shēl'), Monastery of, facing 411.
- St. Peter's**, Rome, 561 and cuts opp., 580.
- Sāl'ā-dīn**, 501.
- Sāl'ā-mīs** (map after 68 and on 124), battle of, 123-126.
- Sä-lēr'nō** (map after 484), University of, 520, 521.
- Salisbury** (sōlz'bēr-ī; map, 406), Cathedral of, 436.
- Samnites** (sām'nīts; see Samnium, map facing 198), 199, 218.
- Sām'ōs** (map after 68), 131, 133.
- Sām'sōn**, 58.
- Samuel**, 58.
- Sān-tā Fe** (fā), 633 and map facing 630.
- Sā'pōr**, Persian king, 388.
- Sappho** (sā'fō), 95, 152.
- Sā'rá-cen** (sēn), term explained, 390, note.
- Sār-dīn'ī-d** (map after 238), 235, 238.
- Sār'dīs** (map facing 64), 66, 115.
- Sār'gōn**, 46, 60, and facing 52.
- Sār'tō**, Ān'drē-ā dēl, 561.
- Sā'trāp**, 65.
- Sāt'ūrūn**, Latin god of the seed time, 208.
- Saul**, Hebrew king, 58.
- Sault Ste. Marie** (sōō sānt mā-rē'), 633 and map opp.
- Savoy** (sā-voi'), Kingdom of, 647 and map facing 647.
- Saw'mill** (waterpower), 565.
- Sax'ons** (on continent), and Charlemagne, 367, and map facing 385 (see Saxony); invaders of Britain, 367, 402-403, and map 406.
- Saxony**, 580, 582, and maps facing 409, 484, etc.
- Schliemann** (shlē'mān), Henry, 76-77.
- Schoolmen**, the, 522-523.
- Schools**, in Babylonia, 49; in Greece, 156-157; in early Rome, 233 and facing 224; under Early Empire, 321-322; decline after Christian victory, 353-354; medieval, to 1100, 373, 382, 399, 406-407, 518; rise of town schools, 518; see Universities (medieval); in England after Protestant Reformation, 612-613.
- Schwyz** (shvēts), 549; map, 550.
- Science**, Egyptian, 29-30; Babylonian, 50-51; Greek, see Philosophy; Hellenistic, 191-193; under Roman Empire, 323; decline after victory of Christianity, 353-354; Saracenic, 492; in medieval Europe, 518, 524-525; advance in Renaissance, and in 17th century, 563, 565-569, 603, 604.
- Scipio** (sīp'ī-ō) **Aemilianus** (ē-mīl-ī-ā'nūs) (Africanus the Younger), 249, 268-269.
- Scipio Publius Cornelius** (Africanus the Elder), 245.
- Scotland**, 403 and note (see Picts); Norse settlements in, 411; Presbyterian, 592; and England, 460; union with England (personal), under James Stuart, 621; and Episcopacy, 621; Covenanters and English Long Parliament, 621, 622 f.; union with England in Great Britain, 629.
- Sculpture**, Egyptian, 33-34 (and cuts *passim* in chapter ii); Assyrian, 49, and facing 52, 53; Greek, 140-141; Hel-

- lenistic, 186; under Roman Empire, 320.
- Scutage** (skū'tāj), 460; and Magna Carta, which *see*.
- Scythians** (sīth'ī-ānz), 47, 65.
- Segesta** (sē-jēs'tā; map after 88), 133.
- Seleucidae** (sē-lū'sī-dē), kingdom of, on map after 238.
- Semites** (sē'mīts), 44.
- Sē-mīt'ic**, *see* Semites.
- Sempach** (pāk), 549 and map, 550.
- Sēn'-ē-cā**, 299, 323, 326, 328.
- Sēn-ē-gāl'** (a river and district of West Africa), 648.
- Sennacherib** (sēn-āk'-ē-rīb), 46.
- Septuagint** (sept'ū-ā-jīnt), 190.
- Sērbs** (map facing 549), 548.
- Serf'dom**, established in Later Roman Empire, 357-358; in early Middle Ages, 378; in Feudal Age, 441 f.; disappears from England, 530, 534.
- Sēr-tō'ri-ūs**, 277, 278, 279.
- "Seven Wonders of the World,"** 194.
- Seven Years' War**, 648-650. *See* French and Indian War.
- Seville** (sē-vīl'; map after 396), 570.
- Shakespeare, William**, 591, 592, 612.
- Shāl-mán-ē'ser** (zēr), II, 47.
- Shēk'ēl**, a Babylonian unit of weight (ounce Troy), 50.
- Sheriff**, English, 453.
- Shetlands**, settled by Norse, 411 and map, 406.
- Ship money** (English), 620-621.
- Shire**, English, 454.
- Sicily**, Greek colonies in, 90 and map after 88; and Carthage, 115-116; Athenian disaster in, 165; and Punic Wars, 257-258; Roman Province, 238-239; and Moorish raids, 410; Norman Kingdom of (Sicily and Naples, or The Two Sicilies), 485 and map opp.; united to Holy Roman Empire, 485-486, 487; secured by Spain, 554; ceded to Austria, 643, map facing 647.
- Sickle**, Egyptian, 21 and facing 34; medieval, 431.
- Sicyon** (sīk'ī-ōn; map after 68), 181.
- Siegfried** (zēg'frēt), 365.
- Silesia** (sī-lē'shī-ā; map facing 601), 647.
- Simon of Montfort**, 469.
- Sinai** (sī'nī), peninsula, 27.
- Sindbad**, Egyptian story of, 33.
- Slavery**, origin, 10; Greek, 103-104, 158; inevitable before age of machines, 159; under the Roman Republic, 266; milder under Empire, 327, 328; and decline of population, 339; effect of victory of Christianity on, 352; rises into serfdom, which *see*.
- Slavs**, attack the Danube frontier, 337; divisions of, 368; Slavic-Greek Europe, 369; in 9th century, in central Europe, 410; *see* Russia, Serbia.
- Social War** (in Italy), 275-276.
- Socrates** (sōk'rā-tēz), 145-147; prayer for moderation, 148-149.
- Sōg-dī-ān'ā** (map facing 174), 176.
- Solomon**, 59.
- Solon**, 107 f.
- Sōl'y-mān the Magnificent**, 583.
- Sōph'ists** (Greek), 144-145.
- Sōph'ō-cles** (klēz), 142; on man's power over nature, 159.
- Spain**, and Carthage, 235, 239; Roman conquest of, 244, 245-246; Romanized, 246; and Sertorius, 278-279; and Pompey, 275; under Early Empire, 314; barbarian inroads of 4th century, 338; Vandals in, 367; Gothic kingdom, 367; decay of in 7th century, 388; conquest by Saracens, 389; and Charlemagne, 395; rise of Christian states in, 547; loss of early

- liberties to absolute kings, 547-548; union of states in 1492, 547; expulsion of Moors, *ib.*; gains Sicily and Naples and Mediterranean islands, 554; and New World, 554, 630-633; headship in Europe, 554-555; war with Netherlands, 596-598; and England, 596-597 (and 592-593); decline, 598-599; and Louis XIV, 641-643; loses Netherlands and Sicily, 643; loses Florida, 647-648; secures Western Louisiana, 649.
- Spanish missions** in America, 631, 632.
- Spanish Netherlands** (map, 597), remain dependent after Dutch win freedom, 641, 643.
- Spanish Succession, War of**, 642-643.
- Sparta** (map after 68), Dorian, 102; conquests, 102; government, 102-103; discipline, 103-105; helots, 103-104; Peloponnesian League, 102, 116; and Persian Wars, 114-116, 117, 121-127; and Peloponnesian War, *see* Athens; rule in Greece, 166 f.; overthrow at Leuctra, 169; and Achaean League, 183 f.; reforms of Agis and Cleomenes, 183 f.; falls to Macedonia, 184; sacked by Goths, 328, 366.
- Spär'tá-cūs**, 279.
- Specific gravity**, principle of, discovered, 192-193.
- Spenser, Edmund**, 592.
- Spice Islands** (map, 576), 573.
- Spinning**, with stone whorls, 6, 11; with distaff, 81; with spinning wheel, 565, 566.
- Squire**, to a noble, 425.
- Stamford Bridge** (map, 406), battle of, 450.
- State**, term explained, 17, note.
- States of the Church**, *see* Papal States.
- States General**, *see* Estates General.
- Steam power**, experiments in, 524.
- Steelyard**, the, 515.
- Stephen, King**, 458-459.
- Stephen, Pope**, 324.
- Sterling**, term explained, 515.
- Stilicho** (stíl'í-kō) the Vandal, 366.
- Stoicism** (stō'í-sizm), 187, 188-189.
- Stone Age**, *see* New and Old.
- Stonehenge**, facing 11.
- Strā'bō**, 322, 569, and cut facing 191.
- Stratford-on-Avon** (map, 406), 612.
- Sugar**, first discovered by Europe, 317.
- Sulla**, 276, 277, 278.
- Sulpicius** (sül-písh'í-ūs), Roman tribune, 276.
- Susa** (sōō'zä; map after 64), 66.
- Sūs'sēx** (map, 406), 403.
- Sweden**, 551, 601.
- Swiss Lake Dwellers**, 10-11.
- Switzerland** (*see* Helvetii), under Roman Empire, 310; and Division of Verdun, 409 and map opp.; rise of cantons into free confederacy in 13th century, 549 and map, 550; independence acknowledged, 601.
- Sýb'á-ris** (map after 88), 90.
- Syracuse**, Greek colony, 90 (map after 88); and Athens, 165; defended against Rome by inventions of Archimedes, 192; and Punic Wars, 238, 241-244.
- Sýr'í-á**, 39 and map, 60; in later and larger sense, Kingdom of, reaching to Euphrates, 178 f.
- Tacitus** (täs'í-tűs), 323, 324, 327; and Christians, 331; on government of Teutons, 364.
- Tā'gűs river**, 297 and map after 366.
- Tāl'műd**, the, 53.
- Tā-rěn'tűm**, 90 and map after 88; and Rome, 218, 219, and map facing 198.

- Tärquin the Proud**, legendary king, 202-203.
- Tär'sūs** (in Cilicia; map after 238), 330, 331.
- Tär'tä-rūs**, 88.
- Tä'tärs** (or Tartars), *see* Scythians; attack Danubian frontier, 337; and on the Rhine, 369, 494; and Mongol Empire, 643 f.; and Russia, 644.
- Tau'rūs** mountains, and iron, 61-62, and map facing 15.
- Telescope**, invention of the, 524, 569, 604.
- Tell, William** (legendary hero), 549.
- Tēm'pē, Vale of** (map after 68), 121, 122.
- Temple at Jerusalem**, the, 59.
- Tenants-in-chief**, term explained, 464.
- Tēr'mīn-ūs**, Latin God of Bounds, 208.
- Tēr-tūl'li-ān**, 320.
- Tēt'zēl, John**, 580.
- Teu'tō-berg** (bōōrk) **Forest** (map after 306), battle of, 308.
- Teu-tō'nes** (nēz), *see* Cimbri.
- Teutonic contributions to civilization**, 383.
- Teutonic law**, 376 f.; trial by ordeal, 376-377.
- Teutonic Order**, *see* Knights.
- Teutons** (Germans), invasion of Gaul, Spain, and Italy in 2d century B.C., 274; and Caesar, 282-283; in 3d century A.D., 337 f.; in German home, 362-364; religion of, 363; government, 364; win Western Europe, 364 f.; Kingdoms of, on Roman soil, 367 and map after 366; divisions of, 368; merging with Roman populations into "Western Europe," 373 f. *See* Norse Vikings.
- Thā'les** (lēz), 95, 96, 114.
- Thames** (tēmz) **river**, 523 and map, 406.
- Thăp'sūs** (map after 238), battle of, 287.
- Theater**, in Greece, 142-143; in England, in 17th century, 591.
- Thebes** (thēbz), in Egypt, 25, 39, and map facing 15; in Greece, 105, 116, 117, 134, and map after 68; mentioned, 166, 167; period of leadership, 168-170; razed by Alexander, 174.
- Thē-mīs'tō-cles** (klēz), 119-125, 129-130.
- Thē-ōc'ri-tūs**, 185.
- Thē-ōd'ō-ric** (rīk), West Goth, 369-370.
- Thē-ō-dosius** (dō'shī-ūs) **the Great**, 348, 349, 365, 366.
- Thēr-mōp'ŷ-lae** (lē), 121, 122-123, and map after 68.
- Thēr-sī'tes** (tēz), 80, 81.
- Thē'seus**, 71, 79-80.
- Thēs'pīs**, 95, 141-142.
- Thēs-sāl'i-āns**, 116, 122. *See* Thessaly.
- Thēs-sā-lō'ni-ca** (nē-kā), 331 and map after 306.
- Thēs'sāl-ŷ**, map after 68. *See* Thessalians.
- Third Estate**, 505, 514.
- Thirty Years' Truce**, 135, 162.
- Thirty Years' War**, 600-601.
- Thōr**, 363 and cut opposite.
- Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius**, 325, and note, 337.
- Thrace**, European part of Persian Empire, 64, 115; Greek colonies in, 89; maps facing 64 and after 68.
- Thucydides** (thū-sīd'ī-dēz), 130, note, 144, 165.
- Thuringia** (thū-rīn'jī-ā; map facing 385), 579.
- Tī'ber river**, map facing 198.
- Tī-bē'rī-ūs**, Emperor, 298, 319.
- Tī'grīs river** (maps, 43 and facing 15), 42, 43.
- Tilly**, 600.
- Tīn-tō-rēt'tō**, 561.
- Titian** (tī'shōn), 561.



- Ti'tūs**, Emperor, 302; Arch of, 300, 301; destruction of Jerusalem, by, 302.
- Tocqueville** (tōk-vēl'), Alexis de, 636.
- Tō'gā**, Roman, 232.
- Tō-lē'dō** (map after 396), 492.
- "Tool"** and **"machine"**, 653-654.
- Tories**, name explained, 626, 627.
- Torture**, legal use of, 334.
- Tō'tēm-ism**, 35.
- Toulouse** (tōō-lōōz'); map after 396; for Duchy of, map facing 406), 410; Count of, 478, 479.
- Tou-raine** (rān'), 459, 478, maps facing 406.
- Tour'nā-mēt**, 427-428.
- Tours** (tōor; map facing 385), battle of, 389-390; ravaged by Vikings, 411.
- Towns** (after attainment of highest city-life in ancient times), in Graeco-Oriental world, 177, 192; under Roman Empire, 312-313, 314-315; municipal institutions of, handed down to later times, 506; cities almost disappear in Western Europe after barbarian invasions, 378; survivals in south, *ib.*; Lombard League, 484-485; Saracenic, 490 (and *see* Bagdad); rise of, in Western Europe after Crusades revived trade, 506 f.; win or buy charters, 507-509; war of, with feudalism, 509-510; fairs in, 509; life in, 510 f.; trade guilds of, 510 f.; free cities and leagues, 514 f.; Hansá, 515; absorbed in new nations, 515; dregs of and the friars, 515-516.
- Trade**, early routes, Egyptian, 27 and note; of Euphrates states, 48-49; Phoenician, 55-56; and invention of coinage, 26, 63; and Greek geography, 77, 83; in Homeric Greece, 83, 89 f.; Athenian, 92, 109, 131; in Graeco-Oriental world, 191-193; early Roman, 204-205, 230-231, 255-256; under the Empire, 315-317; dies out in Western Europe in Dark Ages, 378, 397; rise after Crusades, 503-504; effect of, on towns and on feudalism, 504-505; and search for new trade routes in 15th century, 572-577; review of, 605-607.
- Trā'jān**, Emperor, 303-304; bridge over Danube, facing 303; Triumphal Column, 302, 303; Arch at Beneventum, facing 315; correspondence with Pliny, 313, 332-333, 334.
- Transubstantiation** (tran-sub-stan'shi-a'tion), 438.
- Trās-i-mē'nē** (map facing 198), battle of, 240.
- Trent** (map after 484), Council of, 585.
- Treves** (trēvz), *see* Trier.
- Trib-ū-nic'i-ān power**, the, 288, 311.
- Trier** (trēr; map after 306), 311 and cut opp.
- Trīg-ō-nōm'ē-trŷ**, 192.
- Trī'reme** (rēm), 163-164.
- Triv'i-ūm**, Roman, 321; medieval, 518.
- Trō'jān War**, 75-77.
- Troubadours** (trōō'bā-dōōrs), 525.
- Troy**, and **Troyland** (map after 68), 76; excavations at, 76-77.
- Truce of God**, 421.
- Tsar**, title from Caesar, 297, note.
- Tū'dōr line**, 540 f.
- Tu-rā'ni-āns**, 369.
- Turks**, 494; and Crusades, 495, 496-497; win southeastern Europe, 548 and map following; captures Constantinople, 548-549.
- Tūs'cānŷ** (map after 484), 652.
- Tūt-Ānkh-Āmēn**, 36.
- Tyre** (tīr; map facing 15), 55-57, 59; and destruction of by Alexander, 57, 175.

- Ul'-fil'as**, 353.  
**Ul'pī-ān**, 328.  
**Ulysses**, *see* Odysseus.  
**United Provinces** (or Dutch Republic, or Holland; *see* Netherlands), 598 and maps, 597 and facing 647.  
**Universities**, Hellenistic, 189-191; under Roman Empire, 321; disappearance in Christendom (with other Classical schools), 353-354, 373; Saracenic, 492, 518; rise of in medieval Europe, 518 f.; *see* Paris, Salerno, Naples, Bologna, Prague, Oxford, etc.; number, 521; and wandering students, 521-522; become "nests of ignorance," 522; and "scholasticism," 522 f.; and humanism, 561.  
**Unterwalden** (ōn'tēr-vāld-ēn; map, 550), 549.  
**Ūp-sā'lā**, University of, 353.  
**Ūr** (map facing 15), 44, 45, 53, 57.  
**Ūr'bān**, Pope, 497.  
**Uri** (ōō'rē), 549 and map following.  
**Usury**, medieval idea of, 606.  
**Ū'tī-cā** (maps after 88, 238), 56, 248.  
**Ū-tō'pī-ā**, More's, 564-565, 610.  
**Utrecht** (ū'trēkt; map, 597),  
     Peace of, 643.  
**Vā'lēns**, Emperor, 365.  
**Vā-lē'rī-ūs**, Mā'nī-ūs, 214.  
**Vāl-hāl'lā**, facing 363.  
**Valkyries** (vāl-kir'iz), facing 363.  
**Vān'dāls**, 366-367, 368; conquered by Justinian, 371. Maps after 364, 366.  
**Vān Dyck'** (dik), 349, 621.  
**Van Eycks'** (iks), the, 562.  
**Vaphio Cups**, the, facing 70.  
**Varro**, 241.  
**Vassal**, 412; always noble, 417-418; duties, 418.  
**Vāt'i-cān Palace**, facing 561.  
**Vēl'lūm**, 364, 559.  
**Vē-nē'ti**, 199 and map following; and Venice, 370.  
**Venice**, beginnings, 370; and 4th Crusade, 501; trade during Crusades, 504; champion of Christendom against Turk, 549; in 1450, 553; and Renaissance art, 561; trade monopoly of, 572, 577, 605. Maps after 396, 484, 542, and esp. 556.  
**Venus**, 86; *see* Aphrodite; of Melos, 186.  
**Verde** (vērd) **Islands** (map, 576), 575.  
**Verdun** (vēr-dūn'; map after 396), partition of, 409 and map facing 409.  
**Vēr'gil** (jīl), 234, 322, 558.  
**Vēr'rēs**, in Sicily, 265.  
**Vēs-pā'sian** (shān), Flāv'ī-ūs, 301-302, 321.  
**Vesta**, 87, 207.  
**Vestal Virgins**, 207 and cut facing 260.  
**Vē-sū'vī-ūs**, and Pompeii, 302.  
**Vī'kings** (or Vik'ings), in 9th century, 410-411. *See* Danes, England.  
**Villa, Roman**, 258, 259; adopted by Teutonic chiefs in Dark Ages, 378, 394.  
**Vincennes** (vīn-sēnz'), 633 and map opp.  
**Vinci** (vēn'chē), Le(lā)-ō-nār'dō dā, 561.  
**Virginia**, 637 and map facing 633.  
**Vīr-i-ā'thūs**, 245.  
**Vīs'i-gōths** (West Goths), 365-367, 369; maps after 364, 366; and Mohammedan conquest of, 389.  
**Volscians** (vōl'shī-ānz), 214, 218, and map, 204.  
**Vulcan**, 87.  
**Vūl'gāte**, *see* Bible.  
**Wales**, 404; and English conquest, 460, 470; map, 406; Prince of, 470.  
**Wallace, William**, 470.

- Wallenstein** (väl'žen-shtin), 600.  
**Wartburg** (värt'bōōrk) **Castle**  
 (map after 546), 582.  
**Wat the Tyler**, 532.  
**Water clock**, 31.  
**Water power**, use of for grist-mill (Roman Empire), 381, and for sawmill, 565. *See* "Tool" and "Machine."  
**Watling Street**, 407 and map opp.  
**Weaving**, in Stone Age, 8 and facing 10; perfection in results reached in Egypt, 27-28.  
**Wēd'mōre** (map, 406), **Treaty of**, 407.  
**Weich'ardt** (vik'ärt), German authority on Classical remains, facing 310, 314.  
**Wessex** (map, 406), 403, 407.  
**Western Europe**, becomes Romano-Teutonic, 376 f., esp. 373-374; place in history, 369; saved from Huns, 369; and from Mohammedanism, 389-390; new barbarian invasions of 9th century, 410-411; *see* Charlemagne's Empire, Holy Roman Empire, Feudalism, Renaissance, Protestant Reformation, and separate countries by name.  
**Wheel**, invention of, 74 and cut opp.; brought into Egypt by Babylonians, 50; into Italy by Etruscans, 201.  
**Whigs**, rise of and explanation of name, 626-627.  
**Whitby** (map, 406), **Council at**, 405.  
**William I**, of England, 451-453, 457-458.  
**William II**, 458.  
**William III** (and Mary), 627 f.; and France, 628, 641.  
**William of Orange**, 627, 641. *See* William III.  
**William the Silent**, 596.  
**Williams, Roger**, 625.  
**Windmills**, 492.  
**Winkelried** (vīn'kēl-rēt), **Arnold**, 540.  
**Witan** (in England), the, 449.  
**Wittekind** (vīt'tā-kīnt), facing 407.  
**Wittenberg** (vīt'žen-bērck; map after 546), University of, 580.  
**Wō'dēn**, 363 and cut opp.  
**Wolfe, James**, 648.  
**Woman**, in Stone-Age industry, 5-6, 8-9; in ancient Egypt, 24; in Greece, 151-152; in early Rome, 208-209; under Roman Empire, 326-327; and early Christianity, 331.  
**Woodcuts**, 562 (and many cuts from).  
**Worms** (vōrmz); map after 546), Concordat of, 484; Diet at, 581-582.  
**Writing**, by pictures, 31 and cut following; rebus, 31-32; Egyptian, 31-33; cuneiform, 49 and facing 53; *see* Alphabet.  
**Wy'clif, John**, 531, 544-545.  
**Xenophanes** (zēn-ōf'ā-nēz), 96.  
**Xen'o-phon**, 144, 146, 168.  
**Xerxes** (zērck'zēz), 66, 120-126.  
**Year**, the, as unit of time, length of discovered by Egyptians, 24-30. *See* Calendar.  
**York** (map, 406), 508, 572.  
**Yorkists**, 540.  
**Ypres** (ēpr'; map after 514), 551, 552.  
**Zā'mā** (map after 238), battle of, 244.  
**Zēnd Avēs'tā**, 67.  
**Zē'nō**, the Stoic, 188.  
**Zeno**, Emperor, 370.  
**Zē-nō'bī-ā**, 339.  
**Zeus**, 86, 87.  
**Zeux'is**, 186.  
**Zī-pān'gō** (map, 576), 569, 572.  
**Zō-rō-ās'ter**, 67.  
**Zürich** (tsū'rīck; map, 550), 549, 583, 584.  
**Zwing'li**, 583, 584.



Stanley, C.

Know

Menill K. Harne

1. Paulinus

2. Aidan

3. Edwin

4. 600-650 - England Christianized

5. Sussex

Results of Crusade

I. Revive Commerce (between East & West)

II. Started Nationalism

III. Brought in Europe culture, knowledge of science & medicine.

IV. Decline of Feudalism

recognition - Charing of 12 men  
by Circuit Court to give verdict.



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Celts

1. Britons

2. Gauls

3. Picts

4. Caledonians

Original inhabitants  
of Britain.

Five invasions of Britain

55-54 B.C. - Caesar Conquered Brit

43 A.D. - Claudius

5th & 6th Centuries - Angles, Saxons, Jutes

9th & 10th - Danes

1066 - Normans

Camp - Castra

Celtic

Angles Saxons, Jutes

I want

Castra

Thurschever  
15 May 1844

